

## HARIJAN

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Two Annas

## REPORT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

(By Bhagwan P. Dutt)

(Given a speech as president of the 14th Annual B. P. U. U. Secondary Teachers' Conference at Ahmedabad Feb. 11-12, 1952)

I am conscious that this is not a literary education but secondary teachers' conference. We only your assistance last year practice that the conference is not a trade union, does not concern its members. I congratulate you on this initiative.

It is a self-evident truth that teaching is a profession ultimately depends on the teacher. Even the education process cannot suffer neglect, neglect or rationalisation in spite of various defects of educational aids and methods is obvious. The profession of teaching, that is of imparting education, will always remain a living human process in human society. It is therefore natural and inevitable that we as a conference of secondary teachers have been discussing the continuing problems of secondary education.

## Need of Basic Reform in Education

It is natural that since Independence our people have begun to feel an acute hunger for reform and reconstruction in all fields of national activity. It becomes inevitable as a consequence of the country's constitution being democratic and based on universal adult franchise. That is a life of our people which had been suppressed for centuries has now taken the road to advanced progress within a few years is surely a matter of course. And it is a matter of joy that we can hold our heads high with legitimate pride as that appears to be the consciousness of the nation of this world.

This assembly of teachers does not need to be reminded that the field of education occupies a place of primary importance in our national life. We are glad that it has begun to be rightly recognised as such for the progress of the nation. Clear signs can be observed that the planners of our national development have begun to devote their attention to the subject.

## Original Function of Education

I must however confess that we have not yet been able to bring in any originality or contributed any special view in this field as we have done, for instance, in the field of our national design policy. I am one of those who believe that we should do it. And for this reason, our

problem of education has assumed a positively ugly shape. After a period of slavery, extending over a century and a half, Bhikshu Ghoshal has given us at the right moment a revolutionary view of the problem and by adopting it we can liberally reform our whole system of education. Life, and not the world over have welcomed and comprehended that view. The larger task of reorganising all of our entire system of education so that revolutionary ideas develop as to. The senior teachers' conference stated that it was its duty and responsibility as of the governments in the country the better for all concerned.

## Reports of Secondary and Higher Education Commissions

Reports of Commissions appointed by the Central Government to consider the questions of the status of secondary and higher education are before us. Some of us were wondering whether they would be of any use to give effect to the recommendations in these reports or whether they would remove the present percentage of being stated in the paper before the Government without being able to make that the four 5-6 percent. It has been announced that the second Five Year Plan would include measures to give effect to some of the recommendations in these reports. The importance of the reform of the secondary stage has been specially mentioned in the memorandum. Workers in the field of secondary education deserve congratulations on this achievement.

You all know that the Minister of Education in the Central Government, Krishna Rao, has made two of these specific suggestions and we have further been given to understand that the Director of the Five Year Plan would provide for requisite finance. It is obvious that these suggestions will have far-reaching effects and would bring about significant changes in our system of education.

The following suggestions have been made in the Central and State Governments as well as universities have begun to consider steps for their implementation.

1. To extend the period of high school courses for a year more and to reduce the period of college courses for the bachelors' degrees and B.A. and B.Sc. to three years.

2. The high school course to begin after the previous universal and compulsory course



a native high language?—and that word or do you hope to have some additional questions, to your companion?—you? But I believe we must continue—

"I am going to ask—can the least I expect of the Hindu?—and?—You do

The professor turned to his religious sphere and said: "As the spiritual of your own spiritual original comes from Hinduism?"

"In fact," observed Vinoba: "I don't find any difference in the various religions—Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, etc. Having grown in different nations, their outward forms are different. But in essence they are the same. So my Hinduism is not exclusive. It includes every other religion. Expression is a more outward form of inner experience. Often it cannot be expressed. Though my grounds are in Hinduism, yet I have studied the Bible with as great respect as the Gita. Likewise, I have studied the Koran. The Sermon on the Mount matches me equally well as the Gita. But my mother tongue loves Marathi—a daughter of Sanskrit. I am naturally happy at native expressions. They are a source of inspiration to me as also to those with whom I work. So my surroundings seem to be Hindu but there is no Hinduism in it."

The professor perhaps desired further clarification. So he put forth: "What co-operation have you received from the highest Hindu religious circles in your movement?"

Vinoba smiled and said: "What should I call the 'highest Hindu religious circles'? Do you mean devout followers of the Church people? Here you must distinguish as between the Church people and Christians. You don't expect much from the former. Do you?"

"Of course not," sympathized our friend.

"Likewise I do not," observed Vinoba, "expect much sympathy from those whose language is religion. Last year I got a sound thrashing when I entered a temple!"

The professor laughed in amazement and asked: "What, from the higher circles?"

Vinoba laughed to say: "Yes, from the very high!"

Our quiet friend was deeply astonished. When a questioner asked: "Do you consider a revival of Hinduism coming from your movement with a kind of Protestant-like spiritism, or do you conceive of the movement as a social force?"

Vinoba agreed: "You are right. In the main, Shreeji Yajna is a spiritual force rather than a social one. When spiritual values change they have so great influence on life that they transform all social and political sides too. I do expect that out of the Hinduism would come out a kind of workers who would identify themselves with the poorest and the weakest. I don't say whether they would be apostles? That is a big question. No apostles but humble workers at any rate."

As the couple was on its way to East and South Africa, they asked for a message to the

people there. "I wouldn't like," said Vinoba, "to give a religious message. What's done here is a larger message. I have said already with the docile and oppressed all over the world. Whatever movements be there for that night I am with them. So far as South Africa is concerned, I am sure that the word Gandhi has gone there will produce its good effect."

"Do you have a word you would like to send to American readers?"

"Let them know that I like their idea of unity. I am trying to work on it in variations here. I do not think that democracy as working all over the world today can save us. World's most intricate problems would have to be settled by the unanimous consent of the people."

An English lady, perhaps a pacifist, was also present during this conversation. She felt interested and asked Vinoba's permission whether he could give time for her too.

"Very gladly, come on please," so saying Vinoba dismissed her. She began:

"What form of Government do you wish to see in India, if not the Western parliamentary pattern?"

"The two basic features of the Government I envisage are: decentralized administration and universal suffrage," replied Vinoba. "I don't care about the outward form of the Government which will change with circumstances. For example a family with children has one pattern; later when the children grow old the pattern is changed, but the family track remains the same."

This pleased our friend. She next asked: "Is there not a sufficient public opinion for non-violence in India to prevail upon the Government to defend the arm?" Let India be the first country in the world to do it?"

"Unfortunately India is not today morally strong enough to take this course. I agree with you that India should be the first country to do so. On account of the speed type of our struggle for freedom, the world does expect this leadership from her."

Vinoba paused for a while. The interviewer nodded. Then he added: "I am trying to build up the nation like that. There is not yet the required public opinion for it. But the Indian Government under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru is trying to follow what Gandhi taught us and which Vinoba calls 'Gandhism'. If this idea spreads it may be possible to defend the army."

Our friend listened very attentively. Vinoba went on: "But why should not the U.S.A. take the lead? She is a Christian nation, young people with good faith, simple heart and numerous, and a large heart. Nevertheless, if God wills it, India will come forward."

Then she wanted to know: "Do you think something like Shreeji is applicable to every land so that young people, I mean conscientious





war, means for example, "unhindered co-operation and free peace", so much so that we may say that the establishment of non-violence in that sphere has become the crisis of the world or the crisis of the age. On account of Gandhi, the leadership of the cause has fallen to India - let us say. As I said in the beginning, not only for Christians but her foreign policy also has this task as its base. We have even been advertising a treaty with Pakistan on that basis. Would it not be terribly inconsistent and out of harmony with our basic policy to collectively propagate the idea of self-defence by starting off-shooting exercises? And against whom are we seeking self-defence? This sort of propaganda needlessly confuses the public mind, leads it away from the work of educating itself for peace and prohibition of war as a means of settling inter-national disputes and the need of training the nation in real courage and heroism in a healthy social or in the profession of soldiering and of war like always to be limited and under proper control. Indeed such control is an attitude of a well ordered society.

Even economic considerations lead to the same conclusion. Armies can be moved and maintained only by starving the people and depriving them of the wealth they produce by the sweat of their labour. Look to post-war Japan and Germany for instances showing how quickly a people becomes prosperous if it has not to maintain armies and deplore itself of the fruits of its labour. It is true they were compelled to deplore themselves. But the lesson of disarmament is not wisdom at that account. If the world voluntarily takes to the cultivation of the virtues of peace and human brotherhood and begins to shed its armaments, it will have all the wealth and tools to eradicate the evils of starvation, poverty, ignorance and disease etc.

Moreover, the state of world politics has reached such a stage that the defence of mankind itself is going to be an impossibility if we did not give up all armaments and did not abolish all war. If we look at the question in the proper perspective as an for self-defence the propagation of the virtues of non-violence and peace and training people into them is inevitable. As the future of the country is primarily the concern of its youth they should cultivate this thought and perceive the need of the future and set their standards accordingly. The defence of the world or in other words the self-defence of mankind would be impossible unless we adopted non-violence as our creed that is unless the world accepted disarmament, prohibition of war, and international politics of peace and goodwill as its programme and the public mind was educated to that. To turn to this way of true self-defence and to establish real peace or freedom for herself is the task history has set for India in the present day world.

142-55

(Printed in original in Gujarati)

## FEAR AND MODERN LIFE

(by E. T. Pollard)

(This is reproduced from New Outlook, Dec. 1954, 1955, volume 100, pages and Professor of Psychology, Psychology Centre, I. A. Coll. T. S. A. The article is being given in Indianisation. This first describes the nature of fear, meaning, and particularly its effect upon human behaviour in a very simple and popular manner. There is nothing in it worth saying that has been included in modern theories of learning and our science and experience. It seems to have and has already been taught here of our time.

142-55

E. T.]

### I

Modern man is dangerously unbalanced. His mastery of the material world is great; his mastery of himself is small. Thus he is a giant in physical power and a babe in wisdom and self-control. The resulting unbalance in individual man and in organized society is the major factor in the tragedy of this age expressed most vividly in man's unhappiness in the presence of material abundance and in his exaggerated fear when confronted with urgent problems.

Although man's knowledge of himself has not kept abreast with his acquaintance with the physical world, it is false to conclude that no significant progress has been made in understanding man. On the contrary, psychologists and those working in related fields have discovered much about man's behaviour. A wider dissemination of these insights would increase man's understanding of his own behaviour, and perhaps even more important, the behaviour of his fellow-men, particularly those who may be of different cultural backgrounds.

The behaviour of modern man, singly or in groups is greatly influenced by fear. What does we know about fear that might help us to understand the strange behaviour of ourselves and others? In attempting to answer this question I do not propose to cite research, but to state some general conclusions that can reasonably be made from that research with some implications for current problems.

### The Nature of Fear

Fear is basically a reaction of a person or group in the presence of real or imagined danger. Thus the characteristic behaviour of fear is mental and physical reaction designed to provide escape or defence in the presence of a situation which is or seems to be threatening.

There are some real dangers in modern life, but most fears are imaginary. That is, most fears arise out of man's perception as dangerous a situation which in reality is harmless. If an individual is unable to recognize actual danger, he may be destroyed by it. Simple illustrations are the careless use of seriously contaminated food and the reckless use of an automobile. On the other hand the individual or group that constantly distorts what is seen and thus perceives danger when there is little or no danger, wastes energy and in a case develops pathological







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TWO ANNAS

## REAL ECONOMICS

(By Gandhi)

"Does economic progress clash with real progress? By economic progress, I take it, we mean material advancement without limit and by real progress we mean moral progress which agrees in the same thing as progress of the permanent element in us. The subject may, therefore, be stated thus: Does not moral progress increase in the same proportion as material progress?"

No one has ever suggested that growing pauperism can lead to anything else but moral degradation. Every human being has a right to live and therefore to find the wherewithal to feed himself and wear necessary clothes and house himself. Indeed the test of civilization in a country is not the number of millionaires it owns but its absence of starvation among its masses.

"You cannot serve God and Mammon as an economic truth of the highest value. We have to make our choice. Western nations today are gliding under the heels of the monster god of materialism. Their moral growth has become stunted. They measure their progress in G.D.P. America, which has become the standard I have heard many of our countrymen say that we will give American wealth but avoid its methods. I venture to suggest that such an attempt, if it were made, is doomed to failure. We cannot be vice temperate and fastidious in a moment.

"If we are not careful we shall introduce all the vices that it (the West) has been a prey to owing to the doctrine of materialism. We can profit by their conversion (with the West) only if we keep our civilization and our morals straight, that is, if instead of boasting of the glories of the material world, we express the ancient moral glory in our lives and let our lives be witness to our past. We need not be afraid of idols or of reducing them to practice even to the utmost. Gifts will only then be a truly spiritual manner when we shall show more truth than gold, greater fortitude than pomp of power and wealth, greater charity than love of self. If we will but clear our houses, our palaces and temples of the attributes of wealth and show in them the attributes of morality, we can offer better to any

embodiment of hostile forces without having to carry the burden of a heavy yoke. This is real economics. May you and I liberate them and embrace them in our daily life."

## EDUCATION AND THE SOCIALISTIC PATTERNS

(By Mahatma J. D. D.)

The fourth Session of the Indian National Congress passed two important resolutions. The Government of India have already accepted the substance of these two resolutions as part of their policy. These resolutions therefore do not bring in any new matter. But it clearly means that the matter of these resolutions assumes great national importance at the present juncture.

The substance of the two resolutions may be thus stated:

1. The social order in India will be of a Socialistic Pattern.

2. Government in the country should now concentrate on Basic Education.

The Prime Minister stated that both the resolutions be taken up for consideration by the Congress. Or we had better say that he took the lead in bringing these two matters to the immediate notice of the Government and the people. This means he considers—and truly so—that these two matters are of primary and immediate importance for the progress of India.

The nature of Socialism, as my reader, comments on the following two elements amongst others:

1. Not only political but also social and economic equality of all citizens.

2. Every one in the nation should be engaged in socially useful labour; idleness or working to live as the labour of others or exploitation should be done.

Whatever other message Socialism might have these two are surely accepted by all. I think the ideology of every modern has accepted them. Differences arise only when the ways and means for their implementation are discussed. We in India have made up our minds to follow the democratic way for their implementation. It means that we shall proceed by educating the people and on the strength of popular opinion. The other

\* From a speech delivered at Ahmednagar District on December 20, 1954, reproduced in, A. P. C. Economic Review, January 15, 1955.





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March 12

1934

## PASTEURIZATION AND MILK TRADE

(By Mahendran P. Desai)

A reader of the Harijan draws my attention to the articles on pasteurization of milk that have appeared in these columns from time to time and asks me what I have to say on the matter. As a careful reader will have seen from these articles and chiefly from my long footnote to the article by Shri H. C. Ray, and K. K. Aya of the Indian Dairy Research Institute held Bangalore August 21, 1934 — this footnote by me simply shows how I think about this problem.

After this I have by now seen a statement by Shri D. H. Kharede, Milk Commissioner, Bombay, on the subject of compulsory pasteurization. I have also read in papers the views that the Minister-in-Charge of the Army Canteen Scheme has given out on various occasions. I have also read the contents of some literature on the subject from Shri Mehta whose article the reader must have seen in the Harijan of 23-4-33. At a time when the question of compulsory pasteurization is being discussed in the State and a bill to this effect has been introduced for public opinion, I may discuss the question further. The reader will excuse me for quoting an interesting portion from a letter on the subject received from England. It says:

"Pasteurization, according to the statistics of the Ministry of Health (England) means heating milk to a temperature of 160° F. and holding it at that temperature for three minutes. There is one another quality marked in milk."

"It is originally introduced for the purpose of enabling milk to be transported long distances without going sour. As large quantities of fresh, chilled milk are transported and distribution of milk have been built up and pasteurization has become thoroughly more easy owing to the long distances from which milk is obtained, a large vested interest in pasteurization has been created. The makers of pasteurization plant have also a big interest in the question of compulsory pasteurization."

All milk contains a variety of germs which are necessary as they form part of the nourishing value. Some of these keep the pasteurizing germs that may get into milk in check. The fact that milk contains germs has made it an object of investigation by two scientists who are generally given names, believing that germs cause disease and pasteurization to kill the germs in milk are harmful.

"All over the country the milk contains and even at the large dairies where the supply goes to London at the Ministry of Health selected all milk according to the number of bacteria found in sample taken, every local authority that introduced the milk order had to keep a bacteriologist on the staff to count the germs in samples of milk taken. Bacteriologists, there fore, could hardly reasonably if pasteurization were made compulsory."

Pasteurization enables the milk to go out with-

out the being infected without even refuse to speak pasteurized milk.

"The compulsory pasteurization of milk has led to the establishment of large dairies for the production and distribution of milk."

"The objection raised at first and which is persistent on various points brought against milk are that it contains the germs of disease. Many scientists will dispute the theory that disease is caused by germs. Bacteria evidence goes to prove that disease is the product rather than the cause of the disease. They come to purify the body."

"The symptoms of pasteurization indicate that pasteurization affects not only the taste but the quality of the milk, that it reduces the relative content and hence the nutritive of the milk and phosphorus. It destroys the acids and lactic acid and may need to keep in mind other health that might be dangerous to health."

"Every scientist who has investigated the matter admits that pasteurization destroys vitamins (1) and that dairy is likely to result from drinking inside all a lot of pasteurized milk milk."

"As milk is pasteurized by heat always but the milk without seriously changing it, provided it is not kept in boiling point longer than 15 minutes and as pasteurization milk should never be heated, there is no justification of all the compulsory pasteurization."

"Evidence on pasteurization shows pasteurization with regard to cleanliness on farms etc. and leads to the distribution of milk milk."

Clean milk from healthy cows cannot require pasteurization. If milk needs pasteurization it must be clean milk from healthy cows in good sanitary condition."

The reader will excuse me for this long quotation. As he will have noted therefore the question of pasteurization involves two aspects:

- a. Hygiene and disease by method and
- b. Trade and commerce in milk.

It has no direct bearing on the vital problem of increasing the country's milk production. At best it is a device for restricted milk supply in urban areas. It is more a proposition for increasing controlled milk trade.

As usually happens on a matter involving trade and commerce, as for example, Vastiyat, here also outside opinion is unfortunately not unanimous. However, this much is clear that pasteurization is not inevitable from the point of view of health or disease. Rather, there are serious arguments on that score in the hands of medical men.

The protagonists of pasteurization seem to suggest compulsion more as a municipal measure for restricting milk-trade than as a scientific device for producing better milk. It is alleged that it will stop adulteration and ensure quality control of milk. Now a simple device of pasteurization will do this is difficult to understand. If it is thought that this step of compulsory pasteurization removes the producer-retailer who is alleged to be the culprit for adulteration, then admittedly this is not probably a measure for ensuring pure milk supply but it is rather for controlling and restricting milk trade. Is the eliminating the producer-retailer. Can this be done? Should it be done?









## REMARKS ON THE COMBUDY EDUCATION COMMISSION (S. D. Datta)

### Teaching of English

When you say I have arrived so far you must be getting wondering about what I have to say regarding the teaching of English in our high schools. I have not occupied the place of a representative commission of secondary education. I have enjoyed the privilege for years of the use of methods taught of other subjects of the curriculum but also at the cost of the development of a healthy mental faculties. This subject has occupied with an all-pervading hold over our educational system of education that unless it was done in its proper place we may well give up all hope of building up a system of gradually national education for our country. The framers of the Madhav Report have wasted a lot of energy over it and as I have publicly declared before you that I am greatly astonished here, perhaps, for nothing. They have exercised a lot of cleverness and skill to maintain that the teaching of English should continue as now from standard five onwards. One wonders as to their reason. I am sure that they have a whole theory that it would not be good to make. The recommendations of the Commission is greater deserve to be carefully seen because it is an error and especially in the city of Bombay where engaged in conducting national schools and where is understood the position and Government has not been able to prevent, there is no reason or to compel them to do so.

### The Teaching of English Can Begin from Standard Eight

Though the Madhav Report has agreed to having a single and noble stage of instruction to children between the age of six and fourteen it has quietly enough tried to compromise with the present traditioned way by subdividing it into two. It has introduced a lower secondary stage for children between the age of eleven and fourteen and has suggested that the teaching of Hindi and Urdu may be begun in the course of it. But it goes on to say that the teaching of the child's mother tongue in the regional language and the national language must have a place in the curriculum in this stage. Besides, it proposes the principle that the teaching of two new languages should not be begun simultaneously in any one standard. All this wavering leads down simply to the fact that English should not have a place in standard five, six, and seven. But because the framers of the Report lacked the courage to make such a direct recommendation and have squandered the nation's time wasted in needless controversy. This serves as but one instance illustrating what wrong hold the English educational system in the past regime still maintains in our public mind. Perhaps this undesirable hold is also responsible for the Central Government accepting the private logic of Government long ago before and appearing in the first instance a commission to go into the problem of

secondary education. But later a commission to examine the problem of reforms in secondary education, and they are now discussing the appointment of a committee to tackle the question of primary or Basic Education.

But we must realise that we have ultimately to destroy the pernicious effect of the hold English has acquired on our minds. This hold is the result of our having cultivated an extravagant worship and respect for a foreign language. If we gave up this blind worship it would not be long before we free ourselves from the hold of English. The hold the Englishmen had on us has gone, the hold of this language will go with it. But it has to go. The responsibility devolves upon us teachers.

### Teaching of other Languages

While I am saying this please do not run away with the impression that I am advocating to drive over the English language from our educational system. Far from it. Let those who want to study it from standard eight onwards certainly do so. Why I believe that so that they may study it to their fill in the study be continued till the first degree course. It is necessary in the present day state of the world that a third language besides the mother-tongue and the national language be taught to our students and that it should be some modern language either Indian or foreign. Over and above these three a study in some manner of one of the ancient languages may be added as a voluntary subject at a later stage.

### English Cannot Be the Medium

That English was the medium of instruction from the beginning of the high school stage onwards was one of the principal reasons why it could establish a strong pernicious hold. There has been considerable improvement in this position at the secondary stage and the Madhav Report also having recognised it as such the question may now be taken as settled once for all.

We have already put this change in the medium into execution and have also prepared the necessary arrangements for the various subjects and the necessary text books. That I consider a sound achievement in the field of secondary education.

(From the original in Gujarati)  
(To be continued)

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## LONG LIVE JAWAHARLAL

(By Mr. M. P. Doshi)

Some mad young men in Nagpur lost his balance on some road and suddenly attacked Jawaharlal with a knife in hand. The A. D. C. of the V. P. Governor, Shri Pathak who was by his side in the car immediately jumped from his seat in the car and overpowered him with the help of the police. It is God's good mercy that Panditji was saved this way. May he live long.

Jawaharlal just took the incident lightly and went through his whole programme for the day calmly and cheerfully, as if nothing serious had happened. And he told the press to report so to the country and not make any fuss about it. For him to say so is just like him, a splendid show of what men should be in order. But the people should seriously think about such incidents.

What provoked the assailant to act as he did is a matter for inquiry. We hope it was no political or communalistic fanaticism. There is no question of any personal grudge here. Then remained only a case of some unbalanced thoughtlessness on his part. As far as we know from the press (I) saw the young man is alleged to have been provoked by some remark perhaps in his capacity. Even so, how would it avail him to act in this way? However such thoughtlessness is to be seen increasing in our present city life. Unemployment and new urban vices coming to us in the wake of the industrial civilization of the Western pattern seem to change workers' minds, resulting in such incidents. It just comes to my mind what a calamity it would have been if the foolish assailant had been with a pistol! There is a lesson here for us. If along with the ideas of moral self-discipline and national defence, we do not also inculcate in the popular mind the basic virtues of human love and brotherhood, peace, non-violence and tolerance of mind, then it will seem preying on eyes with a bottle of wine in our Indian proverb goes. As thinkers in the West say we will have anarchy without order—a terrible situation marked as it is today. The incident at Nagpur must be a warning to both the servants and teachers of our people. We desire to rebuild our country with non-violence and peace, on wise and democratic

and spiritual basis. We should not allow ourselves to be misled, even by merely economic matters. That is not equally—if not more—important than material and progress, to which the sooner we arrive, the better. We know that Jawaharlal has ordered that this great work of rebuilding the nation, that he have long life and health to complete this noble undertaking.

(25092)

(From the original in Gujarati)

## PEAK AND MODERN LIFE

(By E. F. Pathak)

III

### Some Major Points

This age is riddled with many fears, including the extremely harmful generalized fear called anxiety. But there are three large fears more or less identifiable that have become so serious as to approach the epidemic level. They affect every aspect of modern man's behaviour, and thus are very important to our subject.

1. There is the deep fear of freedom. The evidence seems conclusive that Western man has been extracting from freedom at a steadily accelerated rate for about fifty years. Perhaps he achieved too much freedom too rapidly, became frightened by the responsibilities that accompany freedom, and is fleeing from them.

This fear is the most tragic of all, for freedom is absolutely essential to all growth and adaptive change. Without freedom, thought and action become stereotyped, unrelated to reality, and finally regressive and perversive. Thus, instead of the free mind and kind heart, man develops the fettered mind and the brutal heart. He learns to be suspicious of all that is different from what he knows, and finally is driven to consciousness upon his neighbours and even his brothers.

The noxious plant that grows from this poisonous root—the fear of freedom—eventually shades out all the useful and beautiful plants in the fields of man's life. The science, art, invention, learning, co-operative service, even love itself—all of these aspects of the true dignity of man are dependent for their life and growth upon wide and deep freedom.

In spite of all this evidence, after centuries of painful journey toward the light of freedom,



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man to grasp the inevitable necessity to suppress instead of to annihilate everything of significance in human life, even when a desire to conquer his fear and regain his faith in the meaning and importance of freedom guided by truth and love.

3 The fear of difference — of variety or variation — is a second great fear. Clearly it is closely related to the fear of freedom, for if men are free they will differ in ideas and action.

This fear of the different is perhaps as old as man. Often in the long history of the race that which was different from the usual in thought or action threatened or seemed to threaten the safety of the group. Only very few ideas were helpful and many were dangerous, for mistakes were often fatal. The safest path was to avoid all that was different or new, and to destroy, as enemies of the usual order those who introduced the different.

But there was another need in man, namely, the yearning to fill the gap between that which is and that which ought to be. Under the pressure of this need, chance souls proposed thoughts and actions which were new and different. Most of them suffered martyrdom.

As the modern era developed, it seemed that man might finally understand the beauty and wisdom of variety as contrasted with uniformity. Under the pressure of war and far-flung revolutions man began again to fear variety, and behaving in terms of this fear, through his governments, demands a uniformity that threatens to destroy the process necessary to all progress.

4 The fear of insecurity is so common as to be the characteristic quality of this age. This phobia (for certainly it has developed a pathological aspect) also has a long history in man's experience. For centuries centuries man has been striving to attain a measure of security. There has been legitimate need for a feeling of assurance and safety. To be economically, physically, mentally, spiritually secure — what could be more desired?

In the absence of a reasonable degree of divine basic securities all of man's fine energies are absorbed in a mortal struggle for survival. A student of man who had spent his childhood and youth in dire poverty in an over-populated, poverty stricken country told me that the central thought there was how to obtain the bare necessities of biological survival. Nothing else mattered. Beauty, truth, and goodness did not mean for him.

Thus it is not difficult to understand man's preoccupation with security and the corresponding fear of inequality. He is like a pathologically deprived child long after the deprivation has ceased, the personality traits developed in response to the deprivation remain. Thus property does little or nothing to relieve this fear. A deeper change involving basic attitudes is needed.

Most important is man's reaction to the first. He has concluded that the security which has

become the central goal of his life can be attained through material means, and through conformity in thought and action. Knowing that men must have bread and order he has concluded that man can live by bread and order alone. Few errors could be more gross and more threatening to man's future. There is only one type of meaningful security and that is security based upon character which rests solidly upon ethical principles in a framework of freedom and experimentation. As Aristotle said long ago: "Nothing in this world or the next can harm a good man". The converse is equally true. Nothing can give security to a bad man.

And as we come to our study of love and its effect upon modern life is a fundamental conclusion. A deep respect for and concern about truth is the essence of wisdom. This concern for truth which enables man to distinguish the false from the true, the real from the unreal, should be the chief concern of modern man. The search for truth must be free from fear and fear's distortions. In his writer of poetry I have seen men strive to see the face of falsehood which is the darkest of all dangers for men. Nothing can save a man as a nation that loses the ability to distinguish the true from the false, for behavior in terms of false perceptions is self-destructive.

ORSON SWEN HENSON, BOSTON, 1936

## CASE OF ADVERTISING

(By Aristarchus Power May)

Papers carry advertisements, and we say the public thus get the benefit of cheap newspapers, magazines and the like. No wonder, the advertisement makes any misstatement on space of otherwise reliable journals, no matter how inaccurate and misleading it is often, as to facts. As if nothing is wrong with a publication when it is in the form of an advertisement.

The folly of this is brought home when we stop to think that we actually pay for the advertisement, for the simple reason that selling price of an article advertised includes the advertising expense. And remember that most of the advertised performances are sold at a price many times greater than their cost.

There is much to be said against the advertisements, especially occupying space in the page of the reading matter of a paper. Till not even two decades before advertising pages were scarcely intruded upon those of the reading matter. Now the advertisements unscrupulously allowed to share space in the page of the reading matter definitely mar the usefulness aspect and at the same time lower its value for reading. Such infiltration becomes a distinct nuisance to the reader in case of the periodicals for binding especially as well as additional expense for unnecessary enlargement of the volume. It will not be too much to say that this is chiefly designed to secure attention from the best place of its concentration.

The fact is that such advertisements must distract the reader's attention. That's what it's

there for. Plainly, the attention to the reading matter cannot remain undivided to one's disgust.

Even more pernicious than this sort of advertisements is the influence of the advertisers over the press. They have the power to suppress or withhold what other people have to say and thus deprive the reader of a glimpse of the other side of the picture, concerning the products advertised.

The object of purchasing a paper is primarily for reading matter, not merely for advertisements. It is therefore not right for the press to accept any advertisement irrespective of the reader's benefit. An advertisement is pretty much of an endorsement by a paper in which it is published.

The modern advertisement in touch of our advertising is destroying the value of all advertising. By permitting this sort of filling the advertiser and the advertising agencies are killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. Unless great care is exercised concerning the truth of or falsity of the advertising material, all advertising will eventually be discredited and ignored by an enlightened public as utterly untrustworthy.

The total effects of false advertisements should not be considered trivial either, so they most influence the credulous public's outlook to a considerable extent—sufficient enough for the advertisers who are also shortsighted souls. And due to ignorance or indifference and for the want of solid material we may have to observe often steadily recurring dishonesty in advertising copies.

Unfortunately enough, when it is convenient upon the authorities to stand for certain social values and considerations, they are becoming a paddy to the effect for their own political ends. For example, one of our State Governments is still wasting enormous amount of the public funds for advertising their "accomplishments" to convince (or fool?) people as to how much they are doing for the rehabilitation of the villages, with pretentious illustrations consistent with tall stories in numerous issues. Now, according to their advertisements if we are not still to be convinced, it is our own fault!

There is something each of us can do about the advertisements when they become a nuisance. Remember that when their claims are too lofty, they are never to be taken for reliable buying guides. The best bargain sellers come in extravagant claims. When a particular advertisement injures the page of the reading matter, tell the advertiser that so long as his advertisement appears there, you are to buy a competitive product not advertised in the reading matter page. The customer is always right.

Also write to the papers not to make money the principal object of their production by helping shrewd advertisers to remove money from the pockets of the many foolish and ignorant people and put it into the pockets of the shrewd few. Request the government repeatedly till they take

action against false and immoral advertisements. No use of getting tired in such an uphill story of change, too costly too, if we want them to be remedied.

## A CONDITION FOR PEACE

(By Gopal)

The protests voiced forth in Bombay dated 20-12-304 against military training for youth, have overlooked one fact which is as vital for the establishment of peace as non-violence. Society is a close association of individuals on principles of justice and better improvement in one of them cannot be brought about unless corresponding changes are effected in the rest. The greatness of Gandhi lay in his readiness for the correlative changes. Here is what he said about a government adopting non-violence:

"A non-violent system of government is clearly an impossibility so long as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persists."

Gandhi clearly saw the relationship between the practice of non-violence and the establishment of economic equality. Then, how can we hope for non-violence without working for economic equality?

Gandhi expected that "the contrast between the palaces of New Delhi and the miserable hovels of the poor labouring class nearby cannot last one day in a free India" (44). He promised that after Swamy land would be owned by the State, that the bene of the Government would be in the hands of those who had faith in this idea, that the public opinion had already been educated and that it was almost ready that time (letter dated 20-12-31, page 370—"Steps on Land Distribution"). But where are we today?

Because the Indian Government is moving away from the principle of economic equality that was laid down by Gandhi, it follows naturally that it should move away from the principle of non-violence too. Violence is the grip which keeps up inequalities in social relations, especially the economic inequalities. And violence cannot be removed without readjusting the existing economic order at first.

So the foremost obligation of the votaries of non-violence is to work for economic equality instead of complaining against the increase of violence within social relations. Working for economic equality in India will mean decentralised economy, village republics, and socialisation. Of late the Lok Sabha has expressed itself in favour of socialism. Let the peaceful press upon the Government for the execution of this principle in the country.

4-1-35

The great Congress has decided that we aim to have a "Socialistic Pattern of Society". If anything it does mean, it does equality. The writer is right when he says that

"...THE NEW 'Socialistic Equality' in Constructive Programme by Gandhi: Price Rs. 2 Postage extra Rs. 2."

On the other hand, the capitalist pays work to every one, and the communist pays nothing. But I may add the last sentence, giving our educational system the credit of being the first to give people an educational feast. (11-7-45)

M. P. I.

## HARIJAN

March 15

1945

### "THE ECONOMIC MIA"\*

(By Mopendran P. Desai)

In these days of slogans for economic equality and planning for welfare etc.—all of them almost unthinkingly in terms of materialistic goal of man—it is so well to remember the following from the editorial article of the *Manus* (2-8-4), of 16-5-34 under the heading 'The Economic Mia': It observes:

Concentration on economic and materialistic theory as the pattern for all human life has corrupted the standard of genuine civilization in large areas of the modern world. The concentration has been so much enough done it results from intellectual economy expenditure.

"It was probably inevitable that, in this century 'discovery' of communism should lead to elaborate theories concerning economic problems. The old ethical regulations were more or less hypothetical systems than whereas the economic theories, supported by mathematical theories, were now and accepted by the spirit of science.

But we are not able now to say that we have learned our lesson, in which the economic justice is important, just as all forms of justice are important, and in this making the mistake of assuming that, as it was in the case of a total 'philosophy' of life, it is a most peculiar folly to reduce the Communism to this way."

The last sentence contains a noteworthy observation.

In economic terms the communist argument and dialectic is as one-sided and and deeply appealing to the justice in us that it becomes irresistible to the mass mind.\*

"It must be added here that it easily takes in the 'under-graduate intelligence' in our colleges and among the economically hard pressed, middle class—the middle-class class. As late M. K. M. Desai in his latest book *The Communist Party of India* (p. 127) observes:

"We simply mind and soul poverty as good a broad big ground for communism as an empty stomach. This is particularly true of a country where there is no literacy and no education. Thousands of young men and women in India have acquired the art of reading the cinema to know, they look around the world and try to understand what is happening. They want an answer to the problems—economic, social and political—that India faces. Why then don't they get a job which they think their parents"—and so on. "Who gives them the answer? I believe the only people who think it worth, just a little to provide answers are the communists.

The fact that communist propaganda is finding much more headway among the illiterate and poor than among such as the educated, educated and educated, those among the property and the working class, tends to support the view that it is not poverty or mere ignorance that primarily predisposes men to the attraction of

On the other hand, the capitalist pays to the negative in us, and apparently to the freedom-loving in us as well that it becomes irresistible to the few gifted or powerful ones of society.

Under such circumstances a middle class (or of 'middle class' or 'middle class'), however rich it may appear on economic or pragmatic grounds becomes a comparatively weak argument, as it is neither here nor there.

However, what is noteworthy here is that all of them fall under "a most peculiar folly" that the economic motive is as if the whole or the chief or main one for man in society."

The second economy idea tries to have for itself the good of both the extremes viz. capitalism and communism. From the former it accepts the idea of individual freedom and democracy, from the latter it accepts to employ the very way of the despotic power of the State for planning the life of the community and all that it involves, viz. regulation and control, amounting to almost a regulated and controlled economy. The two ways are poles under Communism where the dialectic at least theoretically, by positing a heaven of its own, viz. the utopia of a classless and Stateless society that will take us to an era of true human freedom and dignity. To reach this state, it demands democracy as a weak and unhelpful creed and applies dictatorship of the proletariat as a threat and measure before reaching the final stage wherein the State will have withered away and we shall have a classless and egalitarian society.

The second economy as it seems by the co-existence of the two classes viz. the capitalist and the labourer, or to use the new phrase the private and the public sector. Thus, in the mind of the common man appears as a class-war situation, intensifying and almost irresistibly preparing him to accept the Marxist formulation of dialectical materialism. It is therefore that communism goes on having its day in the domain of the third economy also. We must therefore have an ideology which cuts at independent line of its own and does not content the "peculiar folly" of a mere economic doctrine but is philosophically and culturally a direct frontal answer to it. This only can meet the ideological challenge contained in the two economic doctrines that are vying for world supremacy at present.

To quote the *Manus* further, the appeal of regulation lies in its "chief virtue as a theory of economic relations that it allows more private freedom than any other theory we know of, for human beings living in an industrial society

communion. While economic factors substantially play a part, the least contribution is psychological and emotional. It is the psychological and emotional void created by the loss of the hold of the traditional religious of India that provides room for what is essentially a new religion of materialism. It is the Hindu civilisation that is affected with this void and expects the economic world that of the rural and urban India.



This does not mean that we have any great admiration for the industrial money of the present, nor for capitalism. We take the view that the acquisitive drive in human beings is what gives capitalism its energy and makes it seem like the "natural order of things". It happens that there are better drives or motives for human enterprise, and when they replace the acquisitive drive capitalism can "way of life" will doubtless be replaced by something better also."

On the other hand, the writer of the *Review* says: "We have no sympathy with the economist's theory of progress" either. "No utter contempt for the individual as such, its assumption that men are wholly creatures of their environment, and the methods of social control which result from these beliefs have the effect of tearing down what little is left of genuine individuality."

"However," the writer admits that the question remains "why intelligent men—for founders of modern communism were intelligent, even brilliant—led their people in this direction."

And he replies, "The philosophy of communism was originally formulated by men alienated from traditional values of Western culture. This alienation was not without cause. There is truth in the Communist Manifesto of 1848—it is not the whole truth but there is truth in it. There is guilt of bloodshed in it also, but the guilt attaches due to those who refused to read it as a warning. It is surely a mistake to believe that the revolution of the communists is the path to a better world, but it is a mistake equally great to suppose that since the communists are wrong, there is no need to consider in what way they may have been right and to work for a better world along other lines."

Which are, what possibly can be the other lines contemplated here is an obvious point for consideration. In a way, this question arises for us in India for the first time in its modern history. A reply given at Agra is tentative to achieve a scientific pattern of society with an aim to secure a Welfare State. This is to be done in a democratic way.

This formula has an immediate and progressive value in our present circumstances. On the political front it is no answer to bodies like the P.S.P. The impact has already had a crippling effect on the latter. On the economic front, the capitalists and the industrialists have a warning that he will not have all as he wished to, but will have to submit to a controlled and regulated private economy. He has begun to protest against this new curb coming on him even though in mild terms. On the social front it should mean equal equality that must mean uncertainty, restraint, communism, provincialism, and a big to repeat, rules and awards etc. which are easy to create available or undesirable social inequalities.

There is all right so far so it goes. But how does it meet the challenge of the communist idea? How does it affect the poor village? A

merely economic answer, which the slogan of a socialist pattern-comm-Welfare State idea conveys, will not be enough. To do this successfully well, it is necessary to have a critique and an ethos which is not only economic, but also is human and spiritual having its basis in the culture of our people. It must provide an alternative to the ruthlessly economic religion of communism."

The Gandhian way seems here, as it gives us a new ethos, a new economy and a new critique of both communism and capitalism or free enterprise, the two Gods of the warring modern Western and the Russian world. Do we plan to take that way?"

9-6-55

## SYNTHESIS OF BHAKTI AND KARMA YOGA NECESSARY

(By Prabhu)

[From a speech delivered at Visnagar, West Bengal, on 19.1.55]

### Man Is Imperfect

The stream of Bhakti that Sri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu set going in this land was as holy as Mother Ganges. But to be the Ganges is one thing and to be the ocean is quite another. The stream of the Ganges cannot claim to be the sea. Whichever idea, therefore, regarding the truth of life manifests itself in the world helps the development of the knowledge of one particular facet of this many-sided thing called life and the task of maturing the knowledge of other facets remains to be done. If it were possible for the idea of life to flower fully in the manifestation of one particular aspect of it and if that were possible in the functioning of one particular sort of religion adopting it, nothing would have remained for men to do, humanity as a whole would have found its salvation long ago; indeed, human society would have ceased to exist as such. We see that even after the preaching of Buddha the world needed Chaitanya Mahaprabhu. It therefore stands to reason that if perfection was manifested in all its fullness and glory in Lord Bhakti there should have been no need for Chaitanya Mahaprabhu. This leads us to the conclusion that the process of development of ideas and ideals constantly goes on in society and it thus endeavours to cultivate perfection in some one or another aspect of life. Even today we have not reached perfection in any one particular ideal."

The attitude of men of science is worth our consideration in this regard. They believe that

"By the way I may, as a footnote, quote the *Review* here: "Communism in the field that all important questions all important issues are essentially political, to be achieved and decided by political means. And since political action is not possible without power—the power to compel the behaviour of men in one or another direction—the morality of communism is defined strictly in political terms. Political 'anti-communism' is not the opposite of communism, but more like its twin since anti-communism very largely accepts the methods, and shares the certain basic assumptions, of communism itself." (March 9-11 1955)

science is infinite and that they have been able to know but a very small fraction of it. Even the best of the scientists of today have but realized only one small aspect of science. This applies to the experience of self-realization also. We dare not run away with the knowledge that man has had perfect realizations of the soul or the spirit in all its aspects or that there is yet no scope for progress or development in the direction of its perfect knowledge. I agree that it is possible for some one person to reach the final limit of perfection by resorting to bhakti or the sentiment of devotion. But that would be like the river emptying in the ocean, becoming one with it, and instead becoming the ocean itself. Even so man can reach perfection by identifying himself with some one aspect of the truth of life. This is why I believe that if someone was to reach full devotion or bhakti in his life we should be able to see in him ideal control of the senses, the yoga, bhakti, true knowledge, and karma-yoga too will be seen manifested in him.

#### God-Infused Man

If therefore someone were to tell me that devotion in the form of saying God's Name was enough I do not hesitate to agree with him. But when it is said that saying God's Name and His praises is adequate it should mean that the man who devotes himself to it cannot have anything else in his life but His Name—that in every act of his even in his lowest activities like eating and drinking, sleep and waking there will be nothing else but His Name. If such a person can be discovered on His Name, if he drinks he will quench his thirst by His Name, and if he goes to sleep it will be on the faith in His Name. Such a person will not have any other kind of aspiration, infatuation or attachment to his life. In whomsoever and whatever he sees he will say God manifested. If he is given some letters to drink he will say I am drinking His Name, and if he has to drink some sweet juice he will then also say I am tasting the juice of His Name. If thanks were showered on such a person he will accept it as cheerfully as if God's grace was showered on him, and if honour and respect were showered on him then also will he take them as but His grace. Such a person is indeed blessed and we cannot have any feelings for him but those of respect, honour and worship.

#### Devotion and Service to Society

When however we are striving for the organization of the whole of society our purpose will not be served by placing before it only one ideal or one virtue. By cultivation and development of only one ideal or virtue society tends to become lopsided. I have said before that only by forgetting oneself in the immersion of the sentiment of devotion and being content only with saying God's Name and His praises does one tend to perfection in life. Such devotion has to manifest itself completely in deeds of service to society and in hard endeavours,

#### Need of Karma Yoga

I have made this statement before now on many occasions. It is not that I am saying this as something new and for the first time. The Upanishads have also said the very thing. The Upanishads say that he who has attained knowledge of Brahman is perfect and the best and highest among men. The Vedantins feel about the devotee of the Lord that he is perfect, even so the Upanishads have said that he who has realized Brahman is perfect. But while expanding their statement further the seers of the Upanishads have said something wonderful which testifies to the subtlety of their intellect and the depth of their understanding of life. They have said that amongst those who have attained the knowledge of Brahman he who is devoted to action is the highest and the best. *Forasmuch as action alone*. This saying, in short, means that even the man of knowledge, the man whose is perfected if his knowledge does not show itself in karma-yoga that is action and if it does not show in his attitude of willingly giving up the fruits of his actions. Mere devotion is prone to be void of all action and if not informed with knowledge is also prone to become lifeless and mechanical. Mere knowledge without bhakti or devotion is very likely to prove dry or harsh and lacking all action.

#### Action Alone is Not Enough

If someone were to ask me, 'when you are glorifying action and activity so much could you also say that if a man were to devote himself to action only he will reach perfection?' I shall at once say, no. If a man of action had not devotion in him, had not also knowledge in him he is likely to develop pride and attachment in himself. His action or activity void of knowledge and the sentiment of devotion will not lead him to perfection, why, even his activity will lack faithfulness, that is remain imperfect.

As an illustration have a look at Europe. Activity and action there have taken hold of men and women. People always feel short of time. Why they have coined a phrase which indicates their attitude. Time is money, they say. They devote every moment available to them to activity or action. The spirit of action among the people of Europe and America has developed to their immense pride because their actions lack humanity which is born of devotion and also lack faith which is born of the realization of the soul. As a consequence people in America have begun to talk of saving the world. Whenever the President of the United States of America opens his lips on the present condition of world affairs he utters the language of their responsibility to protect the countries of Asia against aggression and of safeguarding their liberties as if God did not exist to take care of the creation and the responsibility of ordaining the affairs of the earth has devolved upon Europe and America! As if the people of Asia totally lacked understanding and

intelligence and they were specially allotted only to Rome and America. It is thus plain that mere action or activity does not lead to a proper evolution of life, but to its lopsidedness and perversion. If I had chance to travel over Europe and America and had opportunity to speak to their people, I would certainly tell them of the glory of the Vaishnava's religion of devotion for the Lord as also of the need for man to cultivate faith in his spirit or the soul.

#### Spirituals of Karma and Bhakti

But as I am travelling the land where the stream of devotion has flown in its perfect glory in the past, and where the knowledge of the soul has been cultivated to a certain extent, I find it is my duty to give my own and draw your attention to the value of bhakti. A verse was recited for your hearing. It said that the Lord's name is sung in the age of Kali or the age of degeneration. What does this verse convey to us? We are truly to understand that the age of Kali is the age of human weaknesses. So in the age wherein weakness has spread among men, whereas men have taken a prey to the statement of things worldly, we have to overcome the weakness by singing God's Name and His praises. The work among us has been told, 'Vaishnav, do not worry if you are not able to do anything else, but do sing the Lord's Name and His glory in this age, and everything else will be added unto you.' This, in a way, is an assurance given to us. This should not, however, mean that different virtues are allotted to different ages for cultivation. It only means that the importance of some virtue or the other is emphasized in view of the peculiar conditions of society in a particular age. Cultivation of the spirit is emphasized in an age when men lack spirituality.

#### Special Message of Medieval Saints

For example, during the age in our country when people everywhere had lost themselves to enjoyment of the senses, when the sentiment of eternal love was regarded as the highest sentiment in poetry and when people had as consequence of disipation completely devastated themselves, those who sang of the divine love of Radha and Krishna and thereby raised the sentiment of love to its true exaltedness performed a marvellous duty. Those who have any acquaintance with the literature of India know that during the middle ages such a stream of spirituality was let loose in Sanskrit literature as will not be seen in the literature of any other language of the world. Those who, in the prevailing conditions, transformed the very language of carnal love to the language of devotion, the God saved man from his curious doom. In the age when the feeling of high and low in society was rampant, when the Brahmins was reduced to a superior and the Shudras an inferior being, when caste distinctions had become virulent and when

Islam with its message of One God and the equality of all men was attacking the country, those who stood for and established equality in feeling society in the name of bhakti or devotion to God did indeed put men under deep obligation. The great and difficult task of preparing passages for God in men and women situated in things utterly worldly, and of kindling the ideal of equality of men and women who had fallen prey to the ardent feeling of caste distinction, etc. high and low was performed by Shri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu during the middle ages. He has thereby laid India under deep obligation.

#### The Message for Man in Society

So what we have now to do is to take a firm hold on the virtues he has left to us as his legacy and to devote ourselves to the cultivation of the virtues which yet remain to be cultivated. By our own endeavour on the basis of the heritage left to us by our forebears we have to add to it. I am certain you have heard the sayings of the Gita. Vaishnavas too have faith on that holy book. The Gita says, "समग्रं एव" — that is to say, remember Me and go on fighting. The Gita has thus associated taking of God's Name with fighting, with karma-yoga — duty to act. If someone were to tell me that taking God's Name was enough, and that it contained all virtues, I will be ready to agree with him but only as far as the individual is concerned. But when we have to place an ideal before society as a whole, we have to preach that along with taking the Name of God we must at once embrace the intelligence He has bestowed on us, we must at once devote ourselves to constant action.

#### Need of Action with God's Name

When we think of the life of society as a whole we will have to think in terms of a synthesis of various ideas, ideals and virtues. By cultivating one single virtue is, in fact, an individual may hope to reach perfection, but society as a whole cannot hope to do so. But people begin to wonder, would it not suffice if everyone devoted himself to singing God's Name and His praises? I would like to ask these friends, you are all constant singing the Lord's praises, why then do you eat? Why not be content with it only? Why not abstain on it? And if feeding oneself was essential along with taking the Lord's Name and singing His praises, is it not equally essential that your brother too was fed? Vaishnavas devote themselves to singing the Lord's praises. But I may ask them, why then do you marry? And if marriage is allowed with singing of God's Name, is not control of the senses necessary along with it? Indeed, is devotion possible without such control? I have known singers of God's praises who unlearned themselves with the sentiment of devotion and desire and weep also. I have witnessed three things with my own eyes. But when I ask sharply from those devotees of the Lord, their hearts become so tender that their hands refuse

in part with anything for the use of their brothers. That is not true, not at all, because of the Lord in India is that the same thing can be observed among the sects of devotees all the world over.

#### Action without Desire for Fruit

It is therefore my humble opinion that though the wealth of ideas and ideals that the people of India possess is valuable for their journey through the modern world and though their heritage is rich it needs to be reconsidered. The Gita says "अविद्या ज्ञानात् अविद्या" Knowledge is superior to the practice of dry rules and regulations for control of the senses and the mind and to practices of yoga like control of the breath. By practicing auster and penances men derive the benefit of good physical exercise, and this being a serious sort of exercise it is of course healthy. But this exercise is not good enough for casting away the marks of the intelligence. That is why it has been said that knowledge is superior to all these practices. But when men devote himself only to the pursuit of knowledge he is liable to withdraw from action, to turn merely to the adoration of reason and logic and to become dry. He then tends to become a mere scholar. That is why the devotee or Muktia is held superior to the mere man of knowledge "मोक्षो नानुसंधानं" Contemplation of God is devotional working is superior to mere knowledge. But when man is engrossed in contemplation he is prone to avoid action and when contemplation for contemplation is over he has perforce to fall back upon some activity. Therefore the Gita further adds, "योगो योऽनसं" Willingly giving up fruits of one's actions is superior to contemplation. Therefore, friends, we have to bear in mind that Karma Yoga that is action performed without an eye on the fruit thereof is superior to mere contemplation.

(From the original in Hindi)

#### Value of Films

For sometime past, Film-makers in India, as also abroad are showing a keen interest in showing our minds and spiritual warriors on the screen. That they are not able to correctly depict the battle of life—arms for self-conquest or resolve to negotiate highest spiritual summit—of spiritual giants like Kabir, Chaitanya, Mahatma or Tukaram, is obvious. Neither the Film-makers make any such claim. For their main consideration is only money and popular pleasure. Had they been really anxious to educate the public opinion and lift the country they could easily make it a point to produce those plays by only such songs as are written by those people rather than such, as they now unfortunately do, to cheap, uninteresting music which often wastes the screen.

The latest target is Gauri Bhadra, under the inappropriate title of "Widower". One wonders why our Film-friends so anxious to honour

our saints like about Christ, Muhammad, St. Francis or others in Christian and Islamic world. It is really amazing why they have chosen any Indian whose it is true the Government gave a thought to their problem of the production of the films as our spiritual heroes. What is important is not the outer life or word of man but his inner struggle, grace and charm.

2-3-35

SHYAM RAMANUJAM

#### ELECTRICITY AND EMPLOYMENT

(By Rajendra Prasad)

Electricity is generally considered to be a symbol of the modern industrial age. There is no doubt that the invention of electric energy has given us many amenities and comforts which we value in life. It has also provided man with power to make the best of the natural resources at his disposal with a view to increasing the production of the necessities of daily life and eventually to making life fuller and happier. I am sure the energy which is being released today will also make a valuable contribution in our civilisation and civilisation efforts.

As for the part which electricity plays in the field of industry, I would like to say a few words by way of caution. The energy now made available should be used in a way in harmony with the existing man-power in the area. That is to say, electricity should supplement, rather than replace, the hands at work at present. While employing electric power for increased production and for relieving men of degrading or hazardous undertakings, we have to see that, as far as possible, this does not reduce the present level of employment. Actually, we all hope that new and water sources of employment will be opened for our young men by this project coming into operation. As far as I know this is possible only by giving proper encouragement to cottage and small scale industries, which can also benefit from cheap electric power.

I am confident that this power and light which we are commencing today, will, in the near future, transform these States into regions of material prosperity and human welfare. May this light be symbolic of the new illumined consciousness of our Nation. I feel like praying with our ancient words famous in posterity (मम ज्ञानो योऽनसं) —Lead us from darkness into light.

\*From the speech at Damodar Power Project, reproduced in A. I. C. Economic Review March 1, 1935.

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## Income and Expenditure Account of Non-Profit Trust for the Year Ended 31st December 1934

EXPENDITURE	Rs. 10 p.	INCOME	Rs. 10 p.
To Salaries and Wages (including of Provision Fund distribution and interest)	1,11,993-0-3	By Balance as Opening, Ending	
To Postage, Telegram, Charges, Deposits, Library and Stationery	1,151-1-0	By Paper, & Type Privilege etc.	20,742-0-4
To Telephone and Electric Charges	12,200-0-3	By Stamp as Sale of books	51,888-0-3
To Travelling Expenses, Medical Charges, Auditor's Fees and Miscellaneous Expenses	1,115-12-5	By Stamp as Patent, Standing Translations etc.	14,710-2-0
To Land Revenue	40-5-0	By Stamp as Copyright Fee	1,102-11-3
To Insurance Premium	1,061-11-5	By Rent	1,140-0-1
To Machinery, Spares, Repairs and Repayments etc. expenses	1,160-5-0	By Rent of Buildings	17,114-11-3
To Building Repairs	1,111-00-0	Less Unexpired Tax and	
To Interest	17,781-08-0	Rent paid By Receiver	15,874-4-4
Fixed	89,128-12-0		
Loan Fund	7,652-12-0	By Balance of income in Accounts, (Salaries, of Salaries, Wages Postage, Stationery etc.)	1,107-7-1
To Depreciation	17,441-12-0	By Income of Land, Share and Miscellaneous stocks.	1,11-0-0
On Machinery and Tools	33,889-0-0		
Furniture & Fixtures	1,553-14-0		
To Balance taken in Building Fund as Depreciation	11,468-11-3		
	Rs. 1,11,171-0-0		Rs. 1,11,171-0-0
Board on 2-10-35	MARTIN & CO.	B. S. DASH	JOHNS D. DASH
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## FREEDOM FROM FEAR

(By Arthur Ford)

In Harold Lloyd, Superintendent of the work on "U-232" and a member of the Uranium Commission, wrote an article which was published by the National Commission on Atomic Information in the year 1945, in which he said:

"I write this to frighten you. I am a frightened man myself. All the scientists I know are frightened — frightened for their lives and frightened for your life."

The fright to which he refers is a natural, normal, human reaction. Man has always feared the elements: floods, fire, hurricanes, lightning, earthquakes, and volcanic eruptions. A great deal of this fear is of a protective nature, and is the result of Man's sense of self-preservation — an instinctive sense which he shares with all other organisms. Man's sense of self-preservation has caused him to identify himself with his physical body and to fear its injury or annihilation. And thus a great deal of his fear is the result of his failure to "think things through", and his failure to carefully consider what we may well call Fundamental and Unavoidable Alternatives. What are these alternatives? Here they are — in the simplest and fewest possible words:

Either Love can conquer Hate. Courage can conquer Fear. Truth can replace falsehood. Rightness can dissolve Cynicism. Faith can expel Doubt. and Christianity? and Democracy can convert Materialism and Communism. Or — there

"We may well substitute here the word of this religion or the Religion of Man. — Ed.

is no Intelligent Government and Guiding Power in the Universe. If the latter alternative were true, Creation would be nothing but a Catholic Monstrously, Senseless world by — being full of ignoble Nightmares and Man would be nothing but a hopeless, helpless victim of a godless, senseless, meaningless system. Life would then indeed be "but a walking shadow", a poor player, that struts and frets his hour upon the stage and then is gone no more. \*\*\* a life void of its ideal, full of noise and busy signifying nothing. It would mean that Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Pythagoras were either lunatics or well-to-do fools. It would signify that Emerson, Thoreau and Whitman were literary impostors. It would imply that all Indian saints in nothing but specious fallacious conmen. It would mean that Marx and Lenin were impostors, and that all the great spiritual teachers and prophets were impostors. And why go further?"

In the last analysis it all comes back to Logical Reasoning and True Faith — faith as Life, faith in God, faith in Work and in one's Self, faith that we live in a Universe that is fundamentally benign. Men who have that reason and logic (faith) and who act in accordance with it, are not only blessed themselves, but they bless everyone with whom they come in contact. The others are indeed frightened.

If request the reader to read this in connection of the article "Fear and Violence Like" that appeared in last and third instalment in the previous issue. 144/38

— Ed.





is the manner in which we are leaving our own corner of wisdom in the corner of others?

Jesus called upon us to love our neighbor. But though this has been established as a great virtue for all nations, few have been found prepared to practice to accept it as their immediate obligation. Today science has taken great strides, and man is looking upon nature and instruments of remarkable potency which are promising him the millennium,—or total destruction in the alternative. Human destiny seems to be prostrate at the feet of science trembling at man's discoveries, only because he has failed to take himself to a conscious and willing acceptance of Christ and his message. We talk of love and non-violence and One World, but devote the bulk of our resources to piling up armaments for mutual destruction. We despair of our neighbor. This is a creature Jesus refused to give way to. He bore the Cross—the burden of our sin,—and endured martyrdom.

Lately, this teaching of Jesus is not even so faint. We have been the meeting ground of quadrupeds of race, caste and religion, a land of anarchy and lunacy. Our Gurader Tugors may at this time as a great crowd of heathen and early of tribes and races, out of which was to emerge a model refined and worthy to receive the world's message. There has been in the life of our people an underlying unity which transcends nationalisms and all other hate and barriers between men and man.

I therefore unreservedly declare that Jesus Christ is our own, that to us in this country Jesus and his teachings have never seemed strange or unexpected, that we regard Jesus as one of our family.

Indeed the merciful providence has blessed India throughout her long history with an unending galaxy of saints and holy men who loved their neighbor and stranger and enemy alike and labored for their good, regarding their own self as less than dust. Their number indeed is legion. But for the moment I am reminded of one such—the Tamil saint. Thus he lay, the story goes, in his tiny little cell, chanting the name of Lord Outside, the night is dark and a Saver blizzard is raging. A wayfarer Outside, seeking shelter. "That brother? Come in," says the God's good man, "there is no room here for two so he, but there is enough for two to get. You are welcome." So saying, he gets up and the two sit huddled together. The storm continues. And behold! yet another man, cold and shivering, knocks. "Come in, please!" says the saint, "there isn't the Lord Himself! Sorry there is no room for more than two in all, but surely there is enough for three to stand." And the three good men pass the night, warming and cheering and praying the good God.

And, verily, as much as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me," we read Jesus. He thus is nothing less than our own kith and kin. And I

claim it as fitting that someone in the world accept Jesus for himself, as well as give a reflective light to the darkness of the India under the dark time.

I declare a great plea of our people, even for that of our debt. I am much aware of the failings in our behavior. God knows, being the remorse we feel for our sins. But I wish to reflect that the teachings of Jesus are a ladder lead to every Hindu who returned into early childhood not to kill and to blaspheme. Instead of God's creature as one's self, and someone else accepted Christ long ago.

It is for our Christian friends, possible their tough feelings are that a gentleman in the indigenous background was a feeling even person. And I also suggest that there is a need of wholesome assimilation may. I have given among the followers of Jesus in the Indian religion, that Christians and Muslims of India who have hitherto held fast to their own and their traditions outside India, are no longer alien strangers to the Hindu folk at large and at last associate the Hindu Brothers. We must do it. It would broaden their world of mind, open a wholesome spirit of quest and tolerance in their religion and elsewhere apparently not all have in their culture. Such a narrow vision, I submit, will render them with the use of its words to propagate, as I would make a worthy contribution to the growth of an advanced culture. Let us realize that we have given it up now. We no longer tell us that our faith is, belong to the world of the future.

Even, we wish that a recognition of brotherhood and universal peace, the teaching of Jesus, not the Hindu religion, PLACED. Thus is why the most beautiful thing, which has no power for people and human existence. I believe in a Hindu. He has the land, which has peace and compassion for his own. Yet, whether he ever, not a Hindu, and I should call him and right Hinduism. Hinduism.

Similarly, I am also aware of the two characteristic features of the Indian way of life. Now I do years to live in the Indian world is everywhere. So I am reminded of a the end of their products and their love, and love. And I should like to regard a Hindu and myself, part Christian and Hindu. In the end, it is my good luck to be an Indian, to be worthy of all that this means. Thus I am, I think, without the last harm to me. This is, I rather feel my Hinduism will bloom and live on forth and still to its Hindu and Hindu, and Hindu for my doing so. Thus in Christianity and Islam, revealed in the manner I have explained, will ensure a great opportunity of growing universal love and brotherhood and service of all God's creatures.

Throughout her history of the Hinduized years, India has never attacked another country. Yet violence has been her life and her death-wish. It may be blood and her enemies. Thus

there is nothing novel if we accept Jesus as our own faith and his and refuse to regard him as an outside influence.

I am glad the Christian churches of Malabar have declared Shroton Yajna (The Lord gifts Shroton) as, on the basis of Jesus Christ, and have commended it for all to follow. I submit that Shroton will carry to every home Christ's message of loving one's neighbour, disregarding his denominational label.

With me it is also an article of faith that the modern man has got to gain, sooner rather than later, an ideal vision when he shall feel no aversion of God for food or sport when he will refuse to look upon any living being as his food. This is a special contribution of the Indian Brahmin Yajna to the evolution of human thought and behaviour of which the world may not have taken much notice hitherto but which in good time it shall learn to appreciate better. For, the mankind must reach the conclusion soon enough that vegetarian food is the best food for man as is to outgrow the least in him. I am also aware that though vegetarian food is not available in the world today. Nevertheless I submit that the reform is essential for the evolution and perfection of man and for the unity of religious and spiritual evolution of all mankind.

## ROAD TO SOCIALIST PATTERN OF SOCIETY

(by Pankajeshwar L. Mukherjee)

Despite the attention that the Socialism adopted by the Indian National Congress at the Awaiz session has evoked, it is pertinent to point out that it is not only one political party that plans to establish in India a socialist pattern of society. There is scarcely any responsible group of political thought in India to which this goal does not appeal. To meet H. J. Pannikar as spokesman to the preamble to the Constitution of India. But even before the Constitution was adopted, our national aims were set forth by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru in the Report of the Economic Programme Committee of the A. I. C. C. submitted to the Congress President in January 1946 in terms which even today will command general acceptance.

"Our aim should be to create a political system which will combine efficiency of administration with economic equity and an economic structure which will yield maximum production without the exploitation of private property and the concentration of wealth and which will ensure a proper balance between material and spiritual progress. Such a social structure can provide an alternative to the exploitative tendency of private capitalism and the regression of a totalitarian State."

### The Tests

Writing nearly forty years ago, Mr. Bertrand Russell in his *Principles of Social Reconstruction* asserted that there were four white tests which should be applied to judge the social value of an economic system.

"Whether the system achieves (1) the existence of production or (2) justice in distribution, or (3) a sense

of individual responsibility for all the physical goods produced, that is, common ownership of property."

These tests, white or less coloured with time, that have led the leaders of the nation to think in terms of a new social order. But there is still much difference that, owing to the standards to our sight of unemployment on a colossal scale, the objective of massaging our production has to be made subservient to the objective of eliminating the evil of unemployment.

### I

#### The Predominant Sector

If we interpret socialism to signify democracy in the sphere of economic life, it should be our aim to ensure that all sectors of that life are governed by the spirit of democracy. The predominant sector is the agricultural one, which feignly constitutes nearly half of the national income. The question may be asked whether the socialist form of organisation involves the nationalisation of all land or an immediate resort to collectivisation. Farming is carried on today, in the bulk, by self-employed persons spending usually small fixed costs. If we keep in mind the broad objects as referred to above, the conclusion is inevitable that it will be possible—and it is unnecessary—either to nationalise agricultural lands or to establish collective farms all over the country. Social control can be introduced through other means. The process of abolishing feudal rights on land, characterising individual intermediaries as transferring tenancy rights has now been in operation in almost all States in India and should be expedited.

#### Land Policy

Along with it, there should be ceilings fixed for land holdings in harmony with the general intention to place a limitation on incomes from all sources. At the same time it will be necessary to define the minimum cost of farming below which cultivation becomes unproductive and uneconomic. Out of these uneconomic units and the surplus lands available for redistribution with the suggestion of ceilings, should be constituted consolidated blocks which should be suitable for cultivation by the landless workers on the land and the holders of uneconomic units of cultivators.

Thus the cultivation of these consolidated blocks should be through co-operative farming societies. The formation of co-operative farming societies for this purpose as for the cultivation of reclaimed later desert or forest lands should be encouraged by State Governments in accordance with a planned programme of development. The development programme may also cover tenant farming societies or voluntarily constituted joint-land farming societies or societies accepting joint village management. The aim that Governments intend should be both financial and administrative and that good pro-cess would be their acceptance of social control that is willingness to implement a common policy evolved in the national interest.

### Social Basis of Democracy

It may however, be that a large section of the agricultural community will be outside the scope of this programme. It is unlikely that there will contribute any national elements. In fact, as a rural thinker has asserted, only "a community which is pre-dominantly rural has the social basis of democracy secure." The evils of the community centre mostly in the underprivileged with their meagre under-developed, possessing poor resources and usually subject to gross exploitation.

To meet a similar situation in Ireland at the commencement of this century, when the country was not free, Sir Frederick Sturgeson, George W Russell (A. E.) visualised the creation of "a number of free associations of workers and producers which would produce more beauty, happiness and comfort than", as he pertinently phrased it, "the gigantic mediocrity which is synonymous with State socialism."

These co-operative organisations that we also wish to see developed in India, undertaking activities connected with rural production, marketing, transport and distribution, will, as they grow, make considerable contributions to their aims, make the individuals constituting them more conscious that their interests are identical with those of the community. That is the form which community development should increasingly take when we plan for a wholesome order of society and not merely for the Welfare State.

### Outline of a Programme

For this form of development, there has to be a properly planned programme. What the broad outlines of such a State-sponsored programme should be in the field of credit and marketing—two of the most vital aspects of an agricultural producer's life—has been indicated in the Rural Credit Survey Report of the Reserve Bank of India. But there are aspects of agricultural organisation it leaves untreated, such as soil conservation, irrigation, animal husbandry all of which, as the Economic Programme Committee of the Congress advocated seven years ago, could be suitably handled through the encouragement of co-operative enterprises according to a planned programme. It is only when we have such a programme that we may hope, in the course of the next ten years, to fulfil the recently expressed determination of the Planning Commission that we double the quantum of production and wealth, double the per capita income in the country. Only then can we hope to provide increasing opportunities for employment in the rural setting to those who are under-employed or unemployed on the land. No success in the per capita income can be accomplished without providing aids to agriculture on a basis which stimulates self-help and mutual aid and at the same time reduces, if it does not remove, the scope of exploitation.

### Social Justice

Democracy, as a writer has said, will prosper

only if it means: 1) a democracy devoted to the people to advance the material and spiritual welfare of the masses; 2) a democracy based on the co-operative forms of organisation recommended for adoption, which will be fully realised as part of the process by which the social ideals of democracy are realised. Notwithstanding its criticism of collectivism, under the direction of a centralized machinery, will be plainly in conflict with the basic objectives of our Constitution and will prove inflexible and unworkable in practice. The method that we adopt should not be such as points in the direction of servitude, but must be the way to greater freedom and a better and better life for each individual.

It is not only in the field of agriculture that we should plan to introduce and develop the co-operative form of organisation. The observations of the Planning Commission on the suitability of the co-operative method for various forms of economic activity, are spread over 18 chapters of its Report, chapters of the chapter devoted to the subject of co-operatives by itself. For dairying and husbandry, for fisheries, for the fishing of trout in forests and the collection of forest products, for provision of labour on small and large construction works, for rural and urban housing and, lastly, for the better functioning of village industries, handicrafts and small-scale industries resort to the co-operative form of organisation is favoured by the Planning Commission.

### Indicated Progress

In some reports the Economic Programme Committee of the Congress went further. It took the view that in certain spheres—"the State and should be allowed to establish direct control through its co-operative society. In the opinion of that Committee the promotion of co-operative distribution was necessary to secure a balanced programme economy in which regulated distribution would form an integral part of a comprehensive economic plan for the country. That process, it was recommended should be encouraged and assisted by the State by the grant, where necessary, of special facilities for transport, storage, etc."

Very similar is the attitude taken up elsewhere also by those who plan for a socialistic order. In a *Catalogue of Design* published by the Fabian Society in 1945, the view is expressed that

"the voluntary co-operative system of industry (combined with producers and distributors in various other industries) even when done unorganised industry, the form involving co-operation as a mere step in their working, they should in some fields, at any rate regard their ownership and control as the first step in a more complete co-operative social system."

In a Statement of Policy issued by the British Labour Party in the same year, the aim of the Party is defined as that of securing for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry upon the basis of the "common" ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, thus accepting the position that nationalisation per se is not a pre-requisite of socialisation.



# HARIJAN

HINDI: HAKIRAM P. DESAI  
FOUNDED BY HARSHA DESAI



Vol. XII, No. 5

AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, APRIL 2, 1938

TWO ANNAS

## REFORM OF SECONDARY EDUCATION (By Hakeem P. Desai)

### III

#### Other Necessary and Important Reforms

Further to the welcome refers to the medium of instruction there are other new reforms which have become necessary. As I stated previously, they present themselves before us on the basis of the recommendations of the Muzhar and Rethbherman Reports, as for example:

1. Where will the high school stage begin?
2. Secondly, how far should the high school stage continue?
3. Thirdly, how should the high school stage be related to the primary or the basic stage?
4. And fourthly, what relation will it have with the further stage of higher or university education?

I may not discuss these questions of reform elaborately and merely state my views regarding them without going into argument.

1. Presently the high school should realize that its main function begins with standard eight and that if it has standards five to seven today it is merely expedient on account of our peculiar circumstances.

2. The function of the high school is to carry on the instruction started during the basic stage of the 6-14 age group further in post-basic instruction. I understand that this is at present the main idea being described by the phrase 'multi-purpose high school'. I may here mention that 'instructional course English' was what Canning meant by basic education and that according to him it included what is known as secondary education. Government education departments sub-divided this stage into two merely to put their administrative convenience. They laid down that the years after the primary stage of four years shall be reduced within the secondary stage. However, while making this unnatural sub-division they took care to make primary and secondary standards as one entire whole as standards one to eleven. If it means anything it does this that the department also recognizes the unity of the whole process of

education during the primary and secondary stages as one indivisible whole.

3. The high school should add to its function the instruction given at the university up to the intermediate stage. The recommendation of the Muzhar Commission that such type of high schools called higher secondary schools is worth considering.

#### Programme for the Basic Stage

If these reforms are to be incorporated in the educational set-up of the Basic Stage,

1. The years of primary education which have been reduced from eight to seven should again be restored to eight. Experience of the universities over a sufficiently long period indicates the desirability of the restoration. This can easily be done either by sub-dividing standard one into a junior stage after the age of six for a year and a senior stage for another year or by going back to the old practice of having an infant class for a year before standard one.

2. The high school should add standard twelve after standard eleven and the university should undertake imparting instruction only after what is at present known as the intermediate class in colleges.

3. The first degree course at the university stage should extend up to two years only. In our region the university cannot afford the expenses of a three year degree course. This means that the university must should undertake the work for these two years. One year more may be given for those who desire to take up an honours course.

As the reform suggested in 3 does not concern us directly as secondary teachers I shall not elaborate the point further. We are concerned only with the student class between the age of fourteen and eighteen and we should therefore consider the question of their training in more detail.

#### Importance of the 14-18 Age Group

How important the question of this training is does not require any mention. They are the most valuable years in the life of the student, that is, the future citizen. It is the nation's basic and primary duty to see that they receive during these years of their lives true and comprehensive education. To hope to re-build the nation without the foundation of such education would be vain.

indeed. It would be like hoping to erect a mansion on an unground foundation; for such a mansion it will be useless to expect to have storeroys in superstructure. This is the reason why education up to this age is compulsory in progressive nations and that is also why we seek to do the same thing in our own country. A national scheme of universal compulsory education must embrace the child's age from six to sixteen or eighteen years.

#### The Need of Holistic Labour and Craft-training

And the point of such universal education consists in bringing out the full meaning of the cultural and social value of labour or work and handicrafts. I am not advocating work with the hand and craft-training as mere means of earning; such economic gain will be its inevitable consequence. What I want to emphasise is that these two have been responsible for harnessing in man, the human animal, his peculiarity and his strength distinguishing him from other animals on earth. By the use of his hands and his fingers man has utilised his scientific aptitudes to create and build up his civilisation. When the English system of our education laid post-hoc to these two essentials of civilisation we invited a great evil upon us as a nation. Unless we again place them in their position of pride in our system of education we can hardly hope to progress as a nation. Even as the system of education which is passing away had English as its end, the need for the new plant of education we now want is the one indicated above. As I understand it, this is the essence and meaning of the new idea of education Gandhiji has left to us. It is for us teachers now to begin to embody the idea in a system by our faith, perseverance and industry.

#### Multi-purpose High Schools

A word of caution will not be out of place here. Our colleges have fallen prey to a craze for specialisation in all branches of study. Corresponding technical training is getting the better of cultural education. The evil effects of both these trends have begun to pervade to the high schools also. When multi-purpose high schools begin to function there is a danger of these effects getting stronger. If these evils descended to the high schools it is likely to do grave injury to national education. Secondary teachers have to be vigilant in this direction. We must therefore see to it that this new type of multi-purpose high school is not planned and established as an institution for mere technical education, but it must be an institution for training in culture through labour that is work with the hands and craft-training which are inseparable elements of education for life and culture. Indeed they are the medium of education and they must therefore engage and animate our entire planning for these high schools.

#### Education Should be Independent

Opportunity and freedom to try new experiments in dealing with the child is the life breath

of the work of new education. The one meaning of the saying that the nation must have freedom for its development and progress is that the teacher should have freedom in organising his work of teaching. That national education to be national has to be free of government control is true not only in the case of a foreign government but all governments. The British Government in India started and perfected a method of government control through grants-in-aid to schools and educational institutions. They have left this method to us as a bad legacy. It is my considered opinion that this method should now undergo a drastic reorganisation.

In the same manner if the teacher or the school had no freedom to experiment in matters like test books, exercises of students, time-tables and such others the new method of education we seek to establish will hardly have a chance to take root and flower into its own beauty.

It is true we teachers have to earn this freedom by our own effort and work for the new idea. But it does not mean that we should get that freedom or independence when we prove that we deserve it. No. The case is on the same footing as when we demanded Swaraj from the foreigner. If one wants to learn to swim one has to plunge into water. Capacity to digest freedom and to derive benefit from it develops only under freedom and along with it. It is these two truths incorporated in our system of education if the life of the people of India is to develop in all its strength and grandeur.

The plant of new education will take root in our land and draw sustenance from it only if this sort of freedom is allowed in the field of education. Only then will our gifted young men and women be prepared to take to the professions of teaching in the spirit of dedication and national service. Nations build up the strength of their people through two institutions,—religion and national education. History teaches us that the spirit of true Swaraj and democracy can grow in a people only when they can enjoy freedom in these two fields of their national life.

#### Teachers' Problems

Please do not misunderstand me when I am saying that the teacher should do his work in a spirit of dedication. I certainly do not want to suggest that the teacher should do his job with no remuneration or with whatever he might be allowed. Neither do I in this connection perceive much meaning in placing before teachers the analogy of the sunset guru. Teaching is surely a vocation and there is no harm in accepting it as such. What I only wish to emphasise is that the teacher should never forget the spirit of his vocation that it is a self-imposed duty and a great work of national service. Questions like grades in service, age of retirement, rules for service, the teacher's relation with the management and the government department of education etc. are details of importance because these matters touch

the question of the teacher's self-respect and contentment.

Secondary education has nowhere become a matter of private enterprise. Government have been following a policy of handing over high schools run by them to deserving private bodies. The policy that even private enterprise should not be on the basis of private ownership but trust ownership has been laid down. The aim of all these changes is to drive out the element of business or trade which has unfortunately entered to a large extent in the field of secondary education and to create conditions wherein the work of teaching can be carried on in an atmosphere conducive to real education of the pupil. Now I am sure no one can have any quarrel with this aim. But we must go into the details of the question and consider how this aim can be fulfilled. While considering the aims and means for achieving the aim it should be kept in mind that the achievement would be impossible unless the teacher is allowed to work in freedom, unless he can work with honour and self-respect and unless he is motivated. It may also be remarked that to believe that the trust and not the individual will perform the work better may as well prove misleading. It is an undisputed principle that the quality of the world of man will ultimately depend on the quality of the individual. The royal road to the improvement of the quality of the individual is his freedom to grow to and understand and shoulder responsibility.

The subject of a teacher's charter, i.e., the statement of his rights and duties, has been discussed in teachers' conferences. The idea is worth taking up. But such a charter could be of help in developing the machinery for national education if it was based on the idea that teaching is a social service, is an act of service to the nation. Such a charter would also be helpful in building up certain healthy conventions of honourable conduct in the teacher's profession.

19-2-55

(From the original in Gujarati)

By Mahatma Gandhi

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#### SPEAK TO THE HEART OF THE PEOPLE

By Mahatma P. Das

The Ahris Congress resolutions were available in Hindi also, but it appears they were originally drafted in English and then were translated into Hindi. This is not a matter worthy of consideration.

The official language of the Congress is Hindustani. This must ever be fully observed. They acting, this great organisation can pave the way for the Government of India due to its liberality by 1965.

For instance, what term would have been used for the expression 'Socialistic Pattern of Society' if the resolution had been originally in Hindi? I am not asking this from a narrow spirit of any exclusive love of our language, though love of one's language is nothing wrong. There are serious reasons for my asking it. I may better quote Jawaharlal to describe them.

He was the president of the 1936 Lucknow Congress. His message to the Socialist Party in the Congress which met at that time contained the following:

"As you know I am greatly interested in the Indian approach to an question. It is right that we should understand the policy underlying this approach. This helps to clarify our mind and give purpose to our will. Also, that two aspects of this question are my own mind. One is how to apply this approach in Indian conditions. The other is how to speak of socialism in the language of India."

"I think it is often forgotten that if we are to be understood we must speak the language of the masses. I am not merely referring to the various languages of India. I am referring much more to the language which grows from a complete understanding of past history and culture and present environment. As long as we do not speak in some language which has that Indian quality for background, we have a great handicap in our effectiveness. Many is the word and phrase which may have meaning for us but which are not common and among the masses of India is often misunderstood. It is this position of the approach to socialism that needs to be noted—how to interpret it in terms of India, how to relate the basis of the people with the background and existing concepts. This is a question which I should like to discuss in greater detail."

It is half about twenty years now when we are again being treated to socialist talks. And now it is the Congress itself that invites it. The observations contained above therefore, become very relevant and deserving to be noted.

It was a unique characteristic of the leadership of Gandhi that he continuously observed this law of successful working among the people. It not only helped him to succeed in his work, but also he could thereby win the hearts of our people. This was natural to him for he returned to work for them and to do that he all along talked to our villagers and lived in their midst so that he might not only know the village people well enough to touch their hearts and to insensibly know their minds.

Therefore, as Shri Jawaharlal aptly says, what a Socialist and socialist pattern should

he told them not only in their own language but also in such terms that they may know what it will mean to them in their real life and work. Obviously for that thing, it is necessary to work constructively from below and not from above and speak in their own language.

18-3-35

(From the original in Gujarati)

## HARIJAN

April 2

1935

### REVOLUTION THROUGH VIOLENCE OR NON-VIOLENCE?

(By Moganlal P. Desai)

The Parliament is discussing at present an amendment to Art. 31 of the Constitution pertaining to the citizen's right to property. It is noticed that various objections may be raised against such a fundamental change and that it is even being totally opposed. However, the question is quite simple, though it must be noted that it goes deeper and has more far-reaching consequences than are realised by the opponents of the amendment.

Right to property is a legal right that is, a right set up and recognised by man-made law. It is noticed that man should have and possess things essential to life. But man as he is constituted is prone to steal from the possessions of others or even even to rob them. This is also man's natural tendency or we may say his defect. This defective tendency to man has to be checked and controlled. It is also equally true and important that things essential to life should, as a matter of course, be available to every one. We thus arrive at the conclusion that not only should the tendency of man to steal or rob other people's possessions and property be checked and controlled but also there should be some order or rule regarding man's propensity to collect and possess things as property. As man went on functioning in society by this dual logic he had to set up the institution of the State and its law. Therein lies the reason and the purpose of the institution of State and its law in society and as its sole foundation.

So the State affords legal protection to property honestly acquired by its citizens and enforces that such acquisition is just. No one then can dispossess the citizen of such property not even the State itself. And if the State standardised it necessary to dispossess some citizen of his honestly acquired and justly held property for public good, it is bound to do so legally and to compensate the dispossessed citizen for it. Only such property that is dishonestly acquired or unjustly held can be taken away from its owner without compensation and it may then be transferred to its rightful owner or it may be forfeited to the State.

Thus a well-organised or just political order recognises three fundamental: (1) that right to property honestly acquired and justly held be safeguarded; (2) that if the State for reasons of public good deems it necessary to dispossess a citizen of his property it should do so legally and compensate the owner for it, and (3) that minimum essential property or means of livelihood are made available to everyone of the citizens.

The three statements enumerated above have been recognised as fundamental in the Constitution of our country. No doubt they should not be lightly tampered with or altered. But in the ultimate analysis the Constitution of a country is also a law of the land. And law unfortunately becomes the prey of the lawyer and the courts. The law of the Constitution too is not immune from this tendency.

So the argument that the Constitution can never be amended does not stand valid. Recognising the possibility of change the Constitution itself has laid down a precise procedure for the purpose.

While the nation has been endeavouring to march forward in the direction of progress the need for an amendment has been keenly felt for some time since. The problems facing the nation is this. The grossly cruel economic disparities regarding property and income as they are perceived have to be removed. Means of production available to the nation have to be worked in the interest and service of the nation as a whole. To this end some citizens might have to be dispossessed of their property. If that has to be done, what should be the compensation to be paid to such citizens? How was the compensation to be assessed? What would be just compensation?

Courts and lawyers commonly tend to follow and uphold traditional values prevailing in society. Thus they would hold that the current market rate of property should be the measure of compensation. Could such measure be considered right in view of the inequalities, poverty and unemployment? Could it be deemed really just?

When such a basic problem faced some peoples of the world in their history they had to wade through bloody revolutions for its solution. When the Constitutions of a country or its courts fail to show an effective way for a peaceful solution of such a problem like the one we as a nation are facing today peoples and nations have been known to have continued their march in the direction of progress by violence. Those who are today heading their state in the spirit of the sanctity of the Constitution have not ignored this point involved in the present controversy. It is more likely than not that people of this generation are consciously or unconsciously being misled by unexpressed notions of faith in a statistal order of society which ignores and safeguards the interest of the have at the cost of the rest of the nation.



The problem that faces us today thus boils down to this simple and forthright proposition: We have secured our political freedom by the method of peaceful revolution. Do we want to achieve our economic and social freedom by the same peaceful process of revolution or do we want to drive our common people, even if unknowingly, to take the way of a sanguinary revolution? We have been successfully solving our land problem through the Bhoomi movement and by abolishing the Zamindari system of holding land and by amending our tenancy laws. What then do we propose to do to solve the problem regarding other priorities in industry or ?

In this regard Gandhiji has prescribed to us the doctrine of trusteeship. Legislation too should follow that principle. I may rather say that in Bengal the doctrine will generally work through methods here enacted in a democratic manner. If we prove incapable of doing so we had better realize, sooner rather than later, that the people would inevitably be landed into the situation of a violent and bloody revolt.

The Parliament is earnestly trying to find a peaceful way out of this dilemma by amending Section 30 of the Constitution. The amendment proposed suggests that in certain matters pertaining to the field of our national life which is pregnant with revolutionary possibilities courts are incapable of determining compensation for properties to be taken over by the nation. If they were allowed to do it they are likely to adopt traditional standards of justice, and such justice could never be true social justice. It is the function of the Parliament who as the authoritative representative of public opinion to establish such justice and courts, with their traditional or customary standards, cannot be allowed to interfere with it. We should show the capacity to take such a step in a democratic manner if we wish to achieve revolution by peaceful means. Otherwise notions of unconstitutional and unconstitutional ways for social change are sure to prevail over the minds of the people, which as we know, are acceptable in the communist way. The vital difference between the communist and the democratically socialist way is to be found here. It is quite plain that the Indian people who have chosen to follow the Gandhian way and its doctrine of trusteeship cannot but adopt the democratic and non-violent way of revolution.

25-3-65

(From the original in Gujarati)

By Pankaj Ghose

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## PERMANENT LITERATURE IS ABOVE SECTS\*

(By Vinod)

It is a matter of great pleasure that I have an opportunity to meet you all. I have already travelled on my mission to three of our great problems. Chhatra Padatik, Bharat and Bhagat and to all the States of them I have received the attention of the men of letters. I have noted their sympathy. They have willingly given sustained cooperation in the work of Bhoomi as also in the study of Gandhian.

You must have heard of Shri Mahatma Gopal and Shri Bhaskar Gopal who are both great poets of Chhatra Padatik. In fact, as our mission is a full campaign of their residence. At Chhatra, in the State of Bihar, nearly all the Shikhs were of letters had come together. They all listened to and our work.

There is in Bihar the men of letters give us their cooperation in plenty. The names of Gandhian and Bhaskar are known throughout the province. Both of them work on the mission and expressed their sympathy to Gandhian.

In Bengal our mission was beyond expectation. Men of letters who have already established their reputation in the field of literature were kind enough to come and meet me. Their heartiness I had to say with deep sympathy. Later on, Shri Tarun Kumar Ghoshal wrote an article on the topic in the *South Indian Patria*. Thereby he let us know that his heart was in the movement right from the beginning.

After my travels in these three regions I have now entered your province.

Men of Letters are above sects and class.

Men and women who have given themselves to the pursuit of literature are never sectarian. They do not belong to any one religion or sect. When the very hands make characteristics of men of letters is that they are above narrow sects and sectarian loyalties. Those who are bound to sectarian loyalties can never hope to create permanent literature. They can not give literature which merely serves the work of the moment. They will remain who have looked down themselves of permanent value are those who have feelings of unity and religion. Indeed, they are above them. They are by their very nature attracted to any event which touches life to the future. Men of letters are bound to revolution. To begin with, men of letters are looking to some religion or sect, but if it comes to the point of the fundamental of it to the last man of letters is sure to be drawn to it. This has been my own experience. While in our I did not make any special attempt to draw the attention of our men of literature to this cause. Their attention was naturally attracted to it, and they began to look to it with increasing hope and faith. The unified parties followed suit. Men in the Congress in the 1930s, the United Party and others came to realize that our mission had to it such demands as could not but influence politics. They may too begin to give their attention to it.

Men of literature is to serve the Gandhian mission.

The poet and the faculty of our land had of course been attracted to the cause from the very beginning. They had then been one week in the name of the Gandhian mission. They had expected that after the advent of Bhagat's movement, when who also was to serve them would begin. But we saw that after Bhagat's was established nothing of the sort came to pass. Those who wanted the leaders of Government had their own political difficulties. So, what the poet expected did not come about. But they, the poet of the land were eagerly waiting to see as Bhagat had come. What was proposed to be done for them in the improving their condition. For these people the Bhoomi movement has proved to be something which gave new

\*From the speech delivered before men of letters at Bhubaneswar (Orissa) on 4-1-65.



## ROAD TO SOCIALISTIC PATTERN OF SOCIETY

(By Pankajlala L. Mishra)

### II

#### Self-Employment

Even more important is another sector of our economy, that of self-employed persons engaged in activities other than agriculture who, in the aggregate, contribute more to the national income than factory enterprises and who number many times those engaged on a wage basis, in the factories. Unfortunately, among producers of wealth their per capita income is the smallest. This is due to the fact that, like their comrades in the field of agriculture, these self-employed persons have poor resources, are subject to exploitation, are unable, under the stress of competition, to find enough work throughout the year and have above all neither the knowledge nor the wherewithal to achieve technical improvement.

In the Directives of Social Policy embodied in the Constitution, there is a reference to the promotion of cottage industries on a co-operative basis in rural areas, a hint which found acceptance with the Economic Programme Committee in 1947 by its helpful in keeping out the element of exploitation and ensuring orderly growth, both technical and organisational. It is through these industrial co-operatives or rural multi-purpose co-operative societies that we have to plan for the redress of the grievous imbalance in our economy between agriculture and industry.

#### Unemployment

That takes us to a consideration of the spectre of unemployment which cuts into the whole of our national life. Without making any direct reference to this problem, the Economic Programme Committee came to the conclusion that "the aim of economic planning (in this context) should be to provide for the full employment of human, animal and natural resources with maximum productive efficiency in order to reach the national minimum standard of living which should ensure a balanced diet, sufficient clothing and living accommodation to every family." Equally clear was the Committee in its view that industries producing articles of food and clothing and other consumer goods should constitute the decentralised sector of Indian economy, developed on a cottage or multi-scale basis and run, preferably, on co-operative lines.

The location of these industries providing full and varied employment of man-power and raw materials should be so planned, it was recommended, as to make distress of average size in nearly self-sufficient as possible in respect of consumers' goods, particularly food and cloth, which supply the needs of the people. In order to secure this development, the Committee urged that "the respective spheres of large-scale, multi-scale and cottage industries should be demarcated as clearly as possible to avoid economic insecurity and destructive competition." That the State Policy should be directed towards this end is also

the view of the Planning Commission which it suggests the formulation of common production programmes for the related large-scale, small-scale and cottage industries.

#### State Policy

The clear statement of State Policy in the sphere of industries producing consumers' goods, because a matter of urgency not merely in the light of those definitive recommendations, but also because of the demands and expectations arising out of the decision to plan for a socialist order of society. From the sociological point of view, to quote from a recent publication of Mr. Bernard Russell's, the "lack of opportunity for personal initiative is one of the great dangers of the modern world." In India, we still have the opportunity open to us to plan for an order of society in which, in the extent that is feasible and that is compatible with our objectives, we can provide for the exercise of those qualities which enrich human endeavour and increase the scope for the exercise of powers of control and authority over the lives of the industrial producers.

#### Policy Decisions

Most kinds of manifestations of consumerism goads, Mr. G. D. D. Cole remarks in 'The Fourth Co-operative Movement in a Socialist Society', "are better suited to co-operative organisation than to centralisation" and presumably even more so than industrialisation of the capitalist variety. The "road to a better society", as Mr. Albert Sharkey summed up in his *Food and Money*, "is the road of decentralisation and representative self-government." "Organism", says elsewhere, "tends to produce a multiplicity of petty decisions each in command of his own little business kingdom. State machines tend to produce a single, centralized totalitarian dictatorship with one absolute authority over all its subjects through a hierarchy of bureaucratic agents." To increase the number of co-operatives and to extend their scope may not be too revolutionary, but it would certainly result in a radical modification in the existing system in the direction of constant widening and distribution of justice.

However, it is neither the psychological nor the sociological consideration that should impel us to plan for the vigorous development of decentralised consumers' industries on co-operative lines as an integral part of our socialist pattern of society with the shelter afforded or protection of the type contemplated by the Economic Programme Committee of the Congress and by the Planning Commission. It is obviously doubtful if the spectre of unemployment can be held at bay unless we provide an an organised, systematic basis and on a nation-wide scale employed in rural areas, partly in part-time occupations, partly in full-time industries.

There is, indeed, scope for additional employment on roads, canals, field embankments through the extension of agriculture to reclaimed

lands or otherwise the financial unsustainability of migration for the small. But will absorb some of the population surplus to the land, but large numbers will still remain who are in the category of earners or non-earning dependents, both agricultural and non-agricultural.

### First Essentials

Besides, while planning for intensified industrialisation, account is necessarily taken of the available capacity, no such consideration is given to the handloom, the plough and the other appliances of native workers which rarely work to capacity for lack of resources or of markets. It is this available capacity the full use of which must be the nation's first concern, so that the objective of economic planning, as set forth by the Economic Programme Committee, can be brought within reach of attainment by the immediate increase of the means for fuller employment. The numbers who can ply and should be enabled to ply at the traditional occupations industries and crafts is already large and gets swollen as time passes because agriculture ceases find substitutes for increasing numbers. It is these persons willing to do a good day's work for a bare living that throw towns and cities, adding to the complexities of the social problems of unregulated urbanisation. The extension of large-scale industries, whether producing capital goods or consumer goods, as past experience shows, can provide employment only for a fraction of these large numbers of the unemployed and practically none for the under-employed.

### Positive Step

Moreover, the growth of industries producing consumer goods inevitably spells the displacement from their traditional crafts of huge numbers and should, therefore, in a socially controlled economy, be disallowed. The positive step which follows as a corollary, is the intensification of production by organised effort in the corresponding cottage industry. Such a process is essential to check the growth of unemployment, to increase employment opportunities, to enable production to expand in pace with demand and, above all, to permit of our planned economic effort resulting in more equitable distribution of wealth and income. One of the makers of modern India, Mr. Ben Chandra, has said that "the evil of the world stems from our attempts to live off the labour of others." The policy of our nation gives us the sure message, namely that democracy should induce productive activity and that we should our strive to achieve economic self-sufficiency. In planning for a new social order, let us not ignore this teaching, for, otherwise, we shall fail to eradicate unemployment from our midst and to progress towards an equilibrium order of society.

### HEALTH & CHEMICALS

"There is a principle which is a bar against all argument, which is proof against all argument, and which cannot fail to keep us in ever-lasting ignorance"—this principle is contempt given to ignorance." —Paley

Recently there has been much concern expressed about the indiscriminate use of chemicals in the processing of food. This contention arises in due part to the reports following the Committee stage discussion of the Food and Drugs Amendment Bill in the House of Commons, when it was stated that there are 100 chemicals used as foods for purposes of colouring, preserving and sweetening, and 275 of these chemicals have not been cleared as safe. They might be injurious to health. Harmful insecticides and sprays were also mentioned.

The member for Bournemouth W said, a great amount of worry is being expressed whether some of these drugs are actually harmful and might be partly responsible for the increase in certain diseases such as goitre and cancer.

In an earlier issue of *The Spectator* we suggested goitre might be a dietary disease.

Such suggestions are ignored or crum down. Nevertheless, our hearts and minds remain unchanged, and from the wilderness we continue to pour our voices in the endeavour to add a halt to the almost total disregard of Nature and Nature's laws.

Again we suggest Britain ought to aim at a more balanced economy, and seek to increase the fertility of her soil by procuring the same valuable technique by which Nature manages her operations. A healthy soil means healthy crops, healthy animals and healthy human beings.

It is increasingly agreed that disease-resistant health depends upon good nutrition. We believe that the greater use of chemicals in the soil in our food and drinking water, the spraying of crops with chemical insecticides, and the removal of important foods such as the germ and bran from wheat, will cause a decrease in resistance to disease. If we feed upon artificial and "dead" foods we can expect to be a degenerate people.

There is no wonder a crutch has to be supplied to support the wattle. The M.H.S. with its bank spectacles, wigs, toques and draps is nothing to be proud of. Certainly nothing for Health to boast about. If we were a healthy people we should not need this expensive national crutch. The sooner we are able to discard with it the bandages, bandages, and wigs that country will be Good Health is real wealth.

(From *The Spectator*, Autumn Winter 1934)

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1. **Introduction**

stated that while she acted herself as her  
 herself in her own way of her own.  
 And that she had been clearly to understand  
 that she has given no children since of  
 nature the responsibility to her own  
 on her own therefore she cannot be  
 taking care of it and she is standing before  
 her. The highest way of doing is to  
 carry her own self forward. This she  
 of the world, the domain of the world  
 of herself to her own and her own. This  
 of the world is the manifestation of God's  
 of the world should always have to be  
 of the world who live in the world. This is  
 of the world and that is to her own. This  
 of the world on the world to the world  
 of the world.

because, again, you think if you wipe out a hundred  
thousand of all around him, also begins to feel  
nothing concerning his remaining particularly  
and so begins to maintain people write to  
a newspaper in his father's name that someone, then  
service of his father's name, will be taken  
on. Therefore constantly beyond his father  
now he returned himself to new father like  
one of his who will temporarily other himself  
of those around him will be known as the  
first. Both divisions and complete members  
that will lead to more workers here in this  
in the other end. The problem facing us is  
trying together and therefore is one division  
aparture in all the men and women who, like  
because if it comes to those who would  
will take losses. It is believed that men go  
down to the big cities they know this world  
more experience know or had been with  
world's light.

lives around us. Our eyes and hearts would also dwell on reaching good people. Perhaps it is hard and another in our village. We are ready to die in the center of each other. The life of our village will be meaningful with it and we would sacrifice. It is true, we are not...

Prisoners do not feel concerned about the future of their country. They feel content to have a particular corner of their universe. Moments occurred out of which Lord Giliy sometimes and seldom are collected by Collins. What he has collected all this information. Lord Giliy, a man of 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 26

If you asking for help from those who possess it for distributing it among those who do not have it, then it is something that is not yours to give. It is the duty of the Lord. It would be a ridiculous matter of someone to claim that, have been a different matter if we supported the service of the Lord by those who distributed it. It is where that where we have given the gift to the poor with the help and God's blessing. It is the duty of the Lord to be a blessing to the poor and the Lord to be a blessing to the poor and the Lord to be a blessing to the poor.

Wherever there is love and freedom you have the essence of religion. And also in the way, of course! Let us realize that this is the demand of the age. And what the age demands of us as a duty towards the good of the age. The completion of the good of the age is no stating that we are not allowed to discuss it.

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The level of India stands in her great villages. Most of the population that India stands in is in some in them. The people living in our villages have great villages but their villages are being nationalized countries in India.

The biggest thing that these people in our villages want is to have their own money. They have to go to the bank to get money. They have to go to the bank to get money. They have to go to the bank to get money.

God has allowed other women, least with you, the signs of us who gather together in the often hardly less rich effort. They go to these places and try to, they look for the purpose of saving water. Men and women look



know how to make good ones — better and more productive soils than all but three or four types of soil created by nature herself. The only limiting factor is the cost.

Much of our land has been farmed only eight or nine inches deep for a hundred years or more. In many cases this eight-to-nine-inch layer has been eroded away. In other cases it has been completely depleted through leaching and failure to replenish its fertility, either by commercial fertilizer or through the natural natural fertility which lies deeper down in the subsoils.

Here the deep-rooted grasses and legumes are of enormous importance. They tap that deep natural fertility and bring it to the surface in the form of roots, stems and leaves. A single clump of brume grass or orchard grass will root down as deeply as three or four feet and develop a root system containing as much as 300 miles of fine hairlike roots. Annual sweet clover (alfalfa) will penetrate to a depth of four to five feet in wet seasons and sweet clover (Midrich) will penetrate as much as 10 to 12 feet in two seasons in soils where the water table is not too high. Alfalfa roots have been traced to a depth of 45 feet, and a depth of 15 to 20 feet is common.

These deep-rooted legumes and grasses are the cheapest form of fertilizer, cheaper even than harrowed manure, because the labour costs involved are lower. Not only do they bring the subsoil's natural mineral fertility to the surface together with leached down commercial fertilizers, they also create great quantities of organic material in the form of roots and if ploughed up stems and leaves. The legumes too can create out of the air as much as 400 pounds of nitrogen to the acre. And they tend to create better drainage and to check erosion. In most cases these grasses and legumes can be grown on worn-out land by the expenditure of reasonable man or lime and commercial fertilizer as a "starter."

I have heard a good farmer say that a blind man can tell good soil merely by walking over it. He insists that you can recognize good productive soil by the feel. It does not feel like cement. It does not feel like sand. It does not feel like mud. It feels like what it is — well drained and that is full of organic material taking its part in the vital cycle of birth, growth, death, decay and rebirth. In such soil there is a whole universe of life at work — of molds, fungi, worms, bacteria and mite working to convert the inert, unorganic minerals into forms in which they are available to plant life.

At one time it was thought by some that commercial fertilizer was all that was necessary in order to farm profitably and to get big yields. Today not even the commercial fertilizer manufacturers would support such a belief. We have had to learn the hard way that a commercial fertilizer, used exclusively, will not in the long run

produce profits and fertility. Worse it can actually destroy the fertility of the land and create various problems of erosion.

When the farmer ignores the element of organic material, all the processes by which natural fertility becomes available are disrupted, and soil acquires a "sterile" quality, refusing to draw up the food and to absorb moisture on resting land. As the organic content declines, so do the living elements of fungi, molds, earthworms and bacteria. Land has reached a point at which too dollars spent on commercial fertilizer will not produce one dollar's worth of effect, because without moisture and the natural processes of living and the fertilizer is simply not available to crops. Commercial fertilizer is at the greatest benefit as providing highly available mineral fertility, in replacing the minerals carried off in the form of grain, meat, milk and bone, and in restoring the natural processes of fertility. But it is of maximum value only when used in conjunction with abundant organic material, moisture, good drainage and those processes which take place in a truly living soil.

In the treatment of soil, modern agricultural machinery has played a great role. Today in the Great Plains wheat countries, the mold-board or turning plough has virtually disappeared in favour of disc or field-cultivator ploughs.

Rough ploughing and trash-mulching have in some areas replaced the old conventional disc-ploughing harrowing operation. The new way checks erosion, improves drainage, conserves all rainfall in arid regions and actually builds better soil. The chisel or subsoiler and other new implements break up hardpan and permit the deeper penetration of roots.

These new methods have added hundreds of thousands of dollars to farm income. Most significantly, they have brought to our pioneer homesteaders the land, an increasing and permanent fertility.

(From the Reader's Digest, March 1949)

It is in India who are being encouraged to use commercial fertilizers must be recovered from the store coming as it does from the land of the farmer. The secret and the broad line of work is not the United States way, but the use of using all organic waste plant leaves etc. for growing crops manure. It is the most valuable thing to do and is permanent source provided by Nature.

3-2-50

M. P. 2

By Mahatma Gandhi

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# HARIJAN

April 2

1933

## BASIC TASK FOR NATION-BUILDING

(By Mogenesh P. Desai)

In order to mark the inauguration of its successful programme of Prohibition the Harijan State, from the sixth to the thirteenth of this month, celebrated its Fifth Prohibition Week. That the Planning Commission has currently taken up the question and a committee on its behalf is considering ways and means of implementing the programme all over the country is a distinct advance in the direction of the success of the cause. It would be in the domain of things to go over the entire question on this occasion.

1. It does not yet seem to be fully realised that Prohibition is an all-India measure touching the welfare of the people. The Constitution has given a directive regarding it to all the Governments of the country and they cannot ignore or disregard it as a mere fine looking high sounding platitude put on paper. In fact it has immediate significance here and now.

2. Because Prohibition is a means for the welfare of society as a whole the social leaders of religion and culture in India have accepted its teachings since those manifested through popular education that the use of intoxicating drinks and drugs is sinful. As a consequence the evil habit has been regarded as worst of culture as good upbringing amongst over ninety per cent of our people and thus uprooted. Even if it has persisted in the rest of the ten per cent, it has not been considered a reputable or decent habit, indeed it has been regarded even by them as a shameful weakness.

3. During the British regime this ancient cultural tradition of ours was as it shown to be something wrong. The British are a drink-loving people. They do not regard the habit of drinking as a sin as we do. They are a nation who organise meetings of entertainment and dinners in which drinking is the central item. They were then naturally tempted to make drinking a source of major revenue and wines and drinks were given a place of honour in the system of taxation in their country. And as the character of the nation determines the quality of the life of the ruled the evil of drink entered into the life of various classes of our people and it became one of the bases of the income of the State. This was how drinking found a reputable place in the administration of India.

4. This was a machinery of perverse trend which was robbing the cultural and social life of India. By associating the task of mastering the trend with the struggle for the nation's free-

dom Gandhi supplied a corrective to a serious cultural setback that had set in.

5. If temperance or drinking in moderation has any meaning or reform value in a society where the majority or almost everyone drinks it is for the leaders of such a society to say. That in a society where an independent number of people drinks and at the same time rejects it, a vote is has absolutely no-much meaning. In the latter total Prohibition is the only true way to reform. Nations who placed their faith on temperance or moderate drinking as a corrective for the evil, after long experience, are coming to learn that total Prohibition is the only true and effective principle of reform. Their experience is worth our attention.

6. Where Government undertakes to supply intoxicating drinks to the people drinking gets local custom. Such a state of affairs denies that existence of the law to reformers which they have a right to. In fact the reverse happens! This defect can be remedied only by Government enacting a Prohibition Law. This clearly means that expecting people to give up drinking on their own and Government running shops for vending intoxicating drinks under law, both cannot go together. Government has here its duty to perform which it must do it should not run shops or booths for vending liquor. On this basis only could the efforts of the people to reform be aimed and hope to succeed. This line of argument leads us to the conclusion that enacting a Prohibition Law becomes the natural and inevitable duty of Governments who seek to establish a Western State.

7. This is why revenue from drink proves itself of no value. More by deriving revenue from the people in this manner we positively harm them. What shall we say about hard earned incomes of the people being turned to their own tragic ruin—economic, domestic and moral too? Even according to the science of taxation this method of deriving revenue from the people is degrading and should be given up. If for no other reason only as this accident this way to revenue should be closed.\*

\*Deriving revenue by making the people to consume alcohol. But a more serious reason for condemning this source is because drinking particularly is our country. The revenue comes from only ten per cent of our population. That too get lost happens to be the greatest, that is, such as cannot afford to pay taxes and attend themselves, in all respects, and be taxed for revenue. Besides the revenue collected from drink is used for the service and needs of the whole people. During the British regime this particular revenue was utilized for education! Now under the new regime it is being devoted for the purpose of development! This fact clearly indicates that for this purpose revenue should be collected from the rich. If we derive income for the State from drink, one does not happen. Such a state of affairs continues to the advantage of rich classes. Simply at the advantage they enjoy. Their classes are the benefited in enjoying prohibition in the name of total prohibition of liquor. This fact also denies our contention. For an illustration we have a year or two back the legislation of the sales tax by the Bombay



4. That the Taxation Enquiry Commission did not express a definite opinion on this aspect of the question is thus tantamount to their having shirked their responsibility. Taxes should not and cannot be imposed without a social purpose in view. Taxes can and should be imposed only for the welfare of and in the interest of the people as a whole. Following this logic the Commission was expected to condemn the revenue derived from liquor and to recommend that it be given up. It is good, however, that while considering the problem set for their enquiry, from what I have seen of the substance of their discussions in the study papers, their approach is not opposed to Prohibition. The Commission deserves congratulations for it.

5. The excise revenue from drinks and drugs goes to the States. It is estimated to be about fortyfour crores of rupees. It can be roughly stated that about four times that amount is being spent by the people after intoxicating drinks. This makes about 1,600,000,000 or 2,000,000,000 rupees in all. For one thing as a result of Prohibition this huge annual wealth remains in the pockets of the people as an extra purchasing power. And for another Government directly distributes rupees fortyfour crores mainly among the poor classes and thus secures their welfare. So the amount run on no account be called a deficit in the budget revenue, the States should in fact view and realize that this money is spent towards health and welfare of the people.

10. If the purchasing power of the people were to increase to the total amount of rupees calculated above Governments can easily make up the welcome deficit resulting from giving up the excise revenue through other measures of taxation. I would have remind our State Governments of the famous saying of the British statesman, Mr. W. R. Gladstone:

'We can spend to the limit revenue from taxing drink. Give me a people who do not squander their substance on strong drink and I will find an easy way to raise the necessary revenue to carry on the Government.'  
"The savings of drink are greater than those of war pensions and business confidence."

11. All State Governments should wind up the excise department and open a Prohibition department instead, and they should put it in charge of a minister who has faith in the cause.

12. By what it has achieved during the past five years the Bombay State provides a fine illustration of the fact that loss of excise revenue is not a disadvantage but on the contrary a positive advantage. By measures of taxation such as the property tax, the sales tax and estate duties, the

State has not only managed to make good the deficit on account of withdrawal of the excise revenue and to balance its liabilities for the last five years but has also been able to provide for an amount of about rupees hundred and fifty crores for development works according to the Five Year Plan. It should also be noted here that the amount is the largest provided for the purpose by any State. After this clear demonstration no one in India has a right to argue against Prohibition in the name of loss of revenue and to set up two distinctly demonstrated facts for the sake of misdirected propaganda.

13. A question is being asked: Would it not be better to transfer the subject of Prohibition which according to the Constitution is at present in the list of subjects allotted to the States to the list of subjects allotted to the Centre? The idea behind this suggestion arises from a psychology of shirking responsibility and therefore deserves to be condemned. It is also absurd in another manner. Such a transfer would result in slowing down the reform and also in giving a pretext to the States who are taking up the reform one after another to come to do so altogether. The logic of the psychology behind the suggestion ultimately leads to the idea of abolishing the States and of having only one Central Indian Government which will administer the provinces. Viewing the history of the course of progress from the inside till now in politics and administration the idea proves not only improper but reactionary.

14. It has become a fashion to raise the bogey of illicit distillation of liquor as an argument against Prohibition. Those who lead in the parade of this bogeyman consistently forget that illicit liquor was in vogue even when the law was enacted at the bars and bottles. Besides, American experience teaches us that illicit distillation of liquor is on the increase in the United States of America though the law of Prohibition has been repeated.

15. Figures showing the extent of the evil are in the nature of things unavailable. One could merely have a guess or rather speculate regarding them. Such guesses yield highly exaggerated figures. Truly speaking they serve only to alarm the people and to create a psychology against Prohibition. The wild guesses also serve as a pretext to a State to shirk its duty to enforce Prohibition.

16. The law of Prohibition should be given effect to in the strictest manner in other laws. It does not do credit to the machinery of law to hint at a sense of duty and sense of responsibility by shouting at the people that they do not offer their co-operation.

17. The common complaint heard in the States where the law of Prohibition is in operation is that the class of the officers of the Government which is expected to do the work does not do it.

State was in the hands operated by the vice industrial and trading classes. This opposition clearly demonstrated to the end that it was directed against the law but that the sales tax was filling up the breach in revenue resulting from giving up the excise revenue from drink.

gradually raised the complaint yet further that the class itself is involved in illegal practices. It is up to the Government concerned to remedy the defect in the working of the law in time. To this end Government servants and ministers of Government should have faith in the cause of Prohibition. Governments can well consider to have a pledge from them for the purpose.

18. The idea of introducing Prohibition, presented in the States gradually and by stages or discretions is un sound. It must be introduced in a State as a whole and fully. This would obviously facilitate the administration of the law in the State.

19. That as the administration of the law of Prohibition is new to all parties concerned, it has to be vigilantly attended whenever necessary should not be deemed an objection against the law. It should be realised by all concerned that it is inevitable. The experience of the State of Bombay would prove valuable to other States in this regard.

20. It is not wrong that the crime and such other classes are wished to be exempted from the operation of the law of Prohibition. On the contrary Prohibition is sure to do immense good to the army and should be considered as such.

21. Oppressed institutions of the people like caste should consider the cause as their own and should consider and vigilantly apply themselves to popular Prohibition.

22. Small hand-industries can be as useful in saving the addict from himself from the habit of drinking as entertainment. Work by the hand has great capacity to make stained nerves.

23. Prohibition entails unemployment mostly in the case of the profession of liquor sales for toddy. Such unemployment can be met with by starting work for supplying water as a health-giving drink to the people and for manufacturing tea-and. All natural wealth in the country should be fully utilized for the benefit of the people. Vigilance against vices being converted into and used as toddy should surely be cultivated. But the mere fear for vices being put in such unlawful use should not be allowed to divert the protection of real wealth.

24. Just as we have built up a tradition of culture in society against crimes like stealing so we should also build up a cultural tradition against crimes regarding the law of Prohibition. The task devolves upon those who devote themselves to popular education. Such education will lead to a decrease in the number of addicts for no new ones would then add themselves to it and the old ones would either be cured or be finding their way to a better world.

25. To frack the task of braving about Prohibition fully it is necessary that the whole of India should undertake its responsibility with

faith. If the whole of India set itself to the task in the spirit of executing a mission we could make the necessary arrangements for it in three or four years. Unless we cultivate faith and patience we cannot hope to fulfil the tasks which are basic to the building up of our nation, such as Prohibition, Khadi, Village Industries and Basic Education. These are the main elements of planning our country's future order on a true socialist pattern.

23-4-55

(From the original in Marathi)

## HOW TO INCREASE NATIONAL INCOME

(By F. H. Kharshi)

Since 1947 after the attainment of Freedom, attempts have been made in our country to give greater employment to the people and to increase our National Income. The Indian Government inaugurated the First Five Year Plan in 1950 with this purpose. The period of the First Plan will be over in 1955 March. So preliminary for the Second Plan have been begun all over the country. Under the circumstances it is necessary that the aim of the Second Plan be made more explicit and the new plan be conceived with a broader outlook.

The following opinions are worthy of consideration, in this connection.

In the first place it has to be recognized that prohibition law is to act as a stim. Increase of prohibition has necessarily to be planned for, in a manner, which is in harmony with the stated object of increasing the volume of employment and which can be achieved without detriment to the stated objective of securing better distribution. (Y. L. Kharshi in Marathi)

What is really wanted is a plan that will deliver in the poor section of our people, what must be first and greatest the new wealth that may be produced under the national Five Year Plan. The plan should particularly be how wealth that is aimed at to be distributed without distribution itself" (F. H. Kharshi in Marathi)

Recently, Sri Chanchal P. Parikh, M.P., has brought out a booklet *Peasants Revolving National Income* in which he has considered that problem in detail. While doing so he has not allowed his conviction with 'Tendu' with to come in his way of forming proper opinion in favour of Home and Village Industries, in the broader national aspect. He has presented his opinion with facts and figures, a short summary of which I attempt to give below.

1. The contribution made by the small establishments and hand trades is Rs. 400 crores in our national income of 14,000 crores, while with regard to the factory establishments, although they produce articles worth about 2,500 crores, an amount of only 600 crores is calculated to be their contribution to the national income.

2. Next to agriculture, small establishments and hand trades provide the largest employment to 315 lakh workers in our total working population of 1622 lakhs.

The present employment of 20 lakhs in industries, large and small, is only 2.1 per cent of our total working population.

3. With all our progress of industrialisation, the big factories cannot employ more than 80,000 persons a year, while 18 lakhs of persons come into the employment field every year.

4. Instead of total employment of 40 per cent of the population in 1911 and 1936, we have reduced the total employment to 45 per cent in 1951.

5. Out of our working force of 14.5 crores, 10.5 crores are engaged in production in agriculture. They are able to find work for five to six months in a year, and for the remaining six to seven months, their energies do not function for production. We are apt to underestimate the seriousness of this partial unemployment of the rural millions, in comparison with that of the urban areas, but the first is not less serious than the latter, though the latter may figure more in grant and papers.

6. Emphasis is laid on the increased cost of production and the inferior quality of cottage industry products. It is forgotten that in reducing the cost of production, the factories are employing one person instead of ten and they are careless as to what happens to the remaining nine persons.

Although, the cost of production will be 20 per cent to 25 per cent higher for the cottage scale products, the advantage will be the increase in the buying power of those who will find employment. It will not matter if they have to sacrifice their budget by Rs 20 per year, if they are able to increase their incomes by above Rs 150 to 170 per year, by the employment afforded through the cottage industries.

In course of time, both cost and quality will also improve.

7. Some industries cannot be carried on a cottage scale since the very complex nature of their manufacture. The advocacy is only for such industries as can be carried on a cottage scale. Vested interests run up these two arguments in order to avoid or side-track the issue.

8. In a planned economy, production should be organised for local consumption. The processing of agricultural commodities, the milling of cereals and pulses, oil crushing, ginning etc. should be carried on in villages on small scale. If we do so, a lot of cross transport will also be saved.

9. The wages in the urban areas are Rs 5 per day and the employment is for the whole year. In the rural areas, the wages are Rs 2-6-0 a day and the employment for money is for five to six months only. It is much better that for all additional production in certain industries we engage ten persons at Rs 2-6-0 wage in cottage scale than continue to employ one person at Rs 3 wage in a factory.

10. The real test of solving the problem of unemployment will be to offer eight annas wage

for local work programmes, and if we hold that adequate funds for that, we would find many other occupation for them, and offer them minimum eight annas for a day's work.

11. The big establishments have a limited scope for providing employment even with a rapid industrialisation of the country. With systematic development of small and cottage industries, we are likely to provide employment to three times the number employed at present, and thus contribute three times their present share in the national income, within a period of less than twelve years.

12. The following measures should be taken, if we really desire to encourage small-scale and village or home industries.

(a) A ban on the competing large scale units should be lifted, as it is done in the case of hand-made cloth, and thus try to equalise prices of the products of cottage industries and the factory.

(b) Exemption or reduction from sales tax should be given to goods produced in cottages.

(c) Adequate financial assistance and technical guidance should be given and technical schools and work centres should be established.

(d) Assistance should be given for establishing industrial co-operatives.

(e) All assistance and guidance should be given for improving the technique of production, though the production be on small and village scale.

(f) The various industries should be demarcated into large, small and cottage scale, in order that the weaker men's field is not encroached upon by the stronger one.

(g) Preference should be given for purchases of such indigenous products, both by the Government and the people.

If the Second Plan is conceived in this light and a regular economic policy is laid down for the encouragement of small and village industries, lakhs of people will get employment and the national income will, no doubt, increase thereby to a greater extent than in the First Plan. It is expected that, by following a policy as shown above, the national income will be double in the next twelve years. By following any other policy, total national income may increase to some extent, but it will not be well distributed among the teeming millions and the problem of unemployment will not be solved.

(Adapted from Gujarati)

By Mahatma Gandhi

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P.O. NAVJIVAN, AHMEDABAD-16

## ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND GOVERNMENT CONTROL\*

(By D. V. Fozdar)

The Union Government has published the Report of the Secondary Education Commission. Some time before this they also published the Report of the University Commission. These two comprehensive Reports naturally deal with almost all important subjects connected with Secondary and Higher Education in India. Both the Reports are full of wise counsel and wise guidance.

When, however, I begin to reflect what powers, what opportunities, what resources and what freedom the Secondary Teachers possess to realise the very commendable aims and objects described by the Secondary Education Commission, I have to confess I am greatly disappointed. Look at the Codes, Rules, Regulations, Orders and you feel yourself like a caged prisoner. Where is the freedom? Where the incentive to try and experiment? On the other hand you are constantly held down by fear lest you transgress the order, or violate that regulation. Text-books have not only to be got approved for content, but also for type, printing, cover, number of pages and price! Fees rates have to be also sanctioned. Holidays and half-holidays also must be within prescribed limits, the school holidays have to follow the lists published, limits of age, limits for the use of the class, plans for school buildings, the graduation pass, pension, provident fund, leave, are all regulated from outside, admissions to school controlled, school accounts and registers must conform to such and such pattern, and what not? All controlled, all regimented from outside. If you do not conform to the same you are dismissed. Not only do you stand threatened with a cut in your grant-in-aid but your recognition itself may be withdrawn. Rather than face such threats, teachers never dare otherwise. People quietly submit and the curfew continues its march. This surely is not the way to make education a living and vibrant force in the country. You cannot build up anything under such depressing conditions.

Now I may be misunderstood, let me assert that I am not arguing against Government control. For from A. A. true Welfare Government has its responsibility and it must not abdicate. It must come forward to fulfil it with courage. In the field of education it can exercise its authority in the following directions. One of them is the positive way wherein the Government will themselves start and run ideal educational institutions. These have obviously got to be directly controlled by the Government. Through these Government institutions the Government should endeavour to place before the country the

pattern of education they think best. Then by school demonstration they should exert to stimulate people to emulate them. Another way is to help institutions satisfying Government standards and ideals in the most liberal manner. Of course, the tax-payers' money rightfully belongs to all and has to be fairly and fairly distributed. But whatever we may say, in practice it is bound to be somewhat discretionary. At least a just Government may establish a Fair Comtee Council consisting of very respectable, experienced and impartial experts and follow their advice. Besides there would be a set of general rules and after such enquiry and inspection as the Government may think necessary, funds may be released for grant-in-aid.

The Government have another great responsibility to discharge. It is the maintenance of Law and Order in the country. Activities of a subversive nature lead to lawlessness. Hence strict discipline must be enforced among students of all categories. Anything calculated to affect general peace and order has to be properly dealt with. This I consider to be the negative side or way in which Government can work and exercise control. But beyond this they should have no right to interfere with the freedom to be enjoyed by the managers of schools. They cannot refuse recognition, merely on the ground of religion or sex or colour or caste, or non-conformity to Government pattern. Where Government finds any case of cheating, or unseemly, illegal, immoral act, or subversive activities, or danger to peace and order, Government should bring the offenders to book, prosecute them and deal with them under the Criminal Law. The right of association is a fundamental right and must hold good in the case of educational institutions. But grant you, friends, mine is not a plea for all freedom and no control, but a plea for just freedom and just control.

Unless such freedom becomes secured, there is no likelihood whatever in my opinion of revitalising our Secondary Education, enabling us to get from it real results and a true fulfilment of the ideals held out before us.

By Mahan Karmappa

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## ANALYST CERTIFICATIONS

Engineering & Technology

<sup>10</sup> It is interesting to know that the poster of the film was prepared by the likes of the British intelligence and intelligence community and happened to have been the first copy of the handbook that had and will have a copy in Dr Rajendra Prasad's library at home in a very interesting manner to the film production work that will be undertaken in Bombay from 1946 onwards.

The author, Joseph J. Ayala, was an internationally recognized political philosopher in the 1960s, in view of the appointments of him to the United Nations Regulatory Committee by the President, to coordinate the advisory committee on space law, and to the United States Supreme Court. It helps that before that time, he should be paid for his understanding of being about examples. Profound in accordance with the Executive Philosophy of our President.

"On the occasion of the re-opening of the Fall  
Publication Week of Monday I send my good wishes to all  
the students in the field.



(Other Nonregulated Diesel Engine Models of 1990 and 1991 are a category on the records of the 1991 Production Year category as follows.)

— In the face of a movement, or in that of an individual, every point is a permanent effort of progress or of setbacks and we are obliged to the Vice annual President, First, it would be very appropriate that we take note of our achievements or failures in the implementation of a policy while being made the apology or defense. It would help children of and is embedded in the body of our Constitution.

When Prohibition is a measure of State policy, enforcement by Federal agents years ago, there was no doubt of its constitutionality or well-meaning desire to protect the good as well as of evil elements. Confusion and chaos were the first to be felted the State Government was a subordinate of the overwhelming majority of the State's population and for allowing it later to become the least of America was the mark of moral degeneration. The State Government is not there for a while, the Federal Government and the conventional nation from this evil or gradually to reduce the aspect of the population as it is to be taken into a better and more civilized state of the State.

The means adopted were a combination of personal and official manipulation of education and indoctrination and of propaganda and protest. That means has attended these efforts an important strand of public affairs or of social development: the Clay-Bell-Graham Effect is not an overstatement. The chief, but not the large number of actions and of those who acted, in creating a pervasive climate still more so is, the fact as a challenge to the State and the social working class. The importance of the Street is that with the machinery of the State and the large body of social workers and convinced citizens stand over this challenge with all their resources at the command.

## J. J. Gossard et al. / Journal of Great Lakes Research 36 (2010) 79–87

The Joint Board of Mills, West Northfield Mills and the following names on the board:

Feeling was what the lead in interviewing President Thore has when have concerning on this subject. This controversy is based on two factors: (1) the loss of revenue and (2) the difficulty of providing benefits of the Profitable Law and the maintenance of High School.

<sup>12</sup> Financial considerations cannot always be ignored, but it is matter of how they affect these considerations.

difficult and painful experience, says the author. But the book is the most important contribution to the study of the Holocaust in the United States. It is a book that should be read by all who are interested in the Holocaust and the role of the United States in the Holocaust.

[illegible]

There is also the question of a common discipline. It is natural if we decide organizing some common discipline, we should also find a common discipline to be followed.

I like not feeling it like you have said I have been told I am probably not going to be successful in my career as a medical doctor while I am in school. I am not sure if I am particularly strong in my studies. I am not sure if I am strong and the opportunity that I have to be a doctor is really small.

## APPENDIX 1

1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

We have great pleasure in being among all the groups of friends and kinship who are trying to make it in a season of longings and changes. It is the same practice of work, and we are the same people as in the life of our body, large or small, in a new season, and in the knowledge of how we are and how we are. We are the same people as in the life of our body, large or small, in a new season, and in the knowledge of how we are and how we are.

The Chinese Government expressed its sincere desire to 1990 has made great progress. China has achieved many more than 100,000 people to get education provided in parallel, thus saving such a big loss and strengthening the ability to work and learn.

As this information is collected and is not being provided for secondary use, kindly request that you return the Agency Form 9 with this on the top sheet of the return you file. The following items generally have to be collected during the year:

- 1 To refrain from talking
- 2 To take only necessary steps.
- 3 To give out as little information as possible. In 2 part, to refrain from revealing or disclose aspects of one's inner self.

Further in order to increase food production in the country and to keep our fishermen steadily away from fishing their local waters, we have all up and down food producing parts to provide information on May 1st at 10:00 a.m. and encourage the people that we need.

**Black Creek College**  
**6700 Highway 90**  
**Rockledge, FL 32955**

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
CHICAGO, ILL.

## HARIJAN

April 18

1955

## TWO QUESTIONS FOR THE CONGRESS

(By Madanlal P. Joshi)

The Congress President's recent speeches when he was in Bombay a few days ago have provided a good deal of welcome heart-searching in the Congress and also significant criticism both in the press and among the thinking people. He referred to various matters of a very fundamental nature that have their bearing on the shape and affairs of our present situation in the country.

The most striking of his remarks was about the relationship of the Congress Government vis-à-vis the Congress organisation, control and prevalence. He is reported to have said that in the shape of things to come, it is desirable that henceforth the Congress should direct its Government and not vice versa as appeared to be the order at present.

The remark is obviously as devastating in its effect as it is pregnant in its meaning and significance, in the present situation of the Congress. Some observers of this remark said that it reminded them of a similar position taken up by two Congress co-presidents, Shri Kripalani and Shri Vinoba. I do not know whether it is exactly so. The circumstances of the situation then and now as also the position taken by those co-presidents as compared with the statement of Shri Dabholkar are I think vastly different, surely they are not identical. It is better therefore to leave out such comparisons and content the remark on its merits and in the light of the true interests of the people.

Surely, the Congress is greater than the government it sets up in the country. It is a popular body; its aim is to be in unbroken contact with the people, know their wishes and aspirations and lead them. It should, to this end, formulate programmes for the nation as well as the Government, it may assume to conduct on its behalf. The voice of the Congress, therefore, should prevail, if the people as a democracy, which we in India are, have turned their government to it. This is surely not to lay down that Government should take its orders, all and sundry, from the Congress. The main theme of the programme and the policy are what is stated here of which the party institutions may be said to be a protest or over-all statement.

Therefore, Shri Dabholkar's statement, as a doctrine of political behaviour for ruling parties vis-à-vis their party organisations, as I think, sound, apart from whatever bearing it might have on the power or the organisational aspect of it in the present set-up of the Congress and its leadership. That aspect requires to be given into by that body which, we hope it will do now. It is high time the Congress should do it.

There is another question of a similar nature which is raised by Shri Vinoba in his address to

the Part Syncretist, Shri, Gandhinagar last month. This is more important (perhaps) than the short one raised by the President himself. Shri Vinoba's question is a challenge to the Congress to search its own heart and find out how best to convert itself to the largest and the most important and effective institution of the people today. I request the reader to study Shri Vinoba's address from this point of view.

Shri Vinoba has raised a further question, and a still more fundamental one, about the doctrine of one-man-one-vote-majority-rule democracy. He has said that the Congress has reduced itself to be a mere electorating body, as if wedded to this doctrine, and is often forgetful and neglect of its fundamental duty of service.

Shri Dabholkar's question is in the interest of fulfilling the doctrine of democratic rule, viz., that a party in power must be generally guided by the party organisation working outside it among the people. He further says that the party organisation, in order to guide and inspire its parliamentary wing truly well, must work among the people in a constructive manner and serve them through various national constructive activities. Then only can it really guide and direct its Government.

These are the two questions for the Congress posed by the two most competent persons in the country. Shri Vinoba emphasises the latter aspect of Shri Dabholkar's question, although wholly denouncing the democratic doctrine and its ideology. This denunciation of the democratic doctrine appears to be a common plank of important Mahalan works. I feel that is a wrong thing to do, though there is much to be said for the other point of view, viz., that the Congress should not be an electorating body merely, but should earn the sterling merit of being a Lok Seva Sangh as Gandhiji wished it to be in his last days. But that is something totally different from the defect in the democratic ideal and its realisation that is generally covered by the political world and is in vogue at present.

Admittedly the democratic strength of majority rule is imperilled as all human institutions generally are. As is well said, to protect it the price to be paid is eternal vigilance, and we may add a dynamic approach and enduring efforts for the task, on the part of a people. Therefore, defects and shortcomings are bound to occur and irritate a performance idealist; but they are only a challenge to him and the people to toil forth further efforts for 'Aam shuddhi' or self-purify. As I feel to deny democracy would be to deny the truth of Satyagraha, because the two are inseparably interlinked the latter being the ultimate and unchangeable practice of the former. But I may not dilute upon this here any more, important though it is. I only revert to it in future and conclude my remarks with saying that the question raised by Shri Dabholkar as the President of the Congress and by Shri Vinoba as the founder of the Bhodan movement and as the guide,



friend and photographer of the large body of Gandhian constructive workers in India is not composite whole and is serious enough.

11-4-53

## FACTORIES AND UNEMPLOYMENT

(By Muzumdar P. Desai)

The A.P.C.C. Economic Review of April first quotes from a recent speech of Pandit Jyotishlal Mehta. A sentence from the quotation is as follows:

"We could neither let unemployment persist in India until it ran into, or brought down on the Indians in India. Everybody will be working but the average month long, whether it may be, say a rupee a day, will go down to almost four a day. There will be trouble."

Is the fear expressed here true? Can the statement be justified on valid principles of the science of economics? I must confess I have my doubts. It would be better if, however, some economist were to say about it.

But two or three points within the statement deserve our attention. It grants, for one thing, that the factories working in the country as well as those being newly started are at the root of unemployment; people are made to suffer. Of course, such factories as produce goods and articles which the people can produce by themselves such as cloth, oil, sugar, leatherware etc. are meant here.

For another thing, the statement frankly concedes another important point that these factories ought to or rather can be closed to remove unemployment. It is obvious that factories producing textiles should be closed and Bhuch should be brought into universal wages in the first instance, because we have fifty trained and prepared workers for it from the days following the year 1930.

Two problems face us, if we seriously started closing down factories. We have to see, that (1) everyone in the nation is gainfully employed in something or the other, and that, (2) such a procedure does not lead to a shortage in the production of goods and articles that is wealth; rather, production should increase.

Let us consider the second problem first. It should not require much argument to see that if a vast number of persons were to be employed in one sort of production or the other and were to perform the service which the factories are performing today, there could be no problem of shortage in the production of wealth. On the other hand, if more and more people were able to earn their living in this fashion, almost everyone now compelled to remain unemployed would be enabled to take to some work or the other and we would have more production as a matter of course. As a result there would not be any shortage of goods and articles. And because everyone would be gainfully employed purchasing power would, in the nature of things, be more or less evenly distributed so that everyone would be enabled to buy according to capacity goods and articles of his needs.

So the second problem concerning the proper policy is somewhat solved. If the maintenance of wages being reduced or wealth being produced less, one may be able to prove by convenient statistics that the unemployed persons when he starts working by the hand or his own will earn less by way of daily wages than the workman in a factory. But the argument is totally misleading. Why, even the comparison is wrong. Does the fact of a few workmen in factories apparently earning a rupee a day by compelling a large number of their countrymen to suffer unemployment indicate production of true national wealth? And is the principle on which this policy is based one of socialist brotherhood and equality or is it one of capitalist exploitation and inequality induced by self-interest? Does such an order assure an equitable distribution of wealth?

But the real problem is the one which has been stated first. Will the vast number of the unemployed in the country at once take to cottage industries under a system of decentralised production with faith and confidence? Closing down factories means that they should. But the mere fact of factories being closed down would not of itself lead to such faith and confidence. The people as a whole and the unemployed in particular will have to be inspired and exhorted to employ themselves in producing goods and articles. Does the Government of the day do anything to enhance the people and create confidence in them? Well, one is forced to confess it does not, furnish evidence of doing so.

Governments functioning in the country, Union as well as State, appear to have turned their energies towards setting up mechanised industries and towards controlled large-scale production. They seem to be consumed by big large-scale production on the strength of machinery and capital. They seem to have a special love for planning schemes for such production and they are prepared to print scores worth of currency notes to enable the needed finance and capital. They do not seem to have heard of the big revolutionary change which would be caused by more of our people devoting their energies to close down factories. Both these questions are closely inter-related. And people will surely begin to work in order to supply their own needs if they had not to compete with the factories.

Governments in the country lack this faith. Consequently, they lack the capacity to inspire and exhort all the people to take to work. And if they cannot exhort the people to take to work, naturally, they cannot cultivate enough courage to close down factories. Both these questions are closely inter-related. And people will surely begin to work in order to supply their own needs if they had not to compete with the factories.

This vicious circle has to be broken, which means that competition by the factories needs to be immediately checked by proper controls and

they have, almost, were working productively and by one with such controls imposed with such an aim in view, people will, of their own accord, apply themselves increasingly to the task at hand. The unemployed certainly are not at home with their unemployment. But what can they do against an economic system which forces them into it? This is the problem facing the Government in India. It should therefore not waste the long hours of reduction in wages. Removal of the unemployment of the people is its first duty and where all people are actively employed a strong case is made out to all as a matter of course. In fact this is the real beauty of decentralised production. Unfortunately, the opinion of a minority prevailing today has not seen its way to study a system of decentralised production. It must be recognised as one of its inherent defects, it proves itself unworkable in that extent. It is for India now, to develop its own political economy on these lines.

It is often reported that electric power and more efficient implements and tools should be supplied for hand agriculture. But who supports the cost and who runs it? The personal gardener is who has taken the trouble to invent more efficient implements and tools, or who has encouraged such innovations.<sup>1</sup> And if those who advocate employment of such tools were to invent them, would they be able to supply them to the people so that the latter will be able to afford them?

As in the talk about employment of electric power in rural industries it would have appropriate meaning only after it is distributed to the villages of rural which people bring in their and wishing to employ it can afford. As it is those of regions are spent on setting up plants in producing electric power at the cost of the village rates, but it is supplied to the large-scale industries and to the cities for their industries. Is this right?

Really speaking electricity should be available to the villages, at rates cheaper than those allowed to the cities. There only could it be claimed that the wealth of the nation was partly spent in producing electric power. Under the present disposition of the river, even, at the cost of the village, this is not out of the question of the cities. It is merely an assessment of the present conditions. A truly just and fair order would allow equal usage to the villages for domestic use with the cities.

The key to such an order lies in concentrating on removing unemployment in the villages in the first instance. This removal is possible only through encouraging and organizing cottage and village industries. True revolution in India consists in inspiring and encouraging these industries. Capitalist machines and equally capitalist ideas for producing electricity may divide the peasantry and ruin the cane. But they have no capacity for revolutionizing the life and ways of the people. That is because they are linked material achievements. Living achievement would be an enhancing status of our unemployed to work. The way to such achievement lies along the economy of handlooms, not along the economy of large scale mechanized industries.

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SERVICE OF THE PEOPLE AND  
THE POWER OF THE STATE

1/2, abridgement of the original address by 1000 North Main St. to the Cambridge Street Extension, as shown in plan 1.

Everyday as we walk in the city, we see that the poorest class, the blacks, struggle to their limits in order to find their life and in order to eat. The blacks say that all work at day end their children live prebably without any learning, mathematics, chemistry and studying the incredible consequences of their actions ultimately get killed and their most spirit is not able to guide savings and to contribute to that people and to compare wages with each other it find the result of their consequences.

Year	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	2035	2036	2037	2038	2039	2040	2041	2042	2043	2044	2045	2046	2047	2048	2049	2050	2051	2052	2053	2054	2055	2056	2057	2058	2059	2060	2061	2062	2063	2064	2065	2066	2067	2068	2069	2070	2071	2072	2073	2074	2075	2076	2077	2078	2079	2080	2081	2082	2083	2084	2085	2086	2087	2088	2089	2090	2091	2092	2093	2094	2095	2096	2097	2098	2099
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After Camille's departure from this world the following December has become a season for rest and peace and study to persons who lived and had their being in and under that day. It was very likely that our various past meetings would have started with such calm, serenity, or evenness of mood. I am not sure, but I am glad that we have found this rest -- the December (also) Serenity. Here we are able to meet, consult each other and discuss our problems. But President McNamara has left compared with meetings to the meetings of the directors of Ford to be put together in this position and to discuss the ways and methods of the different of reaching this. Surely we should not and cannot have conversations or conversations or feel discuss among ourselves in the discussions that we hold here and there, they be any peace or comfort about them. And if we happen to find different ways we should all together understand it to really let us this situation in, to reach our goal in our ways even in all the ways ultimately find their way in the world. "In peace do not feel that I am asking you to agree with me in the view I am going to place before you. Please take them as if I was not proving my thoughts out." We in the Executive Board stand as free citizens with no attitude of dominance, influence, or coordination.

[illegible]

Most of us believe that ultimately there will not be any alternative to have government based on socialism or the power to punish. Even the capitalists recognize the reality of government based on force. But they also believe that at the present stage of human development there should be strict centralized government so that they could liberate and shield other social organizations. They proposed that even as few as 10 individuals would get necessary food and make rest of the concerned power of the State less will destroy other organized system of discipline and power and would in the process fragment and rather decay. This is very close to the concept of their ideology that power and the State are we know that they have reduced that whole State to a minority.

There are many who, too, believe in the capacity of it, had a millennium of government. In the world is the manifestation of the mystery of the three qualities, after you, and then, they say your government has been able to be terrible to the world.

But all people realize and find in their increased knowledge that only a social order which has achieved the use of force and possesses absolute will has the Soviet Union. The Karmavsky Group believes in this thing and works for that ideal. But we do not believe that under the conditions of the present moment even it is a just thing, much less now a little government is needed.

Year	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	2035	2036	2037	2038	2039	2040	2041	2042	2043	2044	2045	2046	2047	2048	2049	2050	2051	2052	2053	2054	2055	2056	2057	2058	2059	2060	2061	2062	2063	2064	2065	2066	2067	2068	2069	2070	2071	2072	2073	2074	2075	2076	2077	2078	2079	2080	2081	2082	2083	2084	2085	2086	2087	2088	2089	2090	2091	2092	2093	2094	2095	2096	2097	2098	2099	2100
1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	2035	2036	2037	2038	2039	2040	2041	2042	2043	2044	2045	2046	2047	2048	2049	2050	2051	2052	2053	2054	2055	2056	2057	2058	2059	2060	2061	2062	2063	2064	2065	2066	2067	2068	2069	2070	2071	2072	2073	2074	2075	2076	2077	2078	2079	2080	2081	2082	2083	2084	2085	2086	2087	2088	2089	2090	2091	2092	2093	2094	2095	2096	2097	2098	2099	2100	

There will be no place for coercion or power in Keralanp. A Keralanp social order will give the place of honor to service service of the people. When we think of our work from this point of view we begin to wonder if the Indian National Congress of today is not going to prove the greatest hindrance to the establishment of a system of life based on cooperation.





# HARIJAN

FOUNDED BY MAMATHA GANDHI  
EDITED BY MAMATHA P. GANDHI

3674



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TWO ANNAS

## PRINCIPLES OF NEW ECONOMIC POLICY—I (Continued)

### The Avasi Congress Directive

At its Avasi Session, the National Indian Congress declared as its objective the establishment of a Welfare State and a socialistic pattern of economy. Towards its attainment it prescribed that the economic policy of the country should aim at peace, economic development and "progressively fair employment" so as to lead to full employment within a period of ten years. This threshold objective is not a mere socialisation of the means of production but a reorganisation of the economic and social framework to ensure equitable distribution of national wealth through the provision of employment for all. The emphasis is, thus, on the establishment of an equilibrium society functioning largely within a co-operative economic framework.

### Extent of Unemployment

1. The change in the emphasis became inevitable owing mainly to the rapid increase in the number of the unemployed in the country. Despite the attainment of the prescribed targets of agricultural and industrial production during 1951-54, increase in the employment opportunities in the country failed to keep pace with the increase in need. According to the C. D. Deshmukh, surveys of unemployment in various parts of the country attended by the Planning Commission show that on an average 8 to 10 per cent of the employable population needed to be drawn into productive employment. While it was not possible to generalize from these figures and it was difficult to assess what proportion of the agricultural population could really be regarded as available for employment in other occupations, on a very rough guess, out of a total working force of about 150 millions some 15 million people might be regarded as available for absorption in new jobs. Together with the net annual addition of 1.8 million to the labour force as a result of normal growth of population, the total number of jobs that have to be created during the next two years to achieve the target of full employment was, according to him, 24 million jobs or 12 million jobs by the end of the Second Plan period.

### Employment-potential of Village-Industries

2. It is being increasingly realized that the provision of progressively fair employment and

the attainment of full employment in this country is possible only through the intensive development of village industries. The Planning Commission recognized the employment-potentialities of these industries and, with a view to creating appropriate operative conditions for a common production programme, suggested one or more of the following measures: (i) restriction of spheres of production, (ii) non-expansion of the capacity of a large-scale industry, (iii) imposition of a cap on a large-scale industry, (iv) arrangement for the supply of raw materials and (v) co-ordination for research, designing etc., to be adopted, and a separate board outside the official machinery be constituted to prepare and implement programmes of development for these industries.

### Government's Modern Policy

3. The experience of the last two years, however, shows that these measures were neither wholly accepted nor vigorously implemented by Government to create the right operative conditions for the village industries. While Government did not always prevent the expansion of the capacity of large-scale industry and, except in the case of textiles, did not also reserve spheres of production in favour of the village industries, control and subsidies were ineffective to eliminate competition between the various sections of an industry as they treated them as antagonistic rather than as parts of a whole. In these circumstances, it was not possible to prepare or implement common production programmes to ensure the development of weaker village industries.

### Need of Common Production and Common

### Price Policy

4. The urgency to create employment opportunities on a wide commensurate with the country's requirements, on the one hand, and the data of the 1954 Census, which shows that self-employment accounts for 73 per cent of all productive employment, on the other, emphasize the need to develop village industries. To exploit to the full their employment potentialities in the national interest, it is necessary to eliminate the prevailing competition between the different sections in an industry and to lay the foundations for the preparation of effective common production programmes. The implementation of such a programme, however, necessitates a revised price structure, or a common price policy to eliminate

comparative [highest] (1) among its different sections or its industry, and (2) secure differential returns to those for equal investment. A consistent price policy, thus, regard each section of an industry with this essential means to contribute its unpaid share to the common production programme and hence facilitates an integrated development. To ensure such a socially significant and economically efficient development a common price policy is necessary to:

- (i) eliminate inequalities between various sections of the industry,
- (ii) facilitate production in accordance with national needs
- (iii) prepare the ground for progressive technical improvement of the backward sections of the industry, and
- (iv) lay the foundations for equalisation of wages in all sections of the industry

Such a policy alone can provide the conditions in which the process of development initiated will, over a period of time and in an appropriate phased manner, bring about technological improvements and establish wage equality in all sections of a given industry, and ensure the attainment of the desired socialist pattern of society and economy.

(Overheadly)

### **SARVODAYA SAMAJ SAMMELAN RESOLUTION**

[Resolution approved by the All India Sarva Seva Sangh and passed by the First Sarvodaya Sammelan on the 27th of March, 1955]

The people of India are not unaware of the progress of the Bhodan movement during the last four years. The progress would have been all the more solid if intensive work for the movement had been carried on in every part of the country. The people have welcomed the Bhodan movement with great faith and enthusiasm wherever its message has been properly conveyed to them. That is the reason why the Bhodan movement has become a movement of the people.

But our goal is still far distant. We have pledged ourselves to the carrying out of the implementation to full success by the year 1957. We have now two years before us. This is a period of our trial. The whole of the world is watching the course of the movement with great hope and equally great expectation. It is imperative that the non-violent process (of social change) is on its trial at the present moment.

There are many of our brothers and sisters in the country who have faith in the Sarvodaya idea but who are working in the Government, in political parties, and in constructive and other fields. The Bhodan movement has received co-operation from them all in some measure. But they have been devoting more of their energies to their own particular work.

Doubtless, their work also is good and useful in its own way. It is now time, however, for all who have faith in the Sarvodaya idea to consider seriously whether it is not essential to bring about a change in the present socio-economic order as the earliest possible moment. People who have faith in the Sarvodaya idea cannot be indifferent to the injustices and inequalities of

the present socio-economic order, nor can they help to maintain the status quo. According to the technique of the Sarvodaya process there can be a change in the whole of society only when a change in ideas and values is achieved. Despite of various or other serious changes in society which may have come about, the establishment of a Sarvodaya order is impossible without a change in the ideas and values of men. We also believe and hope that this change in ideas and values cannot be brought about by government. The task can be achieved only by approaching the people and by persuading them through love. The Bhodan and other movements going on along with it are a part of the process. And they also constitute the perfect and concrete technique of the process of revolution.

The present times are a challenge to non-violence. Can a non-violent person refuse to accept this challenge? Our pledge to achieve our aim by the year 1957 is our answer to the challenge. The pledge implies our faith that the problems of the present age can be solved only by means of non-violence. At this difficult moment when the technique of the process of non-violence is on its trial, the Sarva Seva Sangh, calls upon all persons who have faith in the ideal of Sarvodaya and its method of non-violence to leave all other work they may have in hand and, for at least the coming two years, devote all their intelligence and efficiency at their command to work for the Bhodan Yajna.

(From Hindi)

### **THE VALUE OF HOUSEWIFES**

(By Wilfred Welbeck)

One of the happiest recollections of my boyhood days is of the winter evenings when the evening meal was over, the table was cleared and the washing-up completed, and we prepared ourselves for a few hours' real enjoyment. The gas was lighted, the blinds were drawn, and a cheerful fire burned in the grate. Then mother would say: "Now, children, what are you all going to do tonight?" And forthwith came the answers: "I'm going to draw," "I'm going to embroider," "I'm going to knit," and lastly "I'm going to finish my book."

Mothers, of course, had always plenty of manding on hand, while father had a weakness for yarning. He liked to make things and to improve the house by adding cupboards and shelves, or making a box, a bureau or some other requirements of the rising generation.

As I have grown older, that family scene of a warm winter evening, has appeared to me as the most beautiful and satisfying of all my boyhood memories, and the more I contemplate it the more convinced I become that this age of progress, with all its science, inventions and discoveries, its mechanisms, gadgets and devices, including the radio and television, has not produced anything that is half as cultural or satisfying.

In these days we still lived within the modesty and tradition of craftsmanship, when most

learning came through doing in living things, that were both useful and beautiful, and not merely through reading or a rather listening to the radio or sitting night after night before a T. V. set.

It seemed natural to our parents to acquire knowledge by means which developed skill and produced things of utility and beauty. They knew instinctively that to develop the ability to make things for use and adornment, redoubled the doors with many fine qualities increased their power of appreciation and of self-expression, and give them directions which were more to be expected than riches. This, of course, is ancient wisdom which conflicts with the money values of our time.

In order to encourage as long the creative need to culture, we children, when quite young, were given a drawer for our own use. This was a proud moment, for already we had accumulated many small tools and much material—prints, crayons, needles, etc. Games were kept in a fairly drawer, and these came out only at the end of the evening, after we had had our fill of creative activity.

Knitting was one of my early passions. Before I was ten I had knitted a scarf 12" x 48" for each of my sisters, my brother and several cousins. The color of the wool was crimson, and I shall carry it in my memory as long as I live.

Is it out of the question that we should try to bring back that age-old tradition of handicrafts? We certainly haven't produced anything better since. Nor can there be a finer source of culture than the pursuit of an art which develops the imagination and all one's creative powers. Lectures, television and the cinema have their place in a full life; but we have allowed them to occupy the full stage of our existence, whereas we are all eyes and ears but lack understanding, the power to enrich our minds, our lives and our environment with the values of creative endeavor.

The value of what we see and hear is determined by its effect on our conduct, our behavior and way of life. To be voraciously listening and gazing without applying anything we learn, is not only fruitless living, but ruins the mind, also the memory, for there is a limit to what the mind can retain unless knowledge is embodied in the fabric of our daily existence. It is what we become through doing worth while things that matters. Social progress consists in people becoming what they were not, new persons, better and more capable. In other words, it signifies self-fulfillment through self-expression at higher and higher levels.

Human wholeness is the result of the interplay of the receptive and the creative faculties. By means of the former we gather new ideas and inspiration everywhere to improve our creative efforts, and when these are exhausted we return to literature, art and music for new inspiration,

Handicrafts also bring us just besides together in a wonderful fellowship. When its members try to express themselves in useful and beautiful productions, the best that is in them is developed, a fact which strengthens family ties. In this way the family becomes a generating centre of all that is best in human nature, whence its members become powerful integrating forces in the wider community of the village.

There are also the many collective forms of expression, which are equally important, such as drama groups, choirs, glee unions, orchestras, etc.

The cultural value of these institutions is immeasurable both to those who compose them and to those who listen to their performances. It requires devoted study to be able to express ideas and emotions by means of words, notes and tones, while few joys surpass those which come from the effective transmission of ideas and emotions to an audience.

Owing to the rapid spread of money values and the tendency to buy one's pleasures instead of deriving them from one's own initiative, there has been a big decline in these forms of culture during the last fifty years. Happily, however, there are signs of their revival.

In my youth practically all our entertainment was provided within the confines of the church. In our church there was a well attended and lively Mutual Improvement Society which discussed everything of vital interest to the community. We had also a religious troupe, a group of hand bell ringers, various groups of singers, besides a full choir, and at times a string band, while if an entertainment was short, one or more dramatic groups could be got together at short notice.

As a result, talent was being discovered all the time. Anyone with a gift for self-expression could always find an opening for its development, while appreciation of pluck and ability was unbounded. Accordingly the percentage of people who manifested and developed talent was very high, while the extent to which they were held added to their dignity, standing and influence within the community.

Today economic and social changes are taking place which promise to carry us back to that more spiritual type of democracy we once knew. There are reasons for believing that the long process of migration from the country to the towns, is about to be reversed. Already the farm is growing that Britain will soon be unable to find the materials necessary to enable her to buy with her exports all her requirements in food and raw materials. She will therefore have to produce more food at home and so put the Industrial Revolution in reverse.

This means a new migration back to the countryside and in order to encourage it, steps are already being taken to develop small industries in villages, and to establish dramatic societies, choirs, glee unions, orchestras, etc., in order to make life in them more attractive.

(From the *Scott's Springhaven*, 1944)

# HARIJAN

April 23

1965

## THE BHODAN ANNIVERSARY (By Rajagopal P. Desai)

April 13 to 15 is being celebrated as the fourth Bhodan Anniversary Week. The Bhodan movement started at Pachangalla in Telangana on 18th April, 1954. Now we are entering its 11th year. It is decided by the All-India Sarva Sava Sangh which met at Pond along with the Savadaya Sarva Conference that the week be celebrated by organising countrywide walking tours during this week, which is styled as the Bhodan-Kranti (a land-revolution) Week. It is just now that we may take stock of the work done up till now.

As we saw above the Bhodan idea first came to Saru Vaidya in 1951. Next year, he addressed an open letter to the nation wherein he said:

"I make a claim of the correctness of this work for three reasons. It is in tune with the cultural traditions of India. It contains in it the seed of economic and social revolution, and, lastly, it can help in the establishment of peace in the world." (Bhaskar-Telugu, p. 102).

The work that was done during the next years showed that the claim was not wrong.

In the beginning a target of 35 lakh acres land-gift was decided to be achieved. The response was encouraging enough and it was concluded that by 1957, the target should be five crore acres as the lands that there were poverty of landless families in the country each getting a minimum of 5 acres.

There were some who feared that the target was to say the least too high for the time being. However, with the rising tide of the movement, it was thought that this figure might not be exaggerated and perhaps it might be better to place the highest demand before the country so that it might embrace both the workers as well as the donors to put in their very best in the movement. The Bhodanari cadres all over North India responded enthusiastically well to this and the land-off farms went up to an appreciable height of about 40 lakh acres.

The movement drew the attention of the sub-world also. And naturally the pacifist and non-violent groups in foreign lands took particular interest in it. The movement was a direct expression in action by non-violent means social and economic freedom or freedom for our people after the advent of the political. Land-gift movement was made its spearhead and concrete instrument. The landless tiller in India is the poorest part of our people. The aim has been to emancipate him. And the way to do it was to appeal to the sense of duty and social justice of the rich and land-owning classes to donate to him land and money

which might be distributed among the landless. And it was declared that land-owners may get at least one-fourth of their land and the rich one-tenth of their income.

Last year one more idea was specifically added into the above programme, viz that Kutch and village industries form a basic integral of the movement and the year must be essentially devoted by an intensive drive for distribution of land already donated. It was rightly thought that distribution will pave the way for further work of emancipation of the landless, and this will demonstrate to the people what actually the land-gift revolution means. It will certainly help in convincing the people to donate more land and money also.

We may say that the movement had come to this stage on the eve of the Puri Conference last month. It decidedly affected the whole country in diverse ways. It supplied a rallying point to many Congress constructive workers. To integrate their diverse constructive activities a central institution, the Sarva Sava Sangh by name, was set up, which mainly attends to Bhodan work at present.

There is a political side to the effect of the movement also. It a constructive activity arousing the people's social will and an effective and catches the popular mind. It will, for that simple reason even, promote a political power potential. This is true for all constructive activity in general.

The Bhodan work well demonstrated this feature. The effect in its case was rather very quick, the reason being its greater birth. As we know it was born in Telangana as a non-violent subject for the difficult position created by the violent tactics of the Communists to effect an agrarian revolution there. The non-violent equivalent of Saru Vaidya succeeded, which had as immediate political effect in that it drew the attention of the Government and important political parties in the country. The Congress and the P.S.P. were the chief among them. The Communists also in the beginning welcomed the new way, but only to oppose it some time later. Surprisingly enough the communal organisations like the Hindu Mahasabha did not exhibit any kind of reaction to it.

The Congress from the very outset welcomed the movement and helped it in its own way. The two prominent leaders of the P.S.P. Shri Krishna Rao and Shri P. P. Nayyan personally took interest in it, the latter to the extent that he offered himself as a Joradham. This created a special impression that the P.S.P. was particularly for Bhodan. And by integrating its agrarian programme with Bhodan as for example in Pond (Dr. Sarathi) it tried to develop it to the extent of a Khud-Satyaagraha. What I wish to suggest is that political parties and groups interested themselves in their own way in this movement.

Saru Vaidya took a very noteworthy position in this matter and said that whatever the political affiliation, any one who loved the work



could join on a non-party basis. And in developing this position in course of his Khosrova propaganda work, he formulated one or two new ideas which are noteworthy. They are worth considering as well, even from the point of our future work.

The new ideas he gave were regarding the theory of politics and the doctrine of democracy. He said that the democratic method of vote-count-majority rule and the party system were not proper. The rule must be on a non-party basis and consensus and not majority vote must be the way of its working. And secondly, the State being based on violence, to work for a non-violent order the people's strength was the right means. Therefore law and legislative bodies were looked upon with suspicion, and to be away from them (as in the days of the fight for freedom) appeared to be the ideology of the approach to them. I believe I am not wrong when I sharply put down as naive the goal of the question. I do so because these things regarding the Khosrova movement became relevant at the time when we are engaged in rebuilding our country.

There is another aspect of this question, which should also be noted here. Those who joined the movement had themselves certain politics of their own. All did not take to it from purely spiritual or moral motives of constructive service of the people. When I say that I do not mean that that was any way wrong. It was natural for one to do so. However it does affect the movement in a manner. Therefore there must be a conscious effort to keep the movement above party politics. That the leadership of Sher Vachha was short enough on this count has been greatly responsible for the progress that Khosrova made during those years.

Coming at the end to review the work of the last year, we know that distribution of donated land among the landless and promotion of village industries were the two main governmently push-ups. The Government of India had set up an All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board a year ago, which gave a good impetus to the latter. Removal of unemployment found a place in the Planning ideology of the Government, and that this can be achieved through Khadi and small-scale village industries found increasing recognition and a began to be implemented.

Experience of distributing land showed that help of suitable legislation and Government machinery in a certain manner was needed to be effective and speedily disposed. Accordingly in some States such help began to come forth. It was also found that the work of distribution was complex and difficult and was a delicate matter requiring special aptitude, abilities and adequate application as also impartiality and sense of justice and keen discrimination on the part of workers. This difficult work therefore could not be done to the extent desired. And on the other hand, land-grifts also began to come to their nor-

mal measure and in comparison to previous years they seemed to decline as can be seen from their recent figures.

The Pam Sirovdaya Conference was in the stage in the progress of the work. The work of the Conference may be well considered in the background. And some fundamental points of a philosophical nature that arose from this survey of the Khosrova work should also be considered. I shall do it hereafter. In the meanwhile I request readers and constructive workers also to think over this short survey and write to me their reactions to it. Because I hold that we must seriously examine ourselves in regard to this great work which is a potent force in deciding the future direction of our national work and development.

15-4-55

(From the original in Gujarati)

V I P-4556

(By Magdhalini P. Desai)

A reader of the *Harjian* from U.P., complains as follows:

"It has become a habit these days that all the newspapers opening newspapers and handbills about helping newspapers must be perused either by members of Government officials. Particularly there is a pressure upon the Khosrova. Whenever a Khosrova visits a place for this purpose the whole machinery of the Government there seems to be switched on and all what else is discussed on this. The news is made out of printed as the newspapers are according to him. Right from the *Vatandar* in the *Chakras* all are busy. The head K.P. and his subordinates staff and busy. That consider what a colossal waste of time, energy, and money is involved in this such habit. This habit began to grow. Maybe the business people there to hand themselves in public concern or in public relationship here and there. Political agitators crowd upon a person who all his life was busy working with class education or learning or revolution overnight by becoming a member of the state, a department becomes an expert of the news and begins to air his views. Such is the impetuosity of the official. Is there death of the press? Could not these newspapers and be left over to generate individuals? Is it not clear that these officials be restricted and asked to devote their time to their official work? I have said of directly from the high up is needed."

I fear the conditions might be just similar, more or less, in other States also. I try that because the machine complained of is I think, born of the popular psychology of our people. I believe, we are State-government-worshippers, probably because of our being under a long span of authoritarian and autocratic or bureaucratic rule. We live in fear and be fettered in return. We may like to look in reflected power and importance of the Minister, perhaps by being with him on such occasions. All this only shows that we are still an infant democracy. We have still to learn that a Government however important it may be as a social institution, is not the State, which is the people in a democratic order and that there are other walks of social life and endeavour which are at least as important and respect-worthy as the political governance. When we shall learn that we shall have a future to our

which life would consist of a mature democracy and that will then come to from the evil which I have claimed here as "V.I.P.-ism."

The remark by the correspondent about the Government machinery getting preoccupied with V.I.P. duties on such occasions, if true, deserves to be noted by those to whom it may concern.

5-6-55

PS In refreshing contrast to the above correspondence, the following news from Chetani Gadi, April 6

Two gentlemen on duty as a small railway band crossing built up the Prince Alexander car two years from ten minutes to Chetani today. When officials accompanying the Prince Mahendra tried to force them to open the gates, the gentlemen refused.

During this Mr. Nara shouted, "There are gates right. There are doing their duty. Why must we leave the car and wait?"

Mr. Nara then got down from his car and crossed the railway line, as he walked over the track towards Royal Mahendra where he was standing after the "filled car had departed." Mr. Nara dismounted the engine.

11-6-55

H. P.

### VINOCA IN CHINA—II

[Reader remember that that "Dada" used to write serial letters giving news of that Vinoca's journey through China. In his notes that time he is not accompanying that Vinoca's news of the latter's journey through China is available from letters by that Kinan Chongpang under the usual caption "Kinanda Vinca News." This article is called from three letters. Dates of the letters are following in brackets.—H.]

#### Appeal to Right Principles

Vinoca's set first to think on the responsibility of Kinan. On the anniversary day of Qianlong's departure from this world Chongpang delivered Vinoca's appeal to the fact of our task as follows:

I appeal to all the big property holders in India to do these things. My duty as there will be relieving Kinan as life in the country. The first thing I request them to do is to give up the tendency to make large profits and charge heavy interest. I assure them they will not be hurt in any way. By doing so, but would on the contrary be creating a big reserve for the poor. The second thing is to withdraw from now on to use the property they hold as trustees and Vinoca as immediate beneficiaries in the future to be of that. The third thing I humbly ask them to do is that — so that the poor and the landless may receive just what we want — they give the share of their wealth in Kinan. This is better of their love for the people and as an indication of their acceptance of the Kinan's ideal. Goodbye, but I have expectations that the rich in India will use their wealth as trustees. Let us justify the title Kinan had in its living on the future.

#### Meaning of Symbolism

During our time we have sometimes discussed to God and the goodness and conscience human's responsibility. The discussion and the universal law will be the long journey with me. A friend from Abolition has recently joined us. He started discussing conscience—conscience and what it means.

Replying to his remarks Vinoca said, "I will content myself in saying *vinu vinu*. That is what and the so is perfect. In saying 'It is perfect and by bringing about a condition of these conditions we propose to create one example while."

"Reply to me, he continues, 'you desire to have a synthesis of Indians and the creed of the Buddha; do you mean to say that Vinoca is imperfect? That the Buddha is more important? I would say to those ques-

tioners saying it is more important for the religion of the Buddha. The two in this philosophy or creed that have been problems in India are all perfect. We intend to have a synthesis of all these perfect ideologies or creeds and then to have one whole perfect view of life and society. It is one of our business to bring together separate and bring about a perfect whole by adding them. It would be in order to state that the idea of creating one perfect whole by a synthesis of imperfect ideas and ideas is really feasible."

The friend from Abolition further asked what was the way to such a synthesis.

Replying with his challenge in the way that he stated of the Buddha replied, "This is that way and we are not following it." However, all in the company laughed. But Vinoca continued saying, "How are we proceeding? The day we will reach Kinan, however Kinan and then that. We will meet people in all the places. We will bring home to them of them who are property holders the good news that it is to the laborers and to kinan the position that is to the property holders. We will attract the rich of the problems that is to the poor and the poor of the problems that is to the rich. We will tell the men of the problems that is to women and the women of the problems that is to men. This is how we would go on working and that is how we will surely establish the synthesis which we are discussing."

#### Unity of the Kinan's Ideal

An Englishman people from a village who had given account of their land in Kinan came to meet Vinoca. They asked, "The ideal of Kinan's will surely appeal on account of the general conception, but how will appeal when for its implementation be carried on?" Vinoca gave his reply in the question in the last full speech of the day he said:

"Let me point out to you the peculiar beauty of the Kinan's idea. It is in this that wherever has been conceived of the idea and has accepted the idea as his work is capable of adding to his own for the millions even though he may be alone. There are persons who are up against the whole world as appear in Kinan. This is the fundamental principle of the Kinan's method which is born in this country. America declares that if Kinan was prepared to give up movements they are world I do it. And Kinan has been declaring that if America were to give up movements they are world to be very willing to do so. And when the two of them meet in capital with the problems both of them together come out with the declaration that they would surely be ready for discussion at the rest of the world was prepared for it to begin with. The two must prove to us in this matter at the one hand and movements are going up continuously all over everywhere as the other. This vision of a great and universal movement could be better only when some one person, one village or one community will take courage and come forward to give up now."

At the end of the speech Vinoca declared that in the village Kinan the Kinan's had transferred ownership of all land in the village to the village community. The idea that every person living in the world is a national of every nation in the world is going to spread through Kinan. This idea is India. It was born and has taken root here. Therefore the point Vinoca proposed in my that the Kinan who left India and entered in this country did not come here as immigrants. Out of our love for all human beings we offered them shelter to our land and for the past twelve hundred years the Kinan community has been doing in India without danger or fear. They have not asked for any special rights or privileges for themselves. This means that India has given Kinan to the Kinan. This ideal of Kinan is now going to spread to the international field and the leadership of the movement will be in the hands of the village of the country.

#### Nature of Kinan's Kinan Society

This serial from of the Kinan movement, now reached Kinan City where Vinoca analyzed before the





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3677

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(Editor) MARGARET P. DEAN



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TWO ANNAS

## LIPSTEIN

(By) Margaret P. Dean

Dr. Albert Einstein, perhaps world's greatest scientist, died in the Palestine hospital, passed away, in April 18, 1955, in a remote corner of his adopted town (Switzerland was, Israel, O.S.A.). The great scientist had entered the hospital only a few days ago on account of an illness, but no one, according to Einstein, therefore the death was quite unexpected. It was not known to his friends even. As yet, I am, after a while, was present at that time, his daughter was in another part of the same hospital at that time, receiving treatment for another illness. He would be taken by surprise at the sudden death of his disease.

He was born in Germany on March 14, 1879. From his childhood he showed innate abilities for mathematics in which he seemed the world in his later life. He devoted his whole life to his profession, rejecting any such a great honour like the Presidency of Israel after the death of his first President, Weizmann. As we know, he was a Jew, which brought him trouble in his home country after Hitler's regime. He had to flee from it in 1933, leaving his home and property to the Nazis. By then he was already the world famous exponent of the great theory of Relativity (1905), had won (1921) the Nobel Prize for Science and many other great honours and distinctions from the world of science. But all this could not save him from the Nazi persecution, which not only ended him but also put a price of 20,000 marks on his head.

Einstein was not a mere scientist, he was a great humanist and an ardent lover of peace and freedom for men. He loved individual freedom, which he considered the dignity of man and is the only guarantee of any progress with a human being. He was so aware to the need of freedom that he had once said, "As long as I have any choice, I will stay only in a country where political liberty, tolerance and equality of all citizens before the law is the rule." In recent times when we find in U.S.A. a kind of Anti-Communist witch hunting movement, we see that the great refugee from Germany raised his voice against it and stood with those that were being persecuted for their honest belief. He revered life and thought he was an agent for it was human and devout and believed in a supreme

principle to which later he was led by his scientific vision. There were no fundamental in the search for the laws of the physical universe. His instrument for this vast research was pure mathematics, and he gave the world a formula on the nature of mass and energy as they appear to behave in the three dimensions of space and time together. In this vast scope of imagination he took the whole visible universe—mass, energy, matter, motion, space and time etc.—as the total object of study and gave a unified theory of the natural world—the physics and physics. It was a work comparable to that of the British Scientists and Mathematicians who, starting the physical reality, put it into its more categorical and ended with suggesting a super-reality as unobtainable any more. Einstein said about such lower experience of him in the following words:

"The most beautiful and the most profound question we can experience is the existence of the highest, it is the power of all of it in nature. No to whom this question is a challenge, who can no longer wonder and still not feel in awe is a good reason. To know that what I comprehend as a reality, which manifests itself as the highest wisdom and the most profound, thereby which our dull faculties can comprehend only in their own, pitiful manner—this knowledge, this feeling it is the source of true religiousness."

Here he had declared once that:

The so-called religious experience is the strongest and deepest outpouring of scientific emotion. "My religious attitude is a humble admission of the final, little human spirit. Who regards himself in the light death and life are to proceed with one faith and make sense. The deeper and more complete the perception of a superior, powerful Power which is revealed in the incomprehensible universe brings my idea of God."

Therefore he said, "I believe in Spinoza's God who reveals Himself in a harmonic success of people and in a God that worries about the order and destiny of man."

It was this scientific experience of the Reality and the deepest Truth of our being that led the great scientist to love men and peace on earth.

As the world knows, it was his mathematical formula of the universality relationship that provided a brilliant guess—very naive, as someone, that the atom could be split. But he went no further in that direction, and when the war-mongering world began to exploit this stroke of brilliant mathematical imagination for the wicked purposes of killing mankind, he all along stood against it and did not prostitute God's gift of his



need to restore the production of edible oils mainly to the village ghams stage (in traditional as well as the employment no-man over 20-30, while the village ghams to be in a progressive way the crushing of all edible oil seeds the Board suggested:

- (1) prohibition of expansion of the crushing of mills;
- (2) ban on the establishment of new mills;
- (3) freezing of the operations of mills at existing levels; and
- (4) redistribution of oil seeds between mills and ghams as shown below:

No.	Area	Mills		Ghams		Additional seeds to be made up to meet the demand for crushing of oil seeds	Total seeds to be made up to meet the demand for crushing of oil seeds
		1955-56	1956-57	1955-56	1956-57		
1	Deccan	12.00	10.00	1.00	1.00	1.11	9.99
2	Marathwada	3.00	4.00	1.00	2.00	0.00	1.00
3	Eastern	4.1	5.4	1.05	1.15	0.17	1.00
4	Deccan Ghats	5.4	5.4	1.00	1.00	—	1.00
5	United	2.00	2.00	0.75	0.75	—	0.25
6	Central	0.70	0.70	0.10	0.10	—	0.60
7	Madhya	0.70	0.70	0.10	0.10	—	0.60
8	Central West	0.11	0.00	—	—	—	—
		22.51	20.80	11.20	10.70	1.27	1.70

11. To facilitate the development of the village oil industry the Board recommended the levy of a cess at the 1/4 per cent of mill oil and the retention of its proceeds to stock oil seeds, advance loans and finance research to improve the efficiency of the ghams oil process. The Board is then suggested:

- (1) the grant of subsidy of Rs 3.4 per amount of oil to be paid only to co-operative societies or recognised institutions or as an alternative payment of interest on capital invested in stocking oil seeds for ghams for co-operative societies and recognised institutions; and
- (2) the reservation by the State Government of all edible oil seeds for the ghams.

12. To avert the loss of edible oil seeds to the mills the Board suggested the crushing of cotton seeds wholly by the mills in progressive stages removal of all impediments to their inter-State movement to and abolition of all taxes on such movements compulsory use of a certain percentage of cotton seed oil by all producers in the manufacture of Yarnspun and substitution of groundnut oil by cotton seed oil in soap manufacture.

#### (c) Handspinning of Yarn

13. There is little dispute now among statisticians experts that ranking of yarn as any item domestic the intrinsic value of a coarse which is worth for 80 per cent of the cost of a large number of people. To boost the development of this industry, the Board recommended:

- (1) a ban on the establishment of additional hand- or power mills;
- (2) preservation of the expansion of the capacity of existing hand mills; and
- (3) closure of existing hand mills.

14. To meet the increasing demand for recovery of wool and mohair of the wool the lower native communities the Board recommended the employment of 100,000 persons. It is urgently necessary in the national interest to restrict employment in industries.

#### (d) Ghee and Khandsari

15. The ghee and khandsari industry today is of the highest national significance. Apart from its present and potential capacity to provide employment to large numbers, the overall deficit of ghee supplies has made it a strategic industry. India produced last year 7 lakh tons of ghee at a cost of Rs 52 crores and plans to import 10 lakh tons next year, while the production of this industry by appropriate policy and through the provision of credit facilities to process the milk into ghee will not only provide employment on a large scale and augment domestic supplies of an essential commodity but also effect considerable savings of scarce foreign exchange, required for more essential purposes. To ensure such a healthy self-sufficient development, Government of India decided:

- (1) expansion of capacity of the present ghee mills;
- (2) establishment of new mills;
- (3) removal of taxes and
- (4) return of additional sugar from Khandsari mills.

#### (e) Woollen Yarn

16. The woollen yarn of the Indian Khadi Markets industry has been handicapped partly by the lack of facilities for the proper grading and processing of wool, and partly by the competition from foreign large-scale industries and imports. Among the causes of the handicaps by Government for 10 years measures in reference to other industries or foreign markets will facilitate the development of this industry. The specific work required are:

- (1) assured Government purchases;
- (2) provision of research, technical and other facilities;
- (3) ban on the imports of woollen yarns of qualities already manufactured in the country.

17. Viewed from the proper long-term perspective it is possible to formulate policies that are directly conducive to an increase in productive capacity, employment and equitable distribution. Handicapped industries were or prospective, each of the village industries enters in the basic needs of the people, protects their health and provides maximum occupation during the agricultural off-season. To ensure their development commensurate with the need for a progressive increase in employment opportunities production of essential consumer goods and their equitable distribution, it is necessary to consider their needs from the long-term point of view, and hence accordingly the country's policy for economic development.

## HARIJAN

April 30

1955

## DEMOCRACY AND THE PARTY SYSTEM

(By Mahabhar P. Desai)

Wouldn't it be nice if legislatures and politics together formed an inalienable feature of our social life. In truth that was what we sought when we asked for Swara. The question before us now is this: 'granting that we should have a democratic system of government: is the democratic process of a party system also inevitably necessary?' Shri Yashwantrao Chavan asked the question some time back.

The reason why such a question is now so not far to ask. When the idea is for joint service of the people the question of party wranglings hardly crops up. But in administering public affairs service and power go together and cannot be separated. It is felt that such service requires a certain modulus of power or some position of authority. All that the legalist means is that service and power or authority are very often knit together with one another.

Again, the party whip follows the party system almost as a matter of course. It is asked in this regard: does not the institution of a party whip undermine the individual's freedom? Among their argument on this question some people have gone to the length of advocating independent candidature and a non-party democracy.

Even those who have their faith in pure service of the people only, wish, and advocate the need of persons going to the seats of power like legislatures etc., accepting an overall command and control of some authority like a national service league to be set up for the purpose. For its sake, Shri Yashwantrao has propounded at the Port Blair Conference.

There is always a need for service to human society. But in a servitorial social order the big job organisation will be the centre of things, be it called only to service, be it called the people. The idea of a Lok Sewak Sangh resembles that serving society very few fields of social life the rest of society about all the functioning of society would have steadily as need for the creative power of the State. Service would have accepted the thrust of sovereignty, authority as given and power would have been, for could the organisation devoted to the service of the people want here but the authority of control over the management of power, indeed, discipline would have been, not only allow the organisation had sufficient and trained men. (Harijan, 24-4-55, page 55)

This is to say that even a Lok Sewak Sangh functioning in society would develop into some kind of authority or power? In short, service allied with power and discretion of opinion on matters of public policy and action and party — all these are allied to each other as wings as the separately allied to safety or world is in running

and control. When thinking about corporate life there is no escape from this problem.

So we have to conclude that every nation has to face and solve this problem for itself. A nation may choose to solve it either by setting up a dictatorship or by adopting a system of rule of a moral dictatorship which I would name 'servitorial or rule-craft', or by setting up a dynamic of words, or by having an absolute monarchy or by accepting the democratic system of free institutions like legislatures etc., but that the problem has to be faced and solved admits of no doubt. All these various types of machinery of government have their drawbacks even so in the language of the author of the *Disorganised State* law is inevitably wrapped in words. But it can be asserted without much fear of objection that the method of government which safeguards man's freedom and his progress or development as an individual is the way to freedom. Our people have decided that such method of government is the democratic one. So it is up to us now to cultivate the character and temperament of our people for it.

The British nation has shown distinct progress and development of national character and temperament suited to democracy during the past six or seven centuries. The British people form their government by elections based on adult franchise and the party system. They have reached such efficiency that, for instance, they will now smoothly finish the job within a matter of a few days, then they will find out and determine public opinion on immediate and vital topics touching their national life by the method and form their government.

One significant point regarding formation of government has not yet been so thoroughly understood in our country as it should be. Those of our workers who have devoted themselves to constructive work would do well to give their attention to it. The point is this: Among the various constructive activities of the country, formation of all the governments in the land is the best manner possible and to keep them working as well as can be done is a constructive work essential under Swaraj. It was in this sense that Gandhiji had said that the parliamentary programme had come to stay and it was for the nation is spent for the purpose the necessary number men amongst the band of its national constructive workers.

Had we been able to keep our sentiments of service and power self-interest and patriotism and such others in their proper proportion and place according to their propriety we could easily have implemented Gandhiji's suggestion. Unfortunately we have not been able to strike the proper balance between them. It does not however mean that we should avoid the duty of forming governments nor can we escape it. It is very likely certain persons conscious of their temporal and avaricious will not choose to join in this function just as every one of us does not join











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FROM MUMBAI P. DEBBI



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TWO ANNAS

## COW-PROTECTION AND COW-KILLING

(By Gandhi)

The central fact of Hinduism is cow-protection. Cow-protection is one of the most wonderful phenomena in human civilization. It takes the human being beyond his species. The cow is the means the entire sub-human world flies through the cow is expected to realize his identity with all that lives.

Travay India 204-25

Masses often find false comforts to let the cow. To make a Hinduism therefore to abstain from the cow-killing under compulsion would amount, in my opinion, to converting him to Hinduism by force. There is India under five rays, in my opinion it would be for a Hindu majority nation and improper to expect by legislation a Hinduism majority into submission to voluntary prohibition of cow slaughter.

Travay India 204-25

Cow slaughter can never be stopped by law. Knowledge, education, and the spirit of kindness towards her alone can put an end to it.

Travay India 204-25

A large number of good Hindus have begun to believe the superstition that the India belongs to the Hindus and that, therefore, they should enforce their belief by law even among non-Hindus. Hence an emotional wave is sweeping the country in order to secure legislation prohibiting the slaughter of cows within the Union.

Travay India 204-25

Let us at the outset realize that cow worship is the religious error is largely confined to Gujarat, Marathi and United Provinces and Bihar. Muslims and Christians being enterprising individuals have succeeded in making the greatest cow-worship at the same time deriving their business interest in the salience of the very difficult question of relieving the cattle wealth of India.

It is obviously wrong legally to enforce upon religious practices on those who do not share that religion.

Travay India 204-25

How can the cow be saved without having to kill her off when she comes to give the economic quantity of milk or when she becomes otherwise an economic burden? The answer to the question can be summed up as follows:

1. By the Hindus performing their duty towards the cow and her progeny. If they did so, the cattle would be the gods, the gods, and the world. The contrary is the case today.

2. By leaving the matter of cattle breeding. Today, there is perfect anarchy in this work.

3. By replacing the present cruel method of castration by the humane method proposed in the West.

4. By thorough reform of the jurisprudence of India, which are today, as a rule, engaged ignorantly and without any plan by men who did not know their own.

5. When these primary things are done, it will be found that the Hinduism will, of their own accord, recognize the necessity of only for the sake of their Hindu brethren, of not slaughtering cattle for beef or otherwise.

The reader will observe that behind the foregoing requirements lies one thing and that is Ahimsa, otherwise known as universal compassion. If that supreme thing is realized, everything else becomes easy. Where there is Ahimsa there is infinite patience, never-again, discrimination, self-sacrifice and true knowledge. Cow-protection is not an easy thing. Much energy is needed to its doing. Nevertheless, in the absence of Ahimsa the Hindus have become destroyers instead of animals of the cow. It is even more difficult than the removal of foreign rule from India.

Travay India 204-25

## HOW TO SERVE THE COW

By Mahatma Gandhi

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labor much or miserably in developing the knowledge and widening the teaching of all these varied subjects in our villages. What we would need more is supervision and superintending. Such an arrangement would afford us, especially in exchange of students between the rural and the urban teaching centres and these students would derive mutual benefit in knowledge and experience. The chief thing to remember here is that all good men should endeavor both to visit regularly our villages. Our students had divided the institutions of the country where they went to be constantly on the move among the people and in the land. A couple can apply to be described as a walking university." Concluding his thesis Vaidya said: "The backbone of every village and every field is a laboratory, every community is a teacher, every travelling company is a classroom and the students are the young men and women in the village who are eager for knowledge and anxious to learn it."

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## HARIJAN

May 7

1935

### MEDIUM FOR ALL-INDIA SERVICES EXAMINATIONS

(By Jagajitkhan P. Datta)

Shri Rajaji has come out with a strong protest against the proposal to conduct All-India Services Examinations through Hindi. He opposes this on the ground of deprecating any tendency towards competition in the matter of language. As he says: "If we are to achieve unity and success in solving our own problems I hope our Hindi advocates will realize this." Shri Rajagopalachari is right when he says this. It may be noted here, that he agrees that there might be introduced a test in Hindi for these examinations.

The Constitution provides for a dead-line of fifteen years for substituting English by Hindi. Shri Rajaji says it is not wise if we exploit this to threaten people and he hints that we may have to clear this dead-line first.

Shri Rajagopalachari has another reason also for his opposition. He says that Hindi has still to raise its level. "It is not equal to English. It is not equal to Tamil, Bengali and Marathi." Therefore the level should be raised. One may as well ask, are the latter even equal to English? Such comparison as I think, not relevant in the point under discussion.

To examine Shri Rajaji's argument, obviously, all Hindi schemes the desired level English requires. According to him, even that means that education, and particularly higher, would continue through this medium? It is queer that Shri Rajaji is silent on this aspect of the question.

Nor does he discuss how and when Hindi is going to raise itself. And who will say that the desired level is achieved? And who will achieve it, the whom? Does he expect the North Indians to do it for the whole of India? Or he contemplates that all of us including the non-Hindi

people also will take their due share in the development of our common language Hindi to the Constitution has very wisely anticipated? To do this it is up to the non-Hindi regions to get prepared for playing their due part in it. Surely, this can be best done by immediately introducing the teaching of Hindi in schools and colleges where Shri Rajaji, I think, approves.

There is another side to this question—a very vital one indeed from the national point of view. All admit that English is the language of the macrocosm minority among us. Still it dominates the field in the exclusion of all our languages. This is surely most undesirable. All of us suffer equally under this rule of our ex-British rule. It has to be changed so that all our people may come to their own in the affairs of the country as soon as possible. This can be done only if not only Hindi but also all the important regional languages scheduled in the Constitution are regularized to play their part in the new set-up to be built up.

As our Prime Minister has very beautifully put it, all of our great Indian languages are our national languages. Among them Hindi is our common language for inter-provincial and all-India purposes. As such it must be learnt by all. But its being the only medium for competitive examinations is a different thing as it would place a certain part of our people in a more favourable or advantageous position. English had an advantage over our languages in this regard that all were equally placed, it being foreign to all alike, unlike Hindi.

What should be done then? Surely continuing English is no remedy. The most natural way is to adopt the regional languages also as the medium of examinations along with Hindi. In the near future our schools and universities are to have these as the medium. They will also teach Hindi as a compulsory subject upto the first degree course. Therefore, candidates for the All-India Competitive Services will, of course, be prepared to be examined through their regional languages. These must surely have that status as free India. Hindi can no very stand a match over them in any manner. Its status is that of an *orderly* ( *सरकारी* ). It is not the only national language to the exclusion of others recognized as India's languages by the Constitution.

Let this suggestion not frighten our "one language devotees" who would have only Hindi for the universities and for the All-India Services Examinations. Only Hindi will be needed, as Shri Rajaji does and wants, if imposed, it will disrupt India's unity and work even the language shapers of the Constitution. Surely is run this risk is neither necessary nor to be desired.

The most natural thing to do is, indeed, therefore is to adopt bilinguism at the university



and eventually at the All-India Services Examinations stage. This will put the Hindi and the non-Hindi speaking candidates on a basis of equality against the competitive examinations. During the transition, English may also continue as a third alternative. Only thus can we progress in the implementation of the Constitutional requirement to replace English by the judicious use of our Indian languages supplemented by the All-India common medium.

It will help nobody to postpone this important reform or even to think of changing the deadline fixed in the Constitution. To do this would be slackening our efforts for adopting the national medium for truly democratic government and administration in our country.

Nor will it profit anybody to say that our languages are not up to the level of English or for the matter of that of any other language. Language is the expression of the mind and the spirit of the people. If we really have chosen to be a free people our language is quite fit to express that large and grave world of ours. Language empowers itself and develops as it chooses to be used by its speakers. And Indian languages have amply shown this capacity even under an alien rule when there was no official encouragement for their progress.

It is therefore not a happy thing to dish Hindi as inferior to this or that. That it is the spoken language of choice of our countrymen is no unique qualification to be our *raison-d'être*. It existed as early as prehistoric days. It had been the vehicle of the sublimest of thoughts, the basest, indeed could come to in those days.

Therefore while agreeing with Lord Ripley that Hindi alone cannot be the medium of All-India services, it is difficult to agree to his hint of continuing English and of changing the deadline of the Constitution. It behoves us to begin, here and now, to work the intention of our own language and also to learn as soon as possible the all-India medium.

Working thus we shall attain the status and the level where Hindi for all-India purposes will be as powerful, if not more, as the foreign medium English. The whole point is to substitute English by, larger or common language Hindi as contemplated by the Constitution (Sec. 341). It is up to us as a people and the Government as the people's instrument to achieve this as soon as possible. Hindi only as the medium, however expedient it may appear in the teaching of English as it works today, will mar this purpose. The all-India medium can survive and develop only in alliance with other Indian languages which also must be equally honoured as the usual medium of All-India Services Examinations. Let us remember the war and imperialist had given in this matter by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress in its resolution passed in April 1944 which is reproduced elsewhere in this issue.

1-5-55

## PRICE FOR INDUSTRIALIZATION

(By Mogambeh P. Desai)

Both the Government of India as also the big industrialists agree to set off something like an industrial revolution in India on the lines of the European Industrial Revolution. In this connection, a reader of the Harijan sent me the following editorial note in the *Mumbai-Express Weekly* (24-5-54). As the reader will see it is by way of advice to our Government also. Unwillingly enough it reveals the main lines of our budget policy as also the meaning of the phrase of deficit financing (as is underlined) by the Finance Minister. The note says:

"In the current issue of the *Highways Journal* of Bombay and Lord Swire, President of Indian Councils, asks a question which is typical of the current thought and also happens to be fitted to the political future of Indian civilization. What is the real key to achieving the constructive process of economic development in our backward countries, 'in extending them from their stagnant life into civilization by setting off in them something like an industrial revolution'?

The central problem in economic development the article is to substitute the process by which a community which was previously saving and investing 4 or 5 per cent of its national income on low, unproductive lines of economy, where value has been rising at something like 12 to 15 per cent of the national income at once."

The footnote is not lacking. Of unskilled labour there is a plentiful supply besides the disguised unemployment. In the substitution process of the economy, 'the industrial revolution is a desired labour'.

Skilled labour is only a temporary bottleneck in the sense that if there is capital available for development, the expansion by their Government will soon provide the facilities for leading more skilled people. The real bottleneck or depression are capital and natural resources" (Editorial note).

There is quickly clearly some industrial development, a number of big industrial plants surrounded by a sea of unskilled workers but further progress is being put off for lack of capital.

The explanation of Professor Lewis' contribution quickly changed to an article in classical economics which seemed to be largely in a contrived observation.

The unskilled workers are too poor to save, as we all know. But also, he says, the rich are the wrong side, 40 per cent of incomes are in the hands of the richest 10 per cent of the people, and savings are low and industrial investment heavy because there rich are largely a landlord and unskilled class which has not the time for industrial enterprise. The only people who can be depended to make productive use of increased incomes are the existing industrialists, so new ones imported from abroad. Their profits must be allowed to increase so as to encourage by surplus savings which can make more profits for further reinvestment, and so go through cycle. In some cases it would be safe to add the process with investment financed by a State interest, provided the limitation is kept within control and provided that the increased income generated by it can be kept out of the hands of peasants, merchants and landlords (who would only spend the money on luxuries or in buying up the prices of land or of other commodities).



I am told, are growing very common. This is especially so when the field concerned is education.

During the Eker regime there was a welcome practice of non-official contact through various educational conventions. They thought out certain lines of planned work and recommended programmes to Government. These have unfortunately been in abeyance at present.

It is also very necessary now to consider secondary education as a post-basic stage of four years from Std. 8 to Std. 11, and begin to reform it accordingly both operationally and in its curricular content. This had started in Bombay State, which at present seems to be put in cold storage along with the programme of rapid expansion and implementation of Basic Education as the primary stage in the whole State. Therefore, what I think troubles both the teacher as well as the average citizen at present is that they had to navigate any shape or pattern of the educational system emerging clearly well from the crisis and implementation plans etc. that are issued from time to time at present. Such a pattern must ensure a progressive policy for securing a sound national system of Basic Education for all our people from Std. 1 to Std. 12. To do that it is necessary that teachers must feel free to act in their own field and Government educational inspection work must be more and more educative and creative and not administrative aimed with 'petal cut' powers.

22-4-68

## NOTES

Are We Free?

To

The Editor of *Samyuk*

Sir,

Can we be truly said to be free when Congress Governments of all States of India including Bombay, Madras, Bengal refuse to abolish compulsory primary vaccination law under pretence of the public health? To make medical prescription of Ekky and Genggon vaccination compulsory by law on those who have it as a constitutional right to the freedom and liberty granted and guaranteed by the Constitution of India in 1947 to all Indians.

Mr Lincoln said "I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors and shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views."

British colonial Professor A. E. Whitelock, O.M., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S. says "The imposition of all laws enforcing or encouraging vaccination is of more moderate and vital importance than any party dogma or any political programme."

Bombay

Yours faithfully,  
Sardaji R. Majei

## Wages Reduction

(A. Reduction of the Marva Sava Sanga)

The Aji India Sarva Sava Sanga comes with concern and sorrow that some time past in several parts of the country actual tillers and labourers have been evicted from their land. In fact justice demands that an actual tiller should have complete and continuous right to the use of the land under his tillage, and no one else should have any right to share the fruits of the tiller's labour. Besides it is against the spirit of the law that while on the one hand a countrywide movement in the form of Bhoolait is in progress aiming at giving land to all the landless people, on the other hand actual tillers should be evicted from their land and rendered landless.

So long as the land question is not radically changed, landownership and landless (share-cropping) are likely to exist in some form or other. A number of State Governments have felt the need to make special laws protecting the landless and they have taken steps too. In view of this act of law and good, the owners of land seek to evict their labourers who in return, and naturally, try to stick to the land they have held so long. A situation of conflict like this cannot be resolved by legislation alone. Whatever the legal position actual justice demands that as children have equal right to their mother naturally all the sons of the soil have equal right to Mother Earth.

Provincial Bhoolait Marva Sanga, therefore, begins their efforts, in co-operation with the political parties and the people concerned to establish a relationship of trust and goodwill between the landowners and the labourers, but based on the basic position laid down above. The Eker Provincial Bhoolait Sanga has taken steps in this direction keeping in view the circumstances prevailing there. The Sarva Sava Sanga hopes that landowners will respect the basic right of the labourers, suggested above. But if they fail to do so the labourers must face the trial and stick to their right at all cost.

By Mahadev Gadgil

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## TERRORISM IN KENYA

(By Mr. Justice P. Datta)

General Kirkland, Acting Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in East Africa, has submitted his report of the "terrorist" activities in Kenya that "a solid concrete has been laid since the beginning of the emergency in Kenya in October 1952. The security forces had lost 515, whilst the number of African 'hijackers' killed was 1,581."

And he said, "that the war against Mau Mau was now 'in the last phase' and he had no doubt that 'we can look forward to a situation being reached in 1955 not so very different from that existing in Kenya before the emergency and in many respects it will be better'."

The above is read from Datta's message from Nairobi April 22 1955. One wonders how the situation in 1955 will not be different from that in 1953. For, does not the "terrorist" killing by the British forces still make difference? It may be therefore true for the General to say that it might be better which some others might hold to be worse. But surely the legal killing of the aggrieved African population by the imperialist army of occupation did make a world of difference in the situation. The act of difference made by it may be equated and assessed by the two parties concerned in the episode viz. the British rulers and their African subjects, each in their own way and according to their own light.

There is a third party also to this to whom also it should make a difference. It is the world in general, for it must not be forgotten. Humanity is growing to be one world. Is such imperialist terrorism a help to that growth? And Africa which came to suffer the scourge of imperialism the most in the previous two or three centuries of world history demand an answer to this question.

An imperialist or colonial master from South Africa recently implied in a challenging mood to say that India equaled to occupy the African territory which at present was held by European countries. To say the least, such over-assertion is no answer to the question noted above. It is only evading the real question. The question is, has the 16th century idea of imperialism, colonialism or capitalism ended now or not? Does Europe show that undesirable chapter of its past history or continue to dragged across still as in Goa? Is the European in Africa prepared to live with the African on terms of equality and friendship or does he still think in terms of his overlordship and continues to do so with the help of his mighty arm and armaments?

21-4-55

By Devda Shree  
SHROODAN YADNA

(Last Name Unknown)

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## THE CONGRESS RESOLUTION

(The following resolution on the subject of the motion for All-India Service Commission was passed by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress in its meeting in New Delhi on April 4 & 5 last year.)

"In view of the fact that the Constitution of India has recognised Hindi as the all-India national language and has fixed a period of 15 years for the transition to Hindi for official all-India purposes, it is desirable that progressively more should be taken to make Hindi the language of communications for the All-India Service."

"These steps should be so phased as not to create any undue burden on the candidates from any part of the country where the regional language is other than Hindi. While Hindi as well as the regional languages must be given every encouragement to develop it must be remembered that a knowledge of foreign languages, and more especially English will continue to be essential for persons in the higher services."

"The Working Committee recommended that progressively examinations for the all-India Service should be held in Hindi, English, and the principal regional languages and candidates may be given the option to use any of these languages for the purpose of examinations in the event of a candidate choosing Hindi, or a regional language for the purpose of his examinations, he should pass separately in English also."

"All candidates who have been shortlisted at these all-India examinations will have to pass a test in Hindi at an early stage unless they have already taken Hindi in the examinations previously."

"The next stage should be a continuation of option to use Hindi, English or the regional languages in these examinations at the nearest stated stage, but with the addition of a compulsory paper on Hindi for such candidates whose language is other than Hindi, and a compulsory paper in some other Indian language for candidates whose language is Hindi. In both cases, English will be a compulsory subject for those who appear in the examinations in Hindi or the other regional languages."

"In this way, Hindi should progressively replace English as the language of examinations for the All-India Service."

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# HARIJAN

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## GANDHI, NEHRU AND VINOBA

(By the author of an article)  
(By Kapalbhai P. Desai)

In an article in the English monthly *The Economist* of December 1954, the president of the past Lok Sabha has discussed Gandhi and Vinoba together. He has personally met both of them. His proposal now is to write a book about Vinoba.

The article reveals vivid appreciation and is thought-provoking. The author has named it *A Dynasty of Savits*. We in India are familiar with dynasties of kings and their rule, the writer seems to indicate a "dynasty of saviors" or savas as saviors. In any case the nation seems to agree with an assessment. For a people who believe in savas and guru it is not altogether wrong.

Some statements and observations by Mahatma Gandhi, the author of the article, are really interesting. "What is going to happen to the leadership of India after Gandhi's departure from this world?" he asks. "What kind of success will we be expected for Mahatma Gandhi—would he be succeeded by a politician exploiting the aura of his sanctity or a saint turned ungenerally politician?"

While our country has reached the verge of being overruled over the question as to who will succeed Jawaharlal the author of the article in the eighth year after the departure of Gandhi is prompted to pose the question as to who will succeed Gandhi? Both the questions are in a way equally suggestive and significant. To a people bred in the traditions of rule by kings and also rule by saviors such questions occur naturally. But here the question strikes a foreigner who is bred in different traditions and he is inclined to ask as to who will succeed Gandhi. He himself goes on to answer the question, from the course of events in India during the past ten or six years. His observation in short boils down to the following:

Let us have a look at the politicians first. They were already in the public eye and they had known and worked with the Mahatma for many years. But Nehru's passion for modernisation gave him reverence for the world's foremost opponent of industrialism (Gandhi) a somewhat

sentimental air, while Dr. Bhabha's brilliant home-grown figure sank into insignificance under the drapings of high office. The "pure" Gandhian village constructive workers anchored up and down the countryside seemed "spiritless and defeated." Under these conditions Vinoba emerged and that condition has changed pattern.

After this statement regarding his observation of events in India Mahatma Vinoba proceeds during Vinoba goes on to say that the latter is intellectual and admirably by temperament and logic inclined. The eyes reveal a quality of humour and earth which are repressed by the gravity becoming a saint. He has no worries and is at peace with himself. The writer also often notes of Vinoba's gift of the simple treasured player. With all these gifts of heart and head he has emerged on the scene of Indian public affairs with his passion of Bhakti. And he is following his course with rare single-mindedness without being weighed into any deviation from his course.

But Vinoba has raised a question. He observes that the Mahatma movement has not developed its own organisation, nor has it raised its own administrative machinery. Vinoba comments himself by merely repeating his theme of a change of heart. Vinoba asks how long could the movement last at this stage? According to him the movement will have to become economic to a "fast-deciding Congress." That will be the signal for Vinoba to withdraw from it, says Vinoba. Because he is not like Gandhi a politician saint but is a saint temporarily pushed on to the fringe of politics.

After all these observations the author of the article concludes with the significant statement: "Could the politician needed no success. That is why Vinoba sticks to the changing of hearts."

But we in India know of Gandhi himself having said that Jawaharlal would be his successor. Most probably Gandhi made a statement to this effect in the course of the Gandhi Seva Sangha held in 1938/9. He was immediately asked what he was trying to mean. If a great saint like him threw his weight in favour of some particular individual in this manner it would directly

the provision of democracy, it was left. How could there be a succession in leadership in public work?

Gandhiji was quick in perceiving the criticism implied in the question and promptly replied that the remark he had made hid no meaning. What he left, he explained, was that Jawaharlal would possibly carry on the work of the nation in the same and manner in which he himself was doing. He emphasized that his statement in no sense implied that he was surrendering a message. Since the late afternoon Gandhiji hardly ever talked on the subject in the language he had allowed himself to use.

Mr. Harizan Thangyan does not seem to have knowledge of the incident. But he has recorded the fact of Gandhiji having on more than one occasion said that Shri Vinoba understood his philosophy even better than he himself did. We also know that at the time of the individual Satyagraha movement in the year 1948 Gandhiji had selected Shri Vinoba as the first Satyagrahi who would break the law.

Do we not feel that when these two incidents are put together Gandhiji, possibly inadvertently, divided his wealth of genius into two parts and indicated two different successions one for each? He wrote to govt. to Jawaharlal, in reference to his political and Shri Vinoba as successor to his spiritual or philosophical gifts? Or we had better say that on account of the pressure of circumstances and events in India the power that was Gandhiji's polarized itself into two after his departure? Are we not able to see such distinction between Shri Vinoba and Jawaharlal?

#### 3

I remember how Jawaharlal, when he had discussions with Gandhiji, after 1930, used to arrive at a crucial point when he would ask him the question, 'Has the supreme power of the State any place in the Swayam of your imagination, and if so what kind of place?'

And another difference which used to crop up between them was about God. I remember Jawaharlal having publicly declared on one occasion that he could not in the least understand the meaning of the word 'God' used by Bapu. While Gandhiji on his side used to express himself in the same way about a word often used by Jawaharlal. Gandhiji used to say that the word 'ideology' did not exist for him in the least!

Now observe that Shri Vinoba is today passionately pursuing the creative power of the Swayam, a big task! Why, he has raised the campaign to the status of a cause or a mission! And recently he has started speaking in the language of a messiah. For instance, he declared at the Pune Shikshak, 'I see that God is making me His instrument in the establishment of a non-violent social order'; that is an order free of the coercive power and rule of the State. It comes as of the

complex, which has been described by writers on psychology in English as the 'messiah-complex' is fast developing in Shri Vinoba.

On the other side, Jawaharlal has undertaken the cause or mission of establishing peace in the world, with a passion which equals Shri Vinoba's. It is true however that a 'messiah-complex' is not as evidence in him. Gandhiji, too, had not fallen a victim to the complex. To the last he maintained the tenacity of a democratic leader of men. When, during a controversy regarding some topic he was challenged by a man like Tagore, he said that although he believed his message of Khadi and the spinning wheel was for the whole world, he was a modest worker and therefore would not say it as so many would. On this another instance. When invited by America for the propagation of his message he humbly refused the invitation by saying, 'My work has been in India. If I do not succeed here what is the good of my running about the world?'

And Jawaharlal today taking hold of the creative power of the State and seeks to forge it into a democratic mould. By temperament, he is an 'intellectual socialist'; pouring his faith in the rational mind and society. But along with such a personality the English democratic tradition is deeply ingrained in his makeup. Like Shri Vinoba he, too, is a scholarly intellectual; besides he is deeply artistic. He can also wield the power that is language. But all the strength he derives from the enlightenment of gifts he is unwilling to achieve his aim of establishing peace in the world through the State power of India under Swayam.

#### 4

But Jawaharlal is certainly not a saint, nor a seer. He does not know the language of God and spirituality. In any case it does not come naturally to him. On the other hand Shri Vinoba cannot but speak in the language of God and spirituality and on occasions reveals an insight from Hindu mythology and the Puranas.

Another point, Jawaharlal has never experienced poverty. He used to blame Gandhiji by saying that the latter related poverty to the status of a virtue for spiritual rewards. Gandhiji avoided concerning the blame but concerned content by expressing his true opinion that comparable poverty had to be removed, that for the man who was starving bread was God in the first instance, that he can think of God only after his physical hunger was satisfied with adequate food, and that, therefore, God had to be presented to him quietly in the form of bread. And there were the reasons, he further argued, why he was devoting himself to the spinning wheel, village industrial, Khadi etc.

The truth of the matter is that the really passionate race for raising the standard of living of their people is which the nation of the West

are engaged today is not only the fruit of ignorance but also of arrogance. The masses of the modern world are due to this arrogant and arrogant philosophy of reading the attitudes of living. It has driven the nations of the world to give up the virtues of self-reliance for the removal of the masses of others, and has given birth to the brutal religion of competition with colonialism and imperialism in its wake. Dark with the philosophy the Western nations have harnessed the machine to raise the standard of living of their people. On the strength of the machine they enslaved other weaker nations of the world economically and politically. They could not but do so, for how otherwise could they gainfully dispose of the overproduction of goods and articles the machine yielded to them? Before the advent of the tale of the success of the philosophy poverty began to be considered not only a vice but a crime. Both slowly began to believe that the pursuit of economic and material advancement was a virtue. The virtues of contentment and self-control about things material and worldly began to fade themselves in such an atmosphere. Now, really speaking, these are not spiritual virtues, at least they have their utility in spiritual endeavour. But their primary utility is in the affairs of the world. If nations lack these virtues, war would be an inevitable feature of the life of man on earth and the larger part of humanity would be condemned to starvation. Calamities of the kind of the God of war can grow and reap in the soil which lacks these qualities. For these reasons poverty remains the status of a virtue for human society and nations. Gandhiji repeatedly emphasized the aspect of poverty. But Jawaharlal born with a silver spoon in his mouth would hardly be expected to understand what Gandhiji meant because of the ideas he imbibed during his upbringing. It is also true that as he was brought up and received his education in the Western world his mind was infused with the ideas of that world. It is a great misfortune that the prejudice rooted in the mind of Jawaharlal is growing a veritable hindrance to the establishment of a new non-violent economic order in India.

Shri Vinoba's upbringing is entirely different. He has imbibed and holds values quite the reverse of these. By temperament he loves materialism, is inclined to regeneration and also possesses a sharp intellect, but he has great inclination to facts in the power of asceticism than in that of the intellect. Though temperamental depending on knowledge he has cultivated love for Ahimsa. Thus he is a great devotee. He is therefore naturally devoted to the virtues of poverty which in our culture is invariably associated with the Brahmachari tradition. He also knows the social value of *aparigraha* or non-possession. Gandhiji also had a natural attraction for these virtues but was not able to practice them in his heart's content. This lack of them led him to have exaggerated respect for those who had them.

Do we not know that he had admired a Hindu ascetic and that Vinoba outgrew his philosophy of life even better than he, here all right. And Shri Vinoba used also to remark, hold in your hand and half-swearingly, 'Beware friends, Gandhiji is the son of a poor master of a Slave and we cannot afford to follow his definition of *aparigraha*—non-possession.' Shri Vinoba fully realizes the economic and social power of the virtue of self-reliance simplicity of life primarily based on labour. But Jawaharlal, with his faith on mechanized industries and science, could hardly be expected to co-operate freely in building such an order because his mind would be repulsed and conscious it as the cause of poverty. In this matter Shri Vinoba, not Jawaharlal, is Gandhiji's true successor.

### 2.

Gandhiji had seen the Western world also. Jawaharlal saw it when he was younger than when Gandhiji did. But the latter's experience of it was not any the lesser on that account. Vinoba saw that world not with his own eyes but indirectly through the eyes of others and never took its colour. On the contrary he lived and had his being in the world of the *Samant*, *Samant*, the *Vedha* and the *Uparikshi*. The people of India not only understood what such life meant, but are also attracted by it. Indeed they worship such life. That was the reason why they were attracted to Gandhiji also.

In spite of the superficial likeness there is a difference between the two. The Indian people look up to Shri Vinoba in the way they look up to Jawaharlal, Tukaram, Ramadas and other older saints. Because the people have an attraction for Shri Vinoba and worship him in this manner a psychological process of projection towards what I have named *anti-money or anti-crisis* (something like the Platonic idea of *philosophy-king*) is induced in them. Towards Gandhiji the nation had the love and feelings as towards a father. He carried on his work and took it from the people by a process in which elders are respected and rule. On account of his posture in older traditions Gandhiji possibly liked to work that way. But as he had a liberal outlook he did not allow the establishment of a rule by elders, he took with through and from the Congress in a purely democratic way. And he always believed that the Congress was greater than he. Whenever he saw the Congress taking a course towards ideas different from his own he withdrew himself from it but was careful to help it in its work even then and gave all credit of progress to it for whatever was achieved. There was a solid reason behind this attitude. Gandhiji believed that the egoism is greater than the national. Shri Vinoba seems to be differently inclined and holding a different view in this connection.

The greatness or importance of an individual is a social phenomenon. If an individual appears

(Continued on page 47)

# HARIJAN

May 14

1935

## LIMITATIONS OF LAW

(By Jagabhai P. Desai)

Since the establishment of having two things are being insisted upon especially in Uttar Pradesh. (1) That Hindi be pronounced all over the country as the language of the State and (2) that cow-slaughter be prohibited by law. These two matters are of vital importance to the development of our national life, so much so that they have deserved mention in our Constitution.

About language the Constitution includes a provision that Hindi shall be the language of the administration of the Union. A further provision lays down that unless the President ordered in a manner specified in the Constitution the removal of English earlier it shall continue in use till the year 1963 A.D.

Regarding cow-slaughter the Constitution provides that the State shall take steps to put a stop to the slaughter of cows and calves and other milch and draught cattle.

We also know that there has been a sharp difference of opinion and bitter controversy in our country from a fairly long time regarding these two subjects. The difference and the controversy continue even today. The cause for the difference and the controversy was religious consciousness. Relations between the Hindus and the Muslims used to be strained to the last on account of their respective attitudes regarding these two matters. These two topics of public interest have continuously spoiled the relations between the communities living in the country.

What form shall Hindi be? What is Hindustani? What place will Urdu have? Will there be unity between Hindi and Urdu which are two styles of one and the same language? The Hindus thought they believed that Hindi and Urdu were two forms of the same speech brought into vague Sanskritized Hindi and began to call it their language, the Muslims insisted on Arabizing and Persianizing Urdu and said that it was their language. Our religious differences were thus extended to the wider field of speech also.

After thirty years difference assumed a new shape though the original sentiment persisted. As the language of the administration of the State was named Hindi in the Constitution a slogan was set going that Sanskritized or pure unsullied Hindi should now be the language of the administration, and that Urdu should now have no place anywhere. This trend went so far that the State Government of Uttar Pradesh gave no place to Urdu in their scheme of education. Side

by side the cry was raised that Hindi be forcibly made the language of intercourse in the offices of the Central Government, that candidates for public services be restricted on the standard of their knowledge of Hindi and so on. Things went so far that there came about an atmosphere in which it was held responsible for non-Hindi public servants to be in Delhi. The Hindi regime further declared and propagated the opinion that the universities in the country should now begin to adopt Hindi as their medium of instruction and begin their work on the lines immediately. These movements and tendencies not only severed of Hindu consciousness but also of provincialism which had their evil effect on the normal work of propagation of Hindi all over the country.

It was believed essential that we as a nation and the non-Hindi-speaking people of the country in particular should begin learning Hindi so that we could ultimately establish Hindi as the language of the Union and of inter-provincial intercourse. It was because of this that the idea found a place in the Constitution. But to insist that Hindi be at once given this status by force of law is quite a different thing. The direction in the Constitution indicates constructive activity for the propagation of Hindi and reaching a certain stage in the matter within fifteen years. With this and in view having a planned programme of work for the purpose is nothing improper. But that things should be handled by legislative measures with an eye on public service jobs and that too not by non-Hindi regimes, but by the Hindi-speaking people of North India is something really sinister.

Let us now have a look about the work regarding cow-slaughter. Here too the same blunder is to be seen that an agitation has been set about not for the service of the cow but for prohibiting cow-slaughter by law. The Jena Sangha, the Hindu Mahasabha and such other communal-political organisations with the lead in the agitation, A law prohibiting cow-slaughter was enacted in the State of Uttar Pradesh. And a Congressman like Seth Gurnam Das proposed a resolution in the Parliament that it should also enact a revision of the same type. We all know that man with a feeling of communal antagonism have been in the Congress from days past. Someone had gone to the length of remarking in this connection that if an average Congressman was scratched we would find a communally minded Hindu with his antagonism against the Mussalman concealed under the outer skin. This was true also of those who professed to be nationalist Muslims.

Now after Pakistan has separated itself from India the Hindus have come to feel that they could get cow-slaughter prohibited by law. Some political parties have gone to the length of making it a slogan of their programme. We have arrived at such an unfortunate stage in connec-



tion with the two vital religious of Hindu and cow slaughter.

It is obvious that our old history is permeating through these two problems. Hindu communalism manifests itself to us on these two counts in a new shape. It indicates that the public declaration made by Shri Menbhai that the agitation for prohibition of cow slaughter is a communal one and that it is not being carried on out of a feeling of service of the cow is not incorrect. But what is particularly revealed by the agitation is that we cannot hope to save the cow by law, and that she and we ourselves also can be saved only by our winning her in the true way. But the men and women who have come together to stop cow-slaughter do not propagate the ideal of rendering service of the cow. They send men to the slaughter-houses to offer 'Satyagraha'.

A friend argued that if drink could be prohibited by law why could not cow-slaughter be also prohibited in the same manner. The comparison is an misleading, as it is obvious. Lager hotels were being run by Government, besides, liquor is not a mortal article of food or drink, in fact it is a thing which kills the mind and soul of man. A comparison, therefore, between beef and Lager would be entirely misleading. Besides Government does not in any way encourage the use of beef. On the contrary, every State has its own prohibitive acts against slaughter of animals and we could also enact measures for prohibition of slaughter of animals applying them to the whole of country area now if considered necessary from the economic point of view. The religious view of everyone of us is not the same in this connection. The view that the Hindus have adopted is one of service of the cow. They should at least perform their religious duty of serving the cow and ask for necessary aid from Government for the purpose. The directive in the Constitution law gives a duty for the State to improve the breed of the cow. But what we hear and see is the Hindus sending to the slaughter-houses most of the cattle who die by the butcher's knife. This will certainly have to be stopped. But the way to stop it is the way of the service of the cow. By such service we will have milk and ghee in plenty as also animal power in the form of bullocks and would also develop the capacity to reduce cow-slaughter to the minimum. Government will not be able to achieve this end.

A word to those communities which use beef as food would not be out of place. Hardly anyone has to eat beef as a religious duty, those who use it are of course at liberty to do so. Such people would do well, however, to appreciate the sentiment of their neighbouring communities and to get up eating beef as food gradually in consideration of the sentiment. Beef is not eaten by the Hindus but some do use other kinds of meat and they sometimes eat beef as medical food. If that be true it is of course very improper, One

does not have to sacrifice those Hindus who travel in foreign land. It is better to avoid the use of beef as food. What I want to point out is that the best way to prevent cow-slaughter is to protect her and her offspring that is serve them in the most scientific way. Gandhi, by starting the Go Dena League, set his tent to show how to do it. But we have till now failed to make it a success. Now under Swamy we can achieve a great deal in the field by quickening our steps. But merely to refuse a cry for prohibition of cow-slaughter by law would not be of much advantage to us in serving the cow.

30-4-33

(Jawahar Khande)

### Textile Industry and Lancashire

The wheel of time is revolving very fast indeed! In order to give a cross view to Lancashire cloth trade the Government of India is reducing the import duty on it. Compare the days of the year 1929 and the present days of 1933! And on the other side the textile magnates of India are giving considerable opportunities to export the produce of their factories!

While discussing the various items of events the Finance Minister of the Government of India, Shri C. D. Deshmukh assured us that the reduction was not going to have any adverse effect on the industries of our country. Before the reduction was declared the magnates of the textile industry in Lancashire and those from our country (the Japanese ones were taken for granted) had met in a conference and arrived at some understanding. As the reduction seems to have been effected according to the understanding, even if India industrialists of cloth may be somewhat questioning a little they would not be quite vocal in their opposition to it.

It is good that the step is taken in order to relieve the difficulties of Lancashire, but there is one consideration pertaining to the event which cannot be ignored. There is also a third party in this deal. The Government does not seem to note it, nor do the local textile industrialists care for it. That is the interest of the Indian peasant and the Indian weaver, — chiefly speaking, the interest of the Khadi and village industries. If the Government were mindful of his prosperity it should make it plain to the textile industry owners of both the countries that in order to make it possible for the masses of the peasants and weavers of India they may ultimately be ready to wind up their business in favour of and for the good of the latter.

1-3-33

(Pran Gokhale)

IN P

By Mahatma Gandhi  
BASIC EDUCATION

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Continued from page 35

## GANDHI, KUTUB AND VINOBA

great it is originally an accident of the society in which he functions. If we thought of persons as individuals alone it has obviously but not meaning that all individuals are not on account of the soul and also equal. There is no question of one man being great and another small there is equality. There is only one and that other. The life of the world creates the difference.

Aims and ideals in society cannot be achieved unless you have organisations or institutions suited to them. Individuals have to operate and work through them. But society should be careful not to set up organisations or institutions on the lines of member whereas individuals are raised to the status of instances who have the final say and the sole authority. In order that organisations or institutions find their own proper leaders they should function as living entities, individuals should put them with the pure aim of serving society through them and should never be attracted to them for love of power. Unless individuals cultivated this tendency while functioning through organisations all their progress would be killed, and democracy too would ultimately be utterly destroyed.

The history of the world shows that the goodness of society lies in a power. Instances of Saint Francis, Guru Nanak, Guru Govind Singh, Gandhi and many others can be pointed out to illustrate the truth. But the goodness manifested needs an organism to be effective in society. For instance, Saint Francis had the Pope and the Cardinal. For another familiar instance Gandhi had Sardar Vallabhbhai.

Shri Vinoba also cannot escape the logic of this process. It would have been a different matter if he were a mere propagator of the lessons of the Gita. He seeks, however, to bring about a revolution through Khosla. But what about the organisation for it? The reply offered to the question by Mahatma Thengra is correct to a certain extent. He says that the Khosla movement will have an organisation of its own and that it will take the place of the Indian National Congress in Indian social life. The first part of the reply is correct, the latter part of it is completely questionable.

6

We already observe the organisation of the Khosla movement taking shape. The Sarva Seva Sangh is gradually being transformed into it. The machinery of the Sangh set up in the year 1929 by comprehensive or total co-operation service is before our very eyes becoming the institutional machinery of the Khosla idea. Not only that, it has started being critical of the Congress. Shri Vinoba expressed his feeling before the Part Sarvodaya Sangh Samiti in this connection.

He declared that the Congress was proving a hindrance to the establishment of a non-violent social order and that some remedy had to be found for the solution of the difficulty. He had also some better words to say about the democratic way adopted by the Congress.

The organisational machinery through which Jawaharlal functions in the Congress. He has estimated it as the most powerful institution in the country. It is indisputably giving itself as much when compared with other organisations. In the strength and power that it has built up, proving a hindrance to the progress of non-violence — the question has been posed before the country in all seriousness by the Sarvodaya Parishad.

Thengra has given the final reply that the last existing Congress will be replaced by the power that is Khosla. He clarifies his statement by adding that Shri Vinoba could not form part of this institutional power, he begs the question by making a significant statement that Shri Vinoba will go on replacing his formula of a change of heart. Who then will build up the Khosla organisation? And who will be the person or what will be the element, of which it will be composed?

The Sarvodaya Parishad taking its cue from the suggestion of setting up a Lok Seva Sangh made by Gandhi declares its feeling that as the Congress has failed to convert them into such a league for the service of the people the task of building up an institution mainly depending on its own moral strength devolves upon itself. Just Shri Vinoba should have made such a declaration against his natural temperament, social opinion. But it surely indicates his unconsciously accepting the need of an organisational machinery to achieve a new ideal by making it socially effective, and now in theoretical expressions that God will create it he submits, at least of proper to concentrate on the work of Khosla.

Whether the power of goodness has manifested itself through a society like ours and intelligent men have devoted themselves to the mission of service in order to make the power socially effective. It is like asking names to the figure due to multiply its value. Thengra is of the opinion that in the absence of Gandhi who was the peacock figure one Shri Vinoba succeeds him in the dynasty of saints. But if Shri Vinoba refuses to be bound as an institutional set-up he cannot take fully the place of the figure man in it. That certainly would lead to a subsequent taking his place. Who will be the substitute? And how will he emerge?

7

There is not much love lost between the Congress and many of the leading men who have thrown themselves to the Khosla movement. Some of them are designated Congressmen who are now opposing the Congress. Shri Vinoba has formulated in words the underlying price of

formation. In the House and the Congress is growing awareness of the accomplishment of a non-violent revolution. But will the Congress believe? What reply has it to offer to Shri Vinoba's charge? It resolves to end the Bhooman activity and proceeds on the way.

Even Government is eager to help Bhooman. They are prepared to give away in Bhooman fields of acres of land to their possession. But Shri Vinoba, nursing a strong prejudice against the very institution of the State, refuses the gift. Is the refusal proper? The Farmland held at Port does not seem to have applied an answer to this aspect of the Bhooman.

Government's misadventure can be of immense help in solving the difficulty of distributing the land collected in Bhooman. Government can easily improve and level more land by getting to work the engineering department of the army and the ministry at its disposal. Government can also provide for the necessary transportation or finance through their development plans to the landless who need it to work on the land to be given to them. In fact the failure provided for Government planning could well be utilized in this manner. And if Government planning took this turn it should be welcomed by Bhooman workers as, if they like, a necessary evil. But is not the personal prejudice of Shri Vinoba coming in the way of Government help of this kind? Truly viewed, taking the Bhooman movement forward in this manner should be the commonly accepted derivation of its progress.

But leaders of the Bhooman activity like Shri Jayaprakash Narayan would not perhaps like this movement taking such a turn. They may not allow it to do so. They may not like the Congress coming into their picture. They may be strong at backing up separate institutional strength of their own. They hope Bhooman to effect the revolution of their dreams. They seem to have realized that the genius of Shri Vinoba would serve their purpose. We know that the Revolution of India have been expecting a person of Gandhi's calibre and status to lead them to a successful revolution of their conception. Let us grant that the immense popularity of Shri Vinoba is utilized for the purpose. But will that bring about the revolution which they so earnestly desire?

## B

Revolution is not born of the difference between one individual and another. Its birth is the natural consequence of a difference in values. There is hardly an issue which the Bhooman activity wants to tackle and which the Congress does not want to. True, the Congress may be slow in the direction of its aim and the Bhooman institution may go very fast. But a difference in the intensity of wish or speed does not become a

difference in values. If the Bhooman movement now goes immediately, place to its original aim of collecting thousands of acres of land and resolves to progress on the lines of the principle of all land belonging to God along with change of heart as its principal aim, it may add to the content of its goodness, but what about the velocity for making it effective in society? As Vinoba says about the Congress, will not such a course lead the Bhooman movement to replace inspiration by mere pity? Revolution comes about only when the ethical strength of goodness is made effective in society which is essentially selfish. To that end the quality of effort has to put on the fiery of rage, even goodness cannot escape the line of the process of revolution.

Gandhi had a full grasp of the working of this law. About Shri Vinoba we have yet to find out how far he accepts the validity of that law. Jivatkar may be able to understand the power of goodness. He may even recognize it as such if compelled to do so. But it is something which is foreign to him. That is why he would show a passion along for Khadi, Village Industries etc, but has been will always be for modern education and urban culture and urban ways of life. And yet he hopes to establish peace in the world. As Shri J. C. Kumarappa says there is no possibility for peace in the world unless all nations based their economic structures on principles laid down and to a certain extent worked out by Gandhi. One may hope Jivatkar to be converted to this view of world peace sometime. But it will surely take time. Shri Vinoba has a faith which is quite the reverse of it. He may not deny the utility of science and scientific achievements, but he cannot be expected to take to an exaggerated or blind worship.

Such then is the state of the leadership of our country. The way out of the confusion lies in the direction of taking resort to true democracy. Only true democracy could bring Shri Vinoba and Jivatkar together. Only then could the Bhooman idea work with speed with the help of Government and only then could Jivatkar be made to appreciate what a great thing the village industries programme is and what immense potentialities for the good of our people when he looks so clearly, it contains. Without such a transformation democracy and peace in India are but empty dreams. And there is no other way to put a stop to war or Jivatkarism so much waste to do.

20-4-53

(From the original in Gujarati)

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# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY BHABHA BANSARI)  
Editor: BHABHARAJ P. BHABHA

379



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TWO ANNAS

## INDUSTRIAL POLICY ACCORDING TO GANDHI

Some thirty members of the Economic Conference which was held in Nagpur (in 1938) were present at the opening ceremony of the Mahatma Museum. The ceremony over, Gandhiji led them in conversation saying "I want you to estimate what you have seen, and tell me the defects you may have discerned. Please will not help me. I know where I deserve praise. But don't tell me as collected that the whole thing is doomed to failure as some economists have done before. Such condemnation would not impress me. But if after a close and sympathetic study you discern flaws and point them out to me, I shall feel thankful."

"Are you against large-scale production?" they asked.

Gandhiji replied "I never said that. The belief is one of the many superstitions about me. Half of my time goes in answering such questions. But from the structure I expect better knowledge. Your question is based on loose newspaper reports and the like. What I am against is large-scale production of things that the villagers can produce without difficulty."

"What do you think of the Planning Commission?" was the next question.

"I cannot say anything," replied Gandhiji. "It was not discussed in my presence in the Working Committee. Because I still continue to tender advice to the Working Committee whenever my advice is sought, it does not mean that everything that comes from the Working Committee bears my imprimatur or is even discussed with me. I have purposely divested myself of responsibility, so far as the general body of decisions are concerned."

"Do you think that village industries and big industries can be harmonised?" they asked.

"Yes," said Gandhiji. "If they are planned to help the villages. The big industries, industries which the nation needs, may be controlled. But then I would not choose anything as a key industry that can be taken up by the villages with a little organisation. For instance, I did not know the possibilities of handmade paper. Now I am so hopeful that I believe that every village can pro-

duce its own paper, though not for newspapers, etc. Supposing the State controlled the paper-making and controlled it, I would expect it to protect all the paper that villages can make."

"What is meant by protecting the villages?" they asked.

"Preventing them against the attacks of the cities," Gandhiji replied. "In any case, under my scheme, nothing will be allowed to be produced by the cities which can be equally well produced by the villages. The proper function of the cities is to serve as clearing houses for the village products."

"Can we harmonise the cloth and activity with the handloom production?"

"So far as I know," he said, "my answer is an emphatic 'no'. All the cloth we need can easily be produced in the villages."

"But the number of mills is increasing," said the economists.

"That is a malpractice," said Gandhiji.

"But that is one of the things that the Planning Commission has set itself to do," they said. "It is naive to me," he replied. "Is that what the Congress will have to accept its mandate on Khadi?"

On the same topic, there was a discussion between Gandhiji and M. Friedman, a Polish engineer. "The ultimate ideal of having self-sufficient villages is there," observed the engineer. "But that can mean about where everyone is cultured in the Indian sense of the word. Does not industrialisation serve to level the ground?" Is it not sheer waste of energy merely to oppose it? Would it not be better to try to change its direction?"

"You are an engineer," said Gandhiji. "You will, therefore, appreciate an illustration from mechanics. You know the parallelism of beams. There the forces do not neutralise each other. Each beam acts freely along its own line and we get the resultant which indicates the final direction of motion. It is the same with the problem you have mentioned. As I look at Russia where the apothecary of industrialisation has been reached, the life there does not appeal to me. To use the language of the Bible, 'What shall it

and a man of his great intellect, his world and his soul."—*My modest aim is to win the British dignity of lost individuality and become a man in the machine. I want every individual to become a full-blooded, fully developed member of society. The villages must become self-sufficient and I see no other solution of our big to work in terms of Ahimsa. Now I have the conviction. I know there are others who believe in industrialisation. I work with all my being for my conviction. The process of adjustment goes on. I don't know what the outcome of it will be, but whatever it is, it will be to the good."*

"Is an compromise with the industrialisation possible without regarding the ideal of self-sufficient villages?" asked Pydiman.

"Oh, yes," replied Gandhiji. "Highways are there, I do not avoid them. I hate machines, but I make use of them only as far as the mass. Again I dislike kanchan-pans, but just now I am making use of one, though I carry a road-pan in my bag. Compromise comes in at every step, but one must realise that it is a compromise, and keep the final goal constantly in front of the man's eye."

"When I turn from the busy West to the silence in the Indian villages," remarked Pydiman, "I want to be moving in a different world altogether in which stagnation reigns."

"Yes, as long as you live on the surface," said Gandhiji. "But the moment you talk to them and they begin to speak, you will find that wisdom drops from their lips. Behind the crude exterior, you will find a deep reserve of spirituality. I will tell you more. You will not find such a thing in the West. You try to engage a European peasant in conversation, and you will find that he is uninterested in things spiritual. In the case of the Indian village, an aged saint in a hidden nook is an ornament of wisdom. Take away the superstition, remove his distrust, and you have the finest specimen of what a cultured, cultivated, free man should be."

(From *Shri Yashwantrao Mahadeo*, Vol. 5, pp. 2411)

By D. G. Tendulkar

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## HUNDRED YEARS AGO

THE following extracts are taken by a friend from Surat. They are from two articles that appeared under the title "Government Connection with Intemperance" in the *Amrita* of January and February, 1935. Issues of an old magazine, *Pran-Darshan*. The reader will note that they were written when the British rule was finally crumbling itself in 1935.

The argument for prohibition is very simple—the Government spends money on alcohol and thus makes respectable what is inherently disreputable and morally bad. It must clearly stop that by law. There will drive out the meaner spirit of the people, and there will be scope for reformers to work.

Will the new Government in various States bend to this simple and direct plan and amend that was made a hundred years ago and in 1931 as valid as it was then and unfortunately seems to be repeated after hundred years and in the 19th year of our freedom?

19-35

R. P. J.

(1)

"As long as the sanction of supreme authority is given to traffic in intoxicating drinks, so long must these agencies labour to a great extent in vain. The simple question here is: Is this traffic an evil? If so, it should not be regulated, it ought to be not only checked but totally removed. It would not be difficult to show that the regulating checking system by Government houses is far more than counterbalanced by the evils which directly flow from it. This broad Government and has rendered responsible a disreputable calling. The Distiller, the Publican, the Toddy contractor hold public esteem in defiance because their feet stand under the shield of supreme authority."

(2)

"I may traverse the whole country without witnessing a single case of intemperance, but the moment I pass over the British territory I find a marked difference. Every border, every street of every city every village, and even hamlet bear testimony to the utter inefficiency of this so-called Government check on intemperance. Distilleries, Brew-shops, Toddy houses, driving a successful trade in every direction, thousands on thousands of the people especially of the working classes habituated drinkers, thousands on thousands daily—the British not excepted—according to those shops which claim the protection of a British Christian Government, (in witnessing such scenes as these, I cannot, I cannot discover anything in the form of a check on intemperance. I observe the poorest, the most wretched looking of the people whose daily earnings are in most cases one and a half, or two annas regular visitors in public-houses, at the Brew-shop."

(3)

"It is demonstrable, indeed it has been again and again demonstrated, that the traffic in intoxicating liquors in this country, as sanctioned by our rulers, is a great evil—that it is proving ruinous to millions in British India. Let it not be said that by regulating and checking this traffic our rulers are doing their utmost to promote

competence among their subjects. When the whole of this vast revenue is raised exclusively into the national treasury, when it is solely applied to the reformation of the people, when it is expended in the establishment of industrial and social institutions, then this argument might have some weight. Still the principle would be unsound, because it sanctions evil that good may follow. If I pinch my neighbour and the sea that I may exhibit my generosity, and compassion as resulting from a watery grave, do you give me credit either for compassion or well regulated principles? No more do the upright and laudable resources of our rulers justify them in countervailing this great evil."

(4)

"The sale of intoxicating liquors under Government sanction is felt and acknowledged to be an enormous evil. Can it be lessened? Can it be removed? We answer, yes, and we maintain that the moment our Government has the will it may with impunity exert its power to effect this desirable end."

"We know our Government desires to promote the well-being of its people, and we rejoice that it has accomplished and is accomplishing so much, but this device must increase in order, in many instances of reform, sacrifice is necessary, — present excitement must be relinquished."

"They will cut off this occasion to intemperance, though at the expense of pecuniary loss. We do not expect them to effect a moral reformation. No human legislation can effect this, but we say let them earnestly seek and labour to effect reformation and we have faith that reformation will be the result."

"Hence we conclude that it is their (Legislature's) imperative duty to demand the cessation of this traffic, to prohibit distillation, to withdraw these houses to produce their distillation, to remove every occasion of stumbling, every impediment in the progress of intemperance. This bears the aspect of a sweeping measure."

"We maintain then that it is the imperative duty of our Indian Government to prohibit entirely traffic in intoxicating liquors."

(5)

"The chief question for British Reformers — for honest men in, in this traffic a good or an evil? — is our sanction of a right or wrong? Every discerning traveller in these parts, every impartial inquirer will unhesitatingly answer, it is an evil of our magnitude. Hence our reforming Government should disclaim all connection with it and exert their determination to suppress it in every quarter."

(6)

"The use of intoxicating liquors is contrary to their religion. Not only would this measure be right per se, not only is it consistent to our Government to enforce it without consulting the wish of a single subject, but it would be a decidedly popular measure. The poor as well as the

more opulent would rejoice in it. The very victims of intemperance would thank the Government for its benign interference. The more intelligent subjects in British India would celebrate the cessation of the traffic — the death of this all-devouring monster as a Jubilee. Then would the pulpit and the press, then would education prove manifold more powerful than at present. The obstacles removed, they would produce their hygienic effect."

### LACQUERED RATHEN VESSELS

(By S. K. Sharma)

Though a few years ago, earthen pots were quite commonly used among the people of India, there is gradually a contrast for the so-called *snake potter's pottery*. This is because of the overprice and cheap maintenance. In order to feed their tribe of hungry stomachs of potters, it becomes inevitable to adopt certain methods to improve the attractive quality of the village pottery.

One among such is lacquering the porous earthen vessels with shellac plus by aqueous solution in order to make the vessels impervious. The India Lac Research Institute, Buxit, has conducted an appreciable amount of experiment and found out a suitable method of lacquering by an earthen ware. The method prescribed by the above institute involves the process in getting rid of the pores to a considerable extent, though the lac coat is a temporary method.

During the recent Sarvadina Sarvadina at Puri all the 1500 delegates were supplied with lac-coated mud vessels for the use during the week time to keep liquid food stuffs and water. Usually in such Sarvadina ordinary porous mud vessels are supplied which are thrown away every time after the meal. But this time tapping the talents of the local potters of Puri, who are situated in one single colony, about 1500 pieces of mud vessels were manufactured. The technique of lacquering the ware with shellac and by aqueous solution was taught to the potters and with their help all the 1500 mud pieces were lacquered in order to make the vessels impervious and good looking. Every delegate was supplied with a glass to drink water and a bowl to store liquid food stuff. Instructions were given to use the two pieces up to the end of the three-day Sarvadina.

The result was quite appreciable. Even the orthodox people who have aversion towards using the glass cookware more than once, not only used the same two pieces up to the end but also carried with them these to the period of Puri Sarvadina. The result of this experiment gave a chance to learn the new technique to about 50 potters of Puri. This gave them a ray of hope of survival in the hands of the overruled industries. The expenditure incurred on the whole is not more than the usual money allotted for the supply of cookware. This is a cheap but a good process to improve porous pottery.

# HARIJAN

May 21

1955

## BHOODAN AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

(By Jagannath P. Srani)

Shri Mukhand Agrawal from Mandla? in Madhya Bharat raises a natural and true question. To my mind it is also fundamental. It would have been well if the Puri Committee had discussed it adequately. The question is this.

In your article 'The Bhodan Anniversary' (Harpur, 25-4-55) it is stated that Khadi and village industries were considered with Bhodan movement as an integral part. But when at the one hand Shri Yashwantrao says that his aim is the emancipation of a servile and servile-minded caste based on Bhodan and village industries, on the other the Puri Committee adopts a resolution, appealing to all groups of workers to give up all other activities to devote all their abilities to the Bhodan Yajna!

This resolution has created a misunderstanding in the minds of workers. Some worry that as the work for village industries is an integral part of the Bhodan Yajna movement, to carry it on is violating the Bhodan activity orders, from that workers cannot give up that work to devote their energies to Bhodan alone."

The resolution of the Puri Committee is explicit. Following its appeal Shri Anantabhai Sahasrabudhe, Shri Lakshambhai and Shri Siddharth Chaddha have resigned from the Khadi and Village Industries Board. Others in other fields of work too are possibly thinking on similar lines.

We learn from newspapers that prompted by a similar consideration, trustees of the Sevagram Ashram, banking over the Memorial Cottage etc. to the Gandhi Memorial Trust, left the place to join the Bhodan movement.

But there is a difference. It is one thing to give up the work of village industries, Nai Talim etc. in which we are at present engaged to recruit into Bhodan and quite another to do so without harming them. The action of the Sevagram Ashram trustees follows the latter type, the question raised by Shri Agrawal applies to the former.

The needs of many others of our constructive workers must have been excluded over the problem. It is like saying I usually asked a leading constructive worker from Gujarat about it. He told me, "Why should this problem arise for those of us who are devoting all their time and energies in their respective fields? Some of the constructive programmes like Khadi, village industries and such others are various facets of the total revolutionary task we have undertaken. The idea of giving them up does not appeal to me."

I believe the reply I received is correct. I also ask myself whether I, too, should give up my work for Nai Talim in the Gujarat Vidyapeeth and my work for the Narayan papers and column in the Bhodan last-marches. I do not think I should.

I believe the question is not similar to the movement as in the movement for Independence, Khadi, national education, village industries, Harijan service etc. my activities for the representation of the nation Bhodan is one more added to them. We must act with the aim that we are ideal in view that by engaging ourselves in any one of these we are seeking to establish a non-violent society. That was why Gandhiji contemplated merging all the separate institutions for constructive activities into one single organisation even as he had advised the Congress to convert itself into a Lok Sevak Sangh in 1934. But before he could do it he left us. The Sarve Seva Sangh was started with the same idea in view. Just as the Congress failed to convert itself in pursuance of Gandhiji's advice we too failed to do as he desired. All constructive activities remained absorbed in their own particular activity, and failed to perceive the significance of constructive activities other than their own, nor could they realise the integral relationship existing here to the rest. The failure on our part was a sad mistake because all our various activities are but different outward forms of the one indissoluble soul. This was how the idea of Sarve Seva took shape and the principle that informed our technique of service was to see the concentration of our own particular activity through an eye on the fulfilment of the whole and to serve the whole by concentrating on our own. I believe we established the Sarve Seva Sangh to work out the principle in actual practice. I will not continue this analysis further. What I wish to say in short is that we should all walk single-mindedness, find the answer to the question raised by Shri Agrawal for ourselves.

It is being argued in connection with this question, as Shri Jagannath Narayan did at the Puri Committee, that Khadi did not bring about revolution, nor did Nai Talim and so we must now devote ourselves to Bhodan so that we could have revolution through it. I do not know what meaning of revolution Jagannath had in mind when he made the statement. Satyagraha or non-violence never fails, it is we who fail. This means that Khadi, village industries, Nai Talim etc. have not proved ineffective but that we have failed in giving them full trial till now. These forms of the constructive programme are so inter-related that if you succeeded in one of them you succeed with the rest of them also. Even Bhodan would be ineffective without them, it would reduce itself only to collecting funds in the form of land instead of cash. Without these means even distribution of land to the landless is not going to solve our problem. The slogan that all land belongs to God could never mean that with a view to offering it for society we can avoid its settlement in some manner or another. What the duty of trusteeship involves is that ownership has no meaning and that what is believed to be ownership is in truth only trusteeship. For this reason the State can claim the right to settlement.



in hand, and the individual will see his duty to give as gift from what he possesses he owns.

That is why I believe that it would not be proper for us constructive workers to neglect our own particular activities like Khadi, village industries etc. not only for their sake but for the sake of progress also. We have believed, as was pointed out at the Gaya Conference, that Khadien work is integrally related to all the other constructive activities. Khadien is a new activity we have undertaken. Government, too, is carrying it on in its own way. The peculiarity of our work, regarding Khadien has in the fact that we go further and aim at a change of heart among the people. The fulfilment of our work lies in making the handien self-reliant not only by giving them land to cultivate but by training them in Khadi work also. Without village industries this would be impossible. More, without village industries we cannot resolve unemployment, nor can we set up a proper living standard for our people. Service of the cow, service of the Harijans service in the cause of Khadi and village industries. Nai Taluk. Khadien work all are integral parts of the programme which will lead us to the one single revolution we seek to bring about. To use the language of the Upanishads just as the four-quartered stone is related to her fourth—terra unamhabata state through the three manifest ones, similarly the revolution for a non-violent society can be reached through these, its quarters which are visible. But the revolution itself is the unmanifested state which abides in them. This revolution, we are going by Gandhi long ago. It is now for us to take it to its final goal and to that end be alert enough and ungleameded on our attitude to the Constructive Programme given to us by Gandhi.

5-3-33

From Khadi

## SOME QUESTIONS REGARDING KHADIEN

From Khadien speech delivered at Allahabad in October 1932

A friend has sent in some questions. The first is not a question but is rather a suggestion. He wants to know from me why I do not end the movement by some name including Khadien or land instead of calling it Khadien. That is question of land.

### How Khadien should Give to Society

Distributed of land comes after Khadien in one of its consequences. But the duty of man—his dharma is to put with land his wife his own and give it to society as he should by Khadien. People today have fallen in the habit of collecting things for themselves and keeping them in their own possession. We learned to bring home to them their duty of dharma that it is not right for them to own more than they need.

However they should learn that it is their dharma to share their possessions with others. Then, we know Khadien live and function alone by Khadien. We live in society. As far there is to be given taken without Khadien from society. If Khadien, unless he shares the goods of constantly giving something or the other to society in gratitude for the service he gets from it, society could not maintain itself.

Khadien, all of it have to realize that we are not paid salary, nothing against what we put with something and

give it to another. Really speaking, we have received enough and more from society already. Then, we are something to it. We which to receive for something we have already received and enjoyed we put with something and give it. It becomes due to the true sense of the word. If we get things from a tree it is our duty and responsibility or dharma to give water to it. It is dharma we are not obliged for tree by, watering it. We should maintain a constant flow of give and take between society and the individual, then or putting with something in order to give it to others makes it possible. This is why the moral dharma in our activities have defined due as *gifting*—that is proper distribution or division.

If blood instead of maintaining a constant flow were to collect in some particular part of the body the latter would not be able to maintain its health. If it circulates all through the body constantly the whole of a person's health, a natural arrangement for the circulation of wealth in the whole of society in a like manner has been called due by the members in the scriptures and that is why it is believed to be a duty and responsibility or dharma for every individual. We should always endeavor to enhance the wealth and the power of the good world which are served in such measure, and we should never allow the weakness of such world to interfere. The service and meaning of the word due has deteriorated these days. We have got a defective meaning to it. In that, we say, we struggle we have to withstand in the word the meaning our wealth weakness had put in it.

### Know without Desire of Fruit and with It

Explaining the second question the friend says that when people give land or due they do not want to do so without any desire for reward. What they appear to do is to give expecting something in return. People seem to feel that by giving land to Khadien they will be having some social advantage. They will be having good reputation. He then goes on to ask if this is proper.

A sense of doing something for another or serving others without expectation of any reward whatsoever is one. When persons know or great realizations have not been able to show it to the full. The motive is pointed out as an instance of service without expectation of anything in return and it is generally said that she serves her self, giving without expecting any reward whatsoever from it. It is that the motive serves her children out of the love she feels for them in her heart to begin with, but later on it seems to begin to feel that such service should yield some return from her children especially the son, she feels the service should benefit her in some way or the other. If no such sense of expecting some advantage in return for her service was ever in that a place in the mother's heart due by the very fact of having rendered service to her son without any desire for reward, can really turn her right to satisfaction.

So, we will proceed to admit that man's highest duty is to be good to others and not have any desire for advantage from it to himself. But if someone were to perform some good deed any give due, and were to expect earning good reputation by it or want, at once dharma. He acts on friendship or dharma. When a man performs such reputation is society his sentiments are affected thereby and he then managed in previous more good deeds. When the one performs some good deed and the mother prides him for it the former is enhanced and inspired in his growth. This attitude towards it be encouraged and inspired to make it to be found in almost every person. If therefore people have some idea of earning some good reputation when they do something good we should not condemn it. We may of course remember that if people were to give up all idea of maintaining a good reputation and were to go on performing good deeds without expecting any or the reward they would bring there would easily realize the end. Then those who will pursue the way of action without any desire for the fruits thereof and those who will follow their duty in the same manner will deserve and get the highest reward. It comes to be *Gita's* own



times, how this study means we have progressed materially in so doing with it, service to the nation is rendered the minute of all moments are purified so that we progress constantly also. This meaning applies to much of society as in the individual. Suppose India began to realize the idea of exploiting other countries in order to enrich itself. This may lead to India's material progress but along with it would work for her spiritual fall. And when there is spiritual but material advancement, would she be saved? Well, because such a state of affairs will give rise to war between nations and to a general outbreak in material conditions. These nations should prefer to join that coalition with material advancement are closely related to one another and that even progress could only be spiritual in character. In fact, war is about.

From the Minutes Paper: They had been told that there was no advancing "science" under a religious commitment. People, which are also aware of, my friend, the world will be distributed among the nations. They will work as it will give any kind of freedom to give to more production of goods, which would mean no material advancement. It is the greater beauty of the way of science that when man overcomes even his worldly idea is that in a spirit of worship he can give spiritual work as also material along with it. It requires us to do this for the sake of God we continue without our knowing it back without our material progress.

(From the Minutes Paper)

### SCIENTIFIC DOGMATISM

Only a hazy acquaintance with the development of Western civilization is enough to make clear the fact that science has occupied varying levels of authority during the three hundred years or so of its history in the West. It began as an intellectual, as opposed to religious, doctrine governed by theological dogmas. Its earliest representatives were made to feel the repressive power of the Church. Copernicus found his book carefully edited for "accuracy reasons" by his printer. Galileo was hounded by the Inquisition into withdrawing his evidence for the heliocentric system and gradually placed Descartes to expose the great shortcomings of the early astronomers. The seventeenth century, however, brought Isaac Newton and the final vindication of the Copernican theory. The next two hundred years were spent in consolidating the authority of scientific discovery and method.

In the nineteenth century, the expectation that science would eventually replace every old the mysticism of matter and life was by no means a new idea. After Darwin, a breed of scientific dogmatists moved away over the popular ruins of scientific thinking, and the very word "science" acquired importance in the formalization of dogma. Marxism, for example, used much of its popular success to being labeled scientific socialism. In the twentieth century, especially in the United States, scientific practitioners of merchandising techniques turned the symbols of scientific research into tools of advertising. The fact-sheet and report, the true white laboratory jacket, the scientific consciousness of the man concerned to Truth—these are symbols which have moved endless goods for American merchandisers, and are still effective stimuli to human belief in science made in the commodity market.

"Science says" has been, in short, a "last word" in compelling persuasions for at least two or three generations.

This state of mind represents a narrow faith in the power and resources of science, hardly different in any significant way from naive belief in the power and resources of religion. It is a state of mind which requires from Oppenheimer an intelligent and firm rejection.

Oppenheimer's view of the role of science, as we read what he says, seems to be that, in contradistinction a special kind of rigor to the study of certain areas of experience, and that made no final conclusions may result in respect to great philosophical questions, there is bound to be a transfer of both mind and discipline to other fields. It is, in brief, a valuable warning, immeasurably productive on its own account, yet perhaps even more useful as supplying evidence of how knowledge may be acquired. That science is not a closed system of indisputable Truth—it is rather a "floating" system of disciplines and methods, to which we may refer through which we may learn, but from which we must never gather a proud harvest of absolutes.

It is a partner in the enterprise of human knowledge, not a baffling usurper of authority. It is a friend of man men who have the habit of deliberate uncertainty, and a teacher of all those who are determined to know for themselves.

(From *News* July 22 1954)

### VILLAGE INDUSTRIES AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

(By V. K. Mehta)

No student of India's rural economy can fail to take note of the havoc that has been wrought by the decay of our village crafts and industries. Upon the Indian political and economic, that have been responsible for this deterioration of our economy, it is needless for our present purpose to enlarge here. The direct outcome has been the people to crowd on the land not to create a disequilibrium between agriculture and industry. Rural communities, as a consequence, enjoy no longer a sense of self-sufficiency. They have ceased to be self-reliant, and material aid has almost ceased to operate as a controlling force.

Hence it was that Mahatma Gandhi, ever since he assumed the leadership of the nation, urged us to revive and revitalize our village industries, the principal among which was, and still is, the handicrafts of Khadi, the weaving of cloth on handlooms out of handspun yarn. It was this industry, more than any other, that helped to make our rural economy a balanced one and that provided employment for millions in the countryside in an occupation which involved no large outlay of capital, which called for no high degree of skill, and which could thus be pursued universally. By emphasizing this Gandhi did not, however, exclude other rural industries, crafts and occupations suitable to the countryside,

if they could draw materials from local raw materials like, shells and stones.

Now the national policy is moulded by these who draw their inspiration from Gandhiji. In the Directive of Social Policy, the State is called upon to "endeavour to promote cottage industries on an individual or co-operative basis in rural areas." National economic policy has now to be moulded to give effect to this Directive.

One of the best ways in which this Directive can be translated into action, is to recognize the promotion of village industries, whether new or old as an integral part of the programme for Community Project areas or under the National Extension Service. To quote the Planning Commission, "this should be as much a matter of concern as the increase of national production" but before such plans can be implemented with some prospect of success, two conditions will have to be fulfilled.

In the areas where the new plans of rural industrial reorganisation operate, no steps should be allowed for the further development, much less the introduction, of mechanized industries. While the aim of the former is to provide opportunities for productive employment, the latter have the effect of adding to the volume of unemployment; while the one secures decentralization of productive effort, the other prevents bringing about concentration of economic power.

The second requirement that has to be fulfilled is to provide facilities for imparting the simple training that is needed by the rural population before they take to the new occupations, creating at the same time interest in and zeal for fruitful labour. For this, personnel may be available under the National Extension Scheme and among the operators attached to the Community Project Blocks. Where this is the case, no new workers need be recruited. Arrangements will, however, require to be made to equip the entire personnel from the top to the bottom, with the knowledge of what the village industries movement stands for and on what lines attempts should be made by revivifying old local industries or promoting suitable new ones.

This type of vigorous organized effort is called for, first, because unless it is made there can be no significant addition to the volume of employment in industries, no appreciable increase in rural earnings and hence no rise in the standard of living of the bulk of the people. As A. B. George (Barrister) aptly observed years ago: "it would be an excellent thing for humanity if its civilization could be based on rural industry mainly and not on urban industry." The integration of the programme of rural industries, in harmony with Gandhiji's concepts, in the Community Development Plans gives, in my mind, just the opportunity we need to create this very desirable pattern of rural production.

(Adapted from an A.B. Broadcast)

## MAN AND THE ATOM

Speaking at New Delhi at a meeting to celebrate the birthday of Shriyama Mahatma on April 8, the Prime Minister said that the threat to humanity by atom or hydrogen bombs could be met only by moral or spiritual strength. Shri Nehru admitted his loss of faith in the agitation for banning experiments or use of these weapons. The Prime Minister said that previously he had called for such a ban but it had not succeeded.

But when we advise the world to adopt the Gandhian remedy we should be clear on two points or perhaps two aspects of the same point. There is no remedy against the hydrogen bomb which is not at the same time accepted as a remedy against other awfully lesser forms of the evil of violence. The hydrogen bomb is only the end-fruit of a certain process or rather a culmination of processes. Unless that complex, which affects the moral organization of contemporary people, is suitably changed the problem will not be solved. In one sense, there is too much pre-occupation with the question of the hydrogen bomb as if this could be solved by itself without fundamental changes in other spheres. It seems that many people are thinking of the point when they are not careful about their periods. They forget that it is the periods that make the point. It must be remembered that when Gandhiji gave us the doctrine of non-violence those who no atom or hydrogen bomb. He was not concerned with the question of the continuity of the existence of the human race. It was not his concern to see that the human race should continue for ever. His concern was that man, so long as he existed, must live a truly human life. That is why Gandhiji insisted on non-violence and also on that non-violence implied a certain way of life.

There could be no non-violent society unless men lived and worked in a humane manner and there was a bond of sympathy not only between man and man but also between man and other sentient beings. Life is to be seen and regarded as a whole and not as watertight compartments.

(From First April 8, 1955)

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THE ANAND

ATOMIC EXPLOSIONS AND AMERICAN AID  
(By Manohar P. Desai)

Scientific opinion about the after-effects of nuclear explosions on life is crystallising that they are surely adverse for human survival on this planet. Naturally therefore the humanitarian world is raising its voice against having any more experiments of nuclear weapons poisoning earth's atmosphere.

Shri Rajaji made a specific appeal to America to stop these nuclear experiments. As the world developed at it, Americans had one or two nuclear weapons just recently and the British Government decided to manufacture H Bomb in England.

The new weapon has divided the States of the world into those that are in possession of the secret of that weapon and those that are not. Among the latter there are some States like India who has declared that she will use atomic power only for peace and not for military purposes.

The situation created by the advent of this new devastating of weapons in the world, is really disastrous. It threatens not only the world-by-belongers of a future war, but also it will kill all life in its midst and pollute the atmosphere of the earth with radio-activity noxious to life on earth. It is almost as if rain is not to annihilate himself? The sheer tragedy of it is wholly staggering indeed! Therefore it almost becomes a world problem for human survival.

But human beings as they are today are conditioned by the idea of the Nation-State. This they came to and adapted in the way of the peoples of the world, in the course of the last few centuries of their history and in wake of the Industrial Revolution and the indiscriminate use of science and technology. They cannot therefore normally act as single men and women or as world citizens. They can act, if at all, through their respective States and as their deputed citizens.

From this point of view, it is a welcome move on the part of the nations that just recently at Bandung to have resolved that nuclear experiments must stop. It is a lesson for the larger body

of the States of the World, viz. the U.N.O. to decide similarly. But this voice of Bandung may not be heeded, — it is not being heeded. The U.N.O. is in almost exclusive possession of the few nuclear powers who are woefully divided as, apparently those highly charged with almost irreparable mutual suspicion and hatred.

What should be done then? What possible can be done under such a baffling situation? Surely men should, if need be, transcend his national limitations here. For example, an apostle of the use of non-violence for solution of these problems like Gandhiji would take up such a challenge and appear on the world stage and guide thinking men and women in all the countries to some common thought and action. Shri Rajaji, thinking in his footsteps, suggested even unilateral action on the part of the most effective power today viz. U.S.A. He has now, in all seriousness, suggested that we should refuse to receive aid from that country if it does not stop to pollute world's atmosphere by nuclear explosions. He has explained himself that it was not boycotting the U.S.A. and that would rather be an act of self-denial and renunciation on our part. It would be an act of M.C.O. like the one we had had against British rule. Likewise, it should mean we bowed or cowed to America.

I am afraid, this suggestion of Rajaji is not likely to be accepted. As a matter of fact, just a few days ago the Colombo powers met at Delhi and decided about some questions of receiving such aid.

And there are good reasons for it. M.C.O. with the British came at the end of a long process of frustration and loss of faith in the home sides of the British ruler in regard to the grant of Devraj to India. Even so any such close relationship or continued contact with the U.S.A. on this question? Our mere deduction by us to use nuclear power for peace gives us a moral authority and a just status to invent a weapon like M.C.O. against a country who she wishes to work for peace according to its own light? An appeal to its conscience may be all right so far as it goes, but a call to S.C.O. with 2 koka not well placed. May not such unilateral move on the part of India jeopardise any further work, of strengthening a

pass" must through the newly devised instrument, but not after Asian Conference?

But the substance of Sri Rajag's suggestion is welcome on the general grounds of a sound domestic policy. In these columns it was said, when the U.S.A. set was first mooted, that it was neither necessary nor advisable from the point of view of India's progress and development on social and self-reliant lines. It was objected to on grounds of its having strings entangling India's freedom. The end is surely having socio-economic and commercial strings that may prove to be undesirable entanglement for our new economy. It is a big question, requiring close study of social and cultural effects the U.S.A. technological aid is having on our people. I may leave it here with the question to our social thinkers that they might consider how the socio-economic strings contained in U.S.A. aid affect our self-reliant and free growth. So far as the foreign policy goes, I think, it would not be proper to anti-co-operate with the U.S.A. on the plea of nuclear explosion experience.

15-5-55

## BIG INDUSTRIES AND STANDARD OF LIVING

(By P. Srinivasachari)

Proponents of big industries put forth the argument that the standard of living of the masses can be raised only through the large-scale industrialisation of the country. They state that the general poverty depends on the increase in the production of wealth, which according to them, is closely associated with the progress of big industries. They cite the example of other industrialised countries and claim that the continuous growth and expansion of the big industries alone will bring an era of prosperity. In their opinion the development of village and small-scale industries will not help us to solve the problem facing us today. To them, the dynamic and positive role applied to the village and village industries is only a Christian delusion. At last, they declare that these industries can be leader to large-scale industries.

We have to state in the beginning that we are not opposed to all kind of big industries. We should make intelligent selection in choosing particular type of big or heavy industries which are necessary for our real progress. We are not also in substance in the unqualified acceptance of the economic policy advocating big industries in every field of production, whether the production of consumer goods or capital goods. The example of other countries like U. S. A. or England will not guide us in our task, as the industrial development in those countries took place under totally different circumstances and the results have exactly nothing to our country have nothing to compare with them. Nor is it correct to say that production by village and village industries will not touch the hands of the bulk of people.

We should not forget that the standard of living of the people cannot be improved merely by the increase in the production of goods through large-scale industries. Unless people are provided with necessary purchasing power to consume the goods that are produced, their living conditions will be as miserably low as it is now, despite of any increase in production.

In our country where 75 per cent of the population is living in the rural areas the matter of unemployment and under-employment, prevailing today is certainly staggering. The figures given below (taken from the recent Census Report) will give us idea of the national problem that is demanding our urgent attention.

	Agricultural Class	Non-agricultural Class
Self-supporting persons	758 lakhs	278 lakhs
Non-earning dependents	1434 "	402 "
Dependents	111 "	60 "
Total 1951	1903 "	740 "

Out of 2402 lakhs belonging to the agricultural class, only 758 lakhs or 31.5 per cent are self-supporting persons. In the non-agricultural class group, out of 338 lakhs only 278 lakhs or 81.9 per cent are self-supporting persons. A large number of people as high as 1434 per cent in the agricultural class and 402 per cent in the non-agricultural class are depending later in the total population of 3240 lakhs, the number of non-earning dependents stands at 1545 lakhs and that of those whose earnings are not used to meet the bare necessities of life is 334 lakhs. Even after providing old, sick, children and women and taking the working population as 65 per cent of the total population, the number of those who are unemployed at present comes to a huge figure of 988 lakhs (30.8 per cent).

Again, from the big employment in these vast number of persons, which will depict any doubt about the magnitude of the problem, we have to note unemployed opportunities of the order of 1.5 million jobs a year for the annual rise in the growth of the working population.

Any talk of increasing the standard of living of the masses through large-scale industrialisation should be viewed against this background. Unless the vast army of the unemployed is absorbed in useful occupations which would give them enough purchasing power to meet their minimum needs, the figure of production by big industries will not reflect the true position of the masses.

Just experience has convincingly shown the limitation of the large-scale industries in creating fresh avenues of employment. Since production and capital increase in the volume of employment do not, when we compare the rate of many years of development and even though nearly 25, 400 crores\* have been invested in industries, the number of those who are employed is still the figure is only about 1.5 million. This is less than the figure of the new jobs to be created for the rise in the working population in two years.

In fact, a more serious problem than the urban unemployment, is the underemployed and unemployed prevailing in the rural areas. According to statistics collected by our agricultural classes are depending later the 2 to 4 months in a year. The recent survey on 'Farm Labour' conducted by the Government of India points out that 160 lakhs of agricultural labourers are employed on an average for only 125 days in the year. Periodically for half the year they are remaining idle for the rest of work. The only way to increase their earnings is to provide such that opportunities in the agricultural classes. That this stupendous problem cannot be solved by the development of large-scale industries needs no explanation. Only village and village industries can provide steady employment to work a vast number of their own their days.

However, large-scale industrialisation can, to some extent, only at huge capital cost, leading to several thousand acres of ripens. We have to depend on imports for machines and other things which will drain the country's wealth into foreign lands. Further, the pre-empting of more production is extensive machine. Large-scale industrialisation will inevitably delay us to join the race for machine in other countries which will ultimately

\* A lakh is one million of the Indian coin of rupee; more in the figure is involved in the the basis of the value of the share of purchase, many years ago against the value by which the item had been purchased, due to inflation.

lead to exploitation of weaker people and widen the rift. The industrial development of the Western countries has followed a similar pattern and should be no deadly warning to us.

It should be borne in mind that even in these are the unorganised small-scale enterprises are contributing more to the national income and providing employment to greater number of people than all the large-scale industries in our country.

#### Distribution of working force and production towards national income.

	1946-47	1952-53
Working Force (Figures in Thousands)	Contribution to National Income (Figures in crores)	
Factory		
Handicrafts and Small	2540	596
Enterprises	11,845	945

(From the Report of the National Income Committee)

The small enterprises are giving employment to nearly four times more than the organised big industries. The former share in the national income goes in nearly as much to double the contribution of the latter. If proper steps are taken to organize the small enterprises on sound lines and efficient management is given to their production, they have got great potentialities to increase the wealth of the country and the level of employment and thereby the living standard of the people.

Enough has been said to show that under the prevailing conditions the standard of living of the masses cannot be improved in any appreciable degree by concentrating on big industries. It will only perpetuate the glaring inequality of the high standard of living of the handful few and the miserably low living standard of the large mass of the people.

It therefore becomes imperative that we should adopt the decentralised way in our pattern of production. To increase the standard of employment of a rural area, the steps should be taken to concentrate gradually all the big industries producing consumer goods. We can have such heavy industries like engineering, chemicals, iron and steel etc., which cannot be decentralised. Even in this sphere, concerted efforts should be made to produce as far as possible the component parts of the final product in small factories distributed in rural areas. Such a scheme of production only will solve the problem of giving general employment to masses of people.

Those who advocate to have our economy on large scale production, regarding an industrial unit in small enterprises are not alive to the real issues facing the country. Instead of cottage and small scale industries going a head in heavy industries the rate should be reversed. The latter should be made complementary to the cottage and small scale industries and supply their requirements of implements, tools and spare machines.

The magnitude of the problem of bettering the condition of our people is such that there is no other short cut method to solve it and we cannot expect quick results. The mere millions of people are engaged at work in our and a living will mark a great improvement in their condition. The big industries cannot afford relief to even a fraction of them. Decentralised industries alone can create them and with improvements in the technique and organisation of production of the cottage and small scale industries we will achieve all-round progress and raise the standard of living of and a few feel the general mass of people.

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## A FOREIGNER'S VIEW ON THE QUESTION

(By Nageswami P. Sivaraj)

An interesting point is being raised that what is called Socialistic Pattern is not Socialism, but is only a euphemism for expressing a certain group of concrete things that the Government wishes to have for the country. The concrete things are some large-scale big industries desired to be set up in public sector and in no spirit of rivalry or antagonism with the so-called private sector.

In the new India that is shaping itself centred upon factory unleashing popular forces from foreign rule that kept them down, the Government have may as well have its schemes under the Prime Minister's direction and as desired by him. Even they must conform to the real and immediate needs of our people who live mainly in the villages. It is up to the leaders of popular spaces to examine them and educate the people accordingly.

From this point of view, a foreigner's remarks warning about such programmes is very welcome. It particularly touches their employment potential aspect, which is most pertinent.

The friend is none other than Mr. Charles Rowley, ex-Ambassador of U.S.A. He visited our country some time back and put down impressions of what he saw. The following is from these impressions:

"I am pleased to see that the Second Five Year Plan includes bold plans for large-scale industrialisation. I am somewhat hesitant about the programme to create quarters that this will automatically solve the employment problem.

"America produces more than half of all the steel of the world with only 15 lakhs of workers.

"The present membership of all the industries in the world with only 15 lakhs of factory workers.

"Even the steel capital India-industries will be the same. One lakh up the employment in the cities of India. What about the masses and masses of unemployed and underemployed throughout the villages and small towns? There can be only employed through black money in village conditions, corruption and in decentralised small and village industries. Employment must be brought to the people or the people will move to the already overcrowded cities in search of employment.

"But what enormous employment opportunities exist everywhere throughout rural India? For instance, the impact of a power village, leading effort alone has thousands possibilities for the employment of stone cutters, brick-lime workers, carpenters, blacksmiths and cement-makers, and plasterers. The smallest roads are there and the water to all these work can be readily made available. How can the use be put together in a concrete mode?

"Last but not least, what about India's greatest natural resources—the young people? Today, many thousands of students in India are frustrated and in arrears. How rapidly and fully can these potentially explosive individuals be utilised into the dynamic growth of India? (From the Press of India May 1, 1955, p. 11)

This is also the question formulating Kailash on behalf of the large body of Constructive Workers who are working scattered all over the country.

Toward in its ultimate endgates the Bhooman movement also poses the same thing. It particularly asks which among the various things being attempted at present, should have the top-most priority in India today? And it replies, surely land distribution aided by home and small-scale industries and Co-Operatives as to give full employment to lakhs of small peasant-producers, that will be created consequent upon Bhooman. This is a direct step to secure full employment for the largest bulk of our people, while the socialised programme of mass production with its laissez-faire attitude to the vital problem of unemployment and the proper distribution of increasing wealth.

17-5-46

## HARIJAN

May 28

1946

### GRAM PANCHAYATS

(By Mageshwar P. Desai)

Shri S. Ganeshan from Pondicherry (S. L.) writes as follows as "a suggestion or an honest doubt".

"I have read with interest your article of the Bhooman movement (Harian, 25-4-46). It is a very clear statement of the progress of the movement, its unpolitical nature. The working of Village Panchayats in this regard and the philosophy underlying this movement. There can be no two opinions on the subject and its wholesome effect on the mind of the suffering masses as a leading ground to protect the workers and the country in a non-violent way for a Hindu society. I feel a Hindu society may be the chief of a few individuals of very high social status and persons like Vinobai who can be counted on our fingers but as a practical step in the present day world to which we are living and struggling, I feel it is a far cry. Even though one may reach a social level of ignoring the State, the State interference is the great and constant at everybody's doorstep. The people are suffering and are unable to get over it. They are all victims of the system quite against their will. I and you have studied this with you write. Expectation of distribution had showed that the help of suitable legislation and government machinery is a certain matter was necessary for effective and speedy disposal. So I think it is better of the way of changing the system as a very early date. That system is agreed by all to be Panchayat Raj or Gram Raj or Panch Raj or whatever name you may call it.

Side by side with walking tours of Vinobai for the collection of land aid money for the Harijans, service will it not be better to organize a Bhooman Raj in one taluk, Pitha or even in one village?

"From my experience of village work, I say it is the government with its machinery, the village officials taking the name on the spot coupled with the rich and wealthy individuals who are appointed and exploiting the poor masses. The terror created by the British Government mislaid respect for the law and order has got to be spread. Working for the Panchayat Raj alone will be the failure. This is my experience of Panchayats. I am haunted in an all sides by the overpowering machinery of the government always struggling

me to death. The lesson of government, I learnt from Gandhi is something, not to be escaping the through the struggle and then work with the government and the local powers."

The suggestion is welcome. As history shows, the Gram Panchayat was our potent institution in pre-British days. The imperial needs of foreign rule almost wiped it out or, say, changed it almost beyond recognition. As the object of freedom, we decided in our Constitution that "the State shall take steps to organise Village Panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government." (Art. 43) This is one of our most important Directive Principles of State policy. It requires to be implemented by the concerted and co-ordinated efforts of the people and their government.

In the absence of free Village Panchayats working in our body politic we had to frame a Constitution for ourselves denying this basic unit of self-government, the place of pride and importance in the edifice of our country's political set-up. We could have easily built up a Swaraj Government presently based on the Panchayats through indirect election of our legislators by these primary village institutions. The latter would be constituted on the basis of adult franchise and on non-party basis. This would have secured to us in a very natural and truly democratic manner both the development of political power as also a simple and very indirect electoral system for the legislators. It would have facilitated building from below both economically and politically. The concrete plan in the village would have immediately felt the glow and the good of freedom and independence that have come to us after a long time.

But this was not to be as the vital or the primary link of a living Gram Panchayat was missing in our midst. The absence is sought to be remedied by the Constitution directing the State in India that (i) Gram Panchayats should be organized in every village and (ii) they must be endowed with necessary and sufficient powers to be able to function as units of self-government in our country.

It may be remarked that the State has not till now heeded to the Directive Principle as well as it should. Firstly it should be noted that the Directive Principle says something different from what used to be known as Local Self-Government. The British period till this day. The Gram Panchayat is to be a unit of India's self-government. It is based on the idea of our Swaraj, not something just to be local and have neighbours as just to be needed to by the way as and when one may. As a basic link of our Swaraj, it must have its own independent financial resources and all necessary powers to execute, guide and control all welfare services that will have to be obviously organized at the village and level. The unit may as well be endowed with certain administrative and political powers also. I may not



strangest here to get its whole picture, this we have to evolve and work out in conformity with the genius of our people. If the Green Panchayat was a peacable institution of India's age-old democracy, it can have no ready-made model to copy, except the one that surely inheres in our people's genius.

Shri Jayashankar has some harsh words to say at the end of his communication about the official world. As a remark about what really obtains at present, I am afraid it is difficult to find fault with it. The other side of the picture is village factionalism, groupism, casteist aristocracy etc.—a dismal situation of our village society. Both sides together—the official and the non-official—define the village as it is today which we desire to rebuild into a Village Panchayat. Therefore it will not be proper for Government to say that no beginning in the devolution of power and authority can be made under such a situation of our village people. To say so would be as wrong for them as it was for the Britisher when going to Swaziland. It must not be overlooked that the evils of factionalism, groupism, casteism, conservatism etc. that we find at the village level obtain equally so at almost all the higher levels also, whether outside. Therefore the bottle-and-the-pot-revelling approach here will help nobody. We should rather begin to work at the village level also and devise a phased programme for implementing the Executive Principle in a forthright way. I am glad to report that Bombay State has made a beginning in this matter. Let us hope it leads on to it in the same way as in the matter of Prohibition.

12-8-35

## LUKE FOR GLAMOUR AND POMP

(By Nageshadas P. Desai)

A correspondent from Bombay had occasion to go to the rural area. He has conveyed to us some thoughts which struck him from what he saw. He suggests that his casual ideas may be publicly discussed if thought proper. One of his writings has the caption which forms the heading of this article. He says therein:

"One reads in the newspapers that, with a series of reports in the press, on constructing two new platforms at the Chhatrapati railway station, somewhere up advertisements give the name that the Municipal Corporation has that the Chhatrapati railway station was shabby and has therefore asked for building a new one which would be good and convenient. What the Corporation seems to see is, why shabby and with other glitz should not have big shabby railway stations when there and there have entered there."

"It may be conceded that planning is essential for building up a Welfare State and that the present generation should bear more heavily with future generations in view. But it has also to be taken into account that there is a definite limit to the capacity of the future generations to bear the burden. The healthy people would naturally feel impatient when they are continually burdened for more generations."

"One can readily understand the need to lay new railway lines, to spend after new engines and carriages, to erect roads and railway stations where there are

none, to make proper arrangements for supply of drinking water to passengers, and to set up new or repair old waiting sheds or rooms for passengers in all and not, but one cannot help feeling that the trend to spend 'summe sums of moneys' for building painted railway stations' before applying the primary needs of passengers reflects a sort of insanity."

It is likely that railway stations, back with the needs of past days in view may prove inconvenient and uncomfortable today. It is likely, too, that when not only has the population of the country increased to a large extent but goods and passenger traffic has also increased to a larger extent some alterations may be necessary. But it cannot be denied that there is some truth in what the correspondent has said. Men are prone to goodness in the things he uses and very often is prone to strain himself beyond his capacity to satisfy himself regarding it. This trend can be observed in other fields of development in India also. Take for instance the policy adopted to build huge gigantic dams at the cost of scores of rupees. Let not the reader carry away the impression that there is something inherently wrong about constructing such dams. The question is somewhat different. Are the dams immediately necessary? In the way they are constructed good and proper? Are there no other works which are simpler and less showy but more essential which should be given priority when spending national wealth? Should not prior attention be devoted to so many regions in the country where even pure drinking water is not available or scarce? In the light of such questions the wisdom of the policy of constructing gigantic dams with the consideration of producing electric power becomes questionable.

We are assured that the dams would give facilities for irrigating agricultural land. But could such facilities be available only under a plan of constructing such gigantic dams in the first place? We have in almost every one of our villages wells, tanks, streams and rivulets. They have silted up and lost their utility on account of neglect over long years. Would it not have been proper to undertake a broad programme of repairing these sources of water supply first? Think of the uncertain influence it would have exerted on the popular mind. Think of the enthusiasm it would have generated in the people. And also think of the vast amount of willing labour people would have offered for its execution. Instead, the 'hore for glamour and pomp' seems to play its part in leading us to a technique of planning in imitation of America and other countries where works are executed from the top downwards with the help of gigantic machines. These who are working on the plan seem to feel that if we worked with the aim of dazzling the eyes of the world our country would carry weight among the nations and earn a great reputation for progress.

What a journalist has recently written about the policy of constructing huge dams is also

worth attention. Quoting the influence of the dam constructed across the Brahmaputra in Shantipur, he points out that it was planned and built in pursuance of the advice of the veteran engineer Sri Vatsendraswamy of Mysore. The remarkable feature is its length of 3,750 feet, breadth of 300 feet and its height of 81 feet. Only simple earth is used in its construction and the whole of the huge work has been completed with an expense of only eighty lakhs of rupees. Misery has been kept only at the ends of the land where water is likely to wash away the earth. Cement has not been used in the masonry, only earth, rubble, metal, pebbles and steel are brought into service. Warning was given about the dam that it would not stand against the rush of waters in a big flood. But it has victoriously withstood the pressure of water even during the unusually heavy rains of the previous monsoon.

After furnishing the details of the corresponding points out that we have huge man-power at our disposal and that we are short of such articles as cement etc. He then goes on to ask if it would not be better for us to build our dams on the lines of work across streams and rivulets, repair wells and tanks and clean them so as to be of maximum utility, we can achieve much by utilizing our labour power and our people would see the advantage immediately. We would not then have to wait long for actual results in terms of stream to the people nor would we be compelled to carry the burden of the gigantic expenses involved in the equally gigantic works and in the consequent economic handicap. Besides, even these small funds started working they would be in much easier to manage.

The philosophy of centralized as against decentralized organization of our economic processes applies here also. The difficulties we experience in this case are of two kinds. They are the industrial technique of the West and the line of glamour and showiness. The rural culture suited to Indian life demands a new way for the solution of our problems in this field of development. We will have to realize that the urban way of city civilization would not suit the rural way of life. Along with this realization will we also have to refuse to be dazzled by the glamour of showiness. The glamour is of course shared from the simplicity of the decentralized economic organization. One need not, however, feel there would be no glamour in it. Only, we will not have the constant satisfaction of seeing it as centralized showiness. The human physical eye has from times immemorial been dazzled by the outward pomp and showiness.<sup>1</sup> If we overcome this lure or infatuation we would be able to achieve most of our development works and schemes in a very short time and also at comparatively very much lesser expense to the nation.

13-4-55

(From Chaperon)

## SRI VISOBA IN GRASSA — V

I

During the two days stay in Jamnabagar the "Gos" year of the season fell upon the last evening but when the last day of the Sharadots (Sharadots) arrived Visoba in a rare chapter than that of the one declared. "We want to establish a world order free of the rule of the Gods and peace in the world by the year 1955. An old new year has now left to us. In some days leaving all your various activities and devote all your energies to this task of the revolution. My soul is not only in the Sharadots year but also in the whole world. You have to carry the message of the revolution to every man and woman in every village and have to explain to each one of them that their gods should see only their vote for world peace."

During this season still in these turbulent words after two days in that Visoba had left of the world place to the magical day of Sharadots (the day of Lord Shiva) and the birth of the new year. The last month started again with the regularity of the sun.

When small boys from villages collect round him, Visoba (translating himself) told one of them, "This is based on occasions very interesting relationship between these small friends. I was in at Chhatrapatiwadi. The last surrounded this Visoba asked one of the small friends: "Do you know why, for what purpose I have come?"

A small boy immediately stood up and said, "Yes, we do."

Another began to say: "You have come to ask for land."

Visoba further asked: "What will I do with the land I will take?"

All of them together shouted: "You will give it to the poor in these area here near of it."

Visoba's third question to them was, "Do you like this work of mine?"

They all replied in unison, "Yes, yes."

Visoba then asked them to go to their parents to give the good news to them that their land had arrived to demand land and that they should certainly give it. The boys went away and brought their fathers in the afternoon morning and made them give land to him to that Visoba. Pleased with this event he said in his speech: "Look at the enthusiasm these youngsters have for the solution. They turned themselves into volunteers and started the message to their parents. This really is not a small thing. We have a tradition of old that the words that fall from the mouth of a jangama or God's own words."

Whether he meant when a temple or a monastery (Gos) Visoba greatly enjoyed as to what was being said with the land belonging to it and discovered the light. He says: "It was in the religious duty of man goes on taking care from the flowing water of the stream. That was when something great was believed to be a religious duty. But the Brahmins who taught us that we have to surrender to the Lord and the Lord of animals but our own belongings. Forget that, forget to forget land in the temples with great faith as part of their religious duty. These days there was more of land and less of population. But those days when we are short of land and there is a land, we must demand the it is would be impossible to take land away from the poor as to keep them away from it for the sake of a temple or a temple. God will never be pleased by such acts. In those who were taught should accept the Shiva's command as their own because it is a cause for establishing righteousness among men. If they did as the good reputation that the temple enjoyed in those days will return to them and the name of religion will be lighted and begin to shine again."

All this was at a distance from the camp in the peaceful and quiet light of the moon in a night glow. Visoba was discussing Visoba with some Communist.

stands in a small open space under the sky. The Comas and friends wanted to know from Yinshe why when he was carrying on his mission in his own mountain, why he was not understanding the love of the Buda. Yinshe answered them that was because he had no contact with the love. A new vision movement cultivated public opinion and love is founded according to it. If there was a love that all lived in a village Yinshe living in the midst of it, in such it would be in the interest of our cause. Such love exists within the limits of consciousness, that is, it would be a non-violent love.

The Shenzhou presented a little further. Yinshe following his trend, told that the Communist friends did not seem to be in opposition to the movement. Could not their help then be available in his work? he asked.

Answering their willingness, the friends explained, "The Shenzhou workers, too should help us in our cause in that case."

Yinshe replied, "You would amount to my harparding with you. But the work for Shenzhou does not allow of any difference of opinion. There may be such difference regarding other movements. For instance, the Congress does recognize in the Shenzhou movement, but we do not help it in its efforts, in traveling missions, or in the other activities of the work itself."

In the end the friends agreed that there was not much particular difference between their cause and the cause of Shenzhou. And they gave an assurance that they would work for it according to their convictions.

Before we conclude Yinshe shows the kind of the last time and powerful message, history, beliefs and such other means of old who had obtained knowledge. He insists that our children should cultivate a permanent hunger for knowledge without without the knowledge of the end they could not have any hope of their regeneration. Those days he wishes to the womenfolk comes from the Shenzhou during midday. This is a place of work to him much in the. When he sings the vision is his own high placed state can less the welcome vision of having a hint of the Spanish days.

He said:

### II

Referring to the call to devote the coming two years to Shenzhou those given to workers of every one by the Shenzhou Committee Yinshe says that it becomes difficult for those who are interested in good activities to leave them. They decide that he looks really but one day it is very difficult to break away from them of good. The vision is we forget they are children and grow into believing they are unchangeable.

Yinshe has called the work for the Shenzhou. To him the way of which and often repeats that it is a movement for the purification of the heart. In his speech of September he declared: "Working about a change in society through purification of the heart is the task of the Shenzhou. To purify our own hearts is the greatest new work, so being about a change in our own lives is like seeing the wind and bringing about a change in society is like reaping the fruit. There are some people however, who could not see and they are confused in their homes for their own use. And there are others who seek to reap the fruit without sowing the seed!"

The people of the West are like new inexperienced boys while the people of India are seasoned by an experience ten thousand years old. That is why according to Yinshe, the civilization of India is more developed.

On the way while talking on the subject of education he said in a brief form: "The extent of violence, superstition, premeditation and superstitions we have arrived of all in the last century impossible for the education of man. The science has begun pursuit of knowledge throughout the whole life of man. The aim of education which the science contains is our careful contribution to the theory of education. The Western science of education is concerned of the idea of education, and we have to

learn science from the West. But in sociology and psychology they are not infinite. These two sciences have developed fully in India." And in the long speech of the evening he pointed out that the process of education is a family moral principle of Indian sociology.

From the Shenzhou in the night of April 27, 1955, in India and according to him, carrying the love and of Shenzhou in the people. Here the vision took shape and found its shape the group accompanying Yinshe, when they arrive on the place of the days, many Shenzhou themselves like small groups and go out to the neighborhood. Yinshe says groups carry Shenzhou with them and propagate the Shenzhou idea while others carrying Yinshe's message ask for knowledge. Every worker is thus carrying from village to village the work that would lighten the burden.

In his proper speech of the Shenzhou, Yinshe analyzed in length the Shenzhou vision which was spreading in Shenzhou work. He pointed out that the land was back. It was clearly true that there would be no democracy in land and it was for the land belonged to all. That was why the landless who wanted to live by working on land should get it. This was how the form of land was a divine law. The second was the form of the landless which the poor possessed. The third was the form of love and generosity which existed in the hearts of the landless, and the rich. The last was the contribution of Indian culture or language growth. Thus in the Shenzhou where those have who going to establish themselves the problem of land was going to solve land very speedily indeed, Yinshe concluded.

In Shenzhou Congress workers assured Yinshe that they would get ownership of the land in their place in Shenzhou. Referring to the Shenzhou Yinshe told his audience in the speech of the day that the Congress was a big organized association of men and women, it therefore the responsibility of the work on land itself could be achieved. The Shenzhou Committee by a resolution took a new it called it India of new of land from its people. They thereby set an example before the country. When new workers came work cooperation from all others was bound to follow and the Indian people in so on demanded change.

At Shenzhou Committee friends also met Yinshe. They pointed out, how these very persons who given land to him in Shenzhou drove away the landless from land belonging to them. But not Yinshe that this was wrong. They asked Yinshe replied that to the belief it was wrong for the Shenzhou to do so. He further informed the Communist Yinshe that he had received a plan to work the soil in Shenzhou. A Committee was formed. Yinshe explained that they presented those who drove away the landless from their land to see that their action was wrong, if they deprived some people of work on land for a living by making them landless. It was their duty to give work on land to Yinshe in Shenzhou, he would join it as in the vision message. The vision of land like the vision Shenzhou Shenzhou in Shenzhou did give land gifts to the country.

In the speech at Shenzhou Yinshe pointed out that the Shenzhou fight was making good progress in distant places. The reason according to him was that he had started in working. Therefore he went on to say, he had no doubt that as the movement went on spreading and advancing it would become the first of all and this trip resulted to make it the first in the world. In the Shenzhou of the Shenzhou movement, he had before him all, Yinshe said with confidence was surely going to share on the life of man on that it would be the first and the Shenzhou would prove the highest kind of service.

He said:

### III

People believe that work like the Shenzhou and the Shenzhou are only for those who are interested in it. In this but the Shenzhou work that Yinshe says that, if his faith in these great good things and not then from he could not have had that personal inspiration for the Shenzhou Yinshe came with us here.

Remember I am sure, once when my diary reported that in "Victory's journey through defeat" we had having a cool looking study of the Mahatma's work on the way. One day Vinoba began telling us while we were travelling:

When we were in Jai Government officials doubted what he said we were to have or not to have. The hope of us when they asked the same both as politics or the other the officials said to us: It was dangerous and could not be given, but whenever he asked us, Governmental always returned to our Government believed that the books I asked for were as important that they would not harm. The British Government believed in this their knowledge from any danger. This was how I always obtained for myself books like the Gita, the Bhagavad, and the lives of saints. But the British Government failed to see that if there was but any danger the greatest was that they were books. They had to be carefully examined the courage of some political prisoners who had entered the jail and they came out of them with greater strength and faith as a result of their studies. If there was no confidence in the fact that the Gita we could not have had a Gandhi made for us, but would a Hindu have continued himself, or would an Aryan Hindu believe anything? Thus the books which form the very soul of civilisation of the people the most dangerous for treacherous enemies and tyrannical rulers. This was also why such enemies persecuted the saints so much. Today, of course people sing their glory but when they find society strongly opposed them and their activities. The world was that what they preached and taught through their lives would be the end upon society. This is why I am sure when these great good souls had a vision among men, women, children by the teachings of these books young men and women would not even kill they had not the law to prevent day society and the future they would fight would be so and that no water could be found to quench them.

On the last night of April Vinoba had managed to get the Mahatma's letters at Rajmudra. On that day some important meetings must have been held at our place to celebrate the last day of the Last Revolution Week.

In the afternoon meeting Vinoba in his short speech said the epitaph that it was for God to give the fruits of mass education. But he was wondering whether the Mahatma was performing his duty honestly. He concluded, we must be honest and have faith in him.

The Government leaders were round up on that night about day. Vinoba said the Mahatma's death by the British Vinoba declared that that was not a small event. Gandhi had lived there and it was a place of pilgrimage for the nation. When the leaders of that place go out to devote themselves to Mahatma work it becomes a challenge to the nation. Today our new violence was an act. He is educated all those who were in the political parties in the constructive activities in the Government machinery to have their work for two years to bring into the Mahatma revolution.

Referring to the promise of education at present by the Government he asked the Mahatma workers to take it to heart.

Concluding his speech he said that the soul had the power of fire with it, was that power which made the world go. The power that we had in our minds was in reality the power of the soul world. Therefore it was that the power was reduced. For all great undertakings men work more collectively. That was known as the collective will today. Therefore the power of the collective will was manifested a good news reported.

At the village Rajmudra a number of the reader said the Secretary of the Harijan Welfare Trust, Vinoba, finding his revolutionary ideas before them he said, "The basic economic affairs which are working today directly towards the Mahatma revolution of India. They are neither violence nor non. As Government have now given

protection to the village it will spread in the country. But we have to have. Another day we will have to make some model that will be shown and certainly on tomorrow that the village is fundamentally opposed to the present model, order that Vinoba was taken out and given and thought to a new revolution under the system of education which is not in opposition to the present order can be an effect for the village.

Shri Padmanabha Chaudhary, member of Harijan Welfare Trust, said roughly the day Vinoba died in April on the occasion of his birthday day, prayer was held privately at eleven o'clock and a dinner from the Mahatma was given.

In that chapter of the Bhagavad Gita which he called Last Mahatma's a question about life and death. The last in early times the life and death both are caused by the mind. But they do not stand as a whole existence in human life. The mind is not related to any one of them. In fact, the mind is determined by the senses. Given as the mind and the senses understand the mind but it is only a witness and remains there. But we identify ourselves with the mind and the senses and feel happy or unhappy. Therefore to win is able to see the mind and the body separate becomes a longed wish. People think that from worldly affairs while dealing to fight as them. Therefore the Lord has sung the glory of the siddhiganga—the river of knowledge understanding. Mahatma has written in these verses any man, man and all men related, in reply they sang the song of the bharat. Explaining the song Vinoba said that the name of the Mahatma was inspiring. We began by appealing to everyone: "Mahatma, throughout your wisdom and vision from your family, give up your ego and give up your sense of order and chaos." We do not know when he shall be able to obtain the highest peace described by the Bhagavad, but by spirit is strong it was born by him, in reality, that we are not the mind and the senses but are quite distinct from them.

204-50

H. P.

(From Hind)

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somehow managed to get through life without being touched by the scientific and skeptical revolution — protect it as about the old-fashioned virtues. They do not even understand why the virtues have been at a discount for several generations. Being untrained and uneducated themselves, they are in no position to instruct us. They are only another gang of "scoomers" whose charges, by historical accident, happen to coincide superficially with the growing realisations of serious facts.

The true reformers of today are those who recognise a man-theological, organic relation between the mental health of human beings, both individual and as society, and certain ancient ethical principles which seem as old as time. It is no cult, perhaps, to seek to improve upon the findings of this new empiricism by suggesting that a metaphysically healthy man underlies man's need to honest truth — that truth is the actual substance which nourishes the spirit in man, even as food of another man nourishes his body. Yet such speculations are hard to avoid. It is no idea which might explain the rage of superstitions, just as more scientific attitudes do much to account for their fall.

(From *Harjan*, 1955-56)

#### THE COST OF INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT (By K. M. P. P. P.)

Coke Clark in his book *Conditions of Economic Progress*, 1943, page 389, gives the following relation between capital and real income in various countries. The figures show how many, say, rupees have been invested to secure Rs. 1/- per year income.

Country	Capital	Country	Capital
Argentina	5.24	Italy	4.28
Brazil	8.65	United States	4.00
Canada	7.00	Canada	4.50
Germany	7.00	France	3.75
France	4.25	Japan	3.00
Belgium	4.00	Spain	3.25
Germany	4.00	Austria	3.50

Since the above figures include taxes, managerial salaries and business profits in income, it can be assumed with a good degree of certainty that the actual labour income is not more than half of the total income. We can take for granted that in order to create industrial employment, investment from 5 to 10 times the wages would be necessary.

In other words to pay a labourer Rs. 1,000/- worth of wages per year the capital invested must be in the order of Rs. 5,000-10,000/- per workman employed.

In self-employment the capital required to make a man to earn a living is about 2 to 10 times less. The following table gives an idea of the relation between capital invested and yearly income of the worker in selected village industries. It was prepared by the Research Institute Constituted of the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board.\*

Spun Yarn	2.00
Spun Yarn in bundles	2.00

\*For fulling from *Andra* published by the A. I. Khadi & Village Industries Board.

Spun Yarn (unbleached)	2.00
Spun Yarn (bleached)	2.00
Spun Yarn (unbleached)	2.00
Spun Yarn (bleached)	2.00
Spun Yarn (unbleached)	2.00
Spun Yarn (bleached)	2.00

This table shows that only in one case the investment exceeds the yearly income in all other industries the capital invested is only a fraction of the yearly income.

It stands to reason that in a country where capital is scarce and labour is going to waste at the rate of 50 billion man-days per year home and village industries are India's only practical answer to unemployment.

The legitimate market for village industries are articles of first necessity: food, clothing, shelter, tools, matches, soap, paper, etc. all goods which by their very nature admit decentralisation in production and consumption. Adequate legislation, supported by wise co-operation and technical guidance, will in a short time restore to the self-employed sector its task of feeding, clothing and housing the nation.

To argue that the burning of kerosene oil and soap, match and brick factories, close the internal market will reduce standard of life in the country is based on a fallacy. Steel and coal, hydro-electric power and railway transport cannot be decentralised in the same sense as the growing of food or manufacture of cloth can be. While rising down the class hierarchy and selling gifts will create an insatiable and irreducible want of men and steel, the closing of the trade and oil wells, which factories are, especially if it is phased over time to five years, will make the country shift to home spun and home woven textiles with nothing more than a small rise in cost to those who will run upon themselves. The rest will have cloth for their own wear.

With regard to other necessities of life like matches, soap, etc. the price would not change at all.

But more price level does not determine the standard of life. It is measured by the relation between real expendable income and the cost of satisfying one's essential needs. To an unemployed man, cheapness does not spell prosperity without an assured income the price structure means nothing to him. Merely feeding the country with cheap goods will not create prosperity. The purchasing power must be put into the hands of people. This can be done by bringing the producer and the consumer together, which can be done easiest and best in decentralised home and village industries.

The argument that a labour-intensive pattern of production is antiquated and costly enough to stand in a Western State, where the goal of all is the private motive. As long as there is a single unemployed, self-employment in home and village industries is the simplest, cheapest and quickest solution. When all are employed it may prove the most economical and stable job, especially if self-employed first-class jobs in producers' co-operatives for more complex productive operations.

# HARIJAN

June 4

1935

## THIRDSFOLD PURITY

(By Nagendran P. Das)

Again it is being strongly emphasised that the Congress should purify itself. This is one of the chief characteristics of the institution. Purity is always one to be self-variant in this manner.

The Congress owes this virtue to Gandhi. When he started the fight for Swamy in 1930, he began to use the word 'self-purification' as the general formula for keeping national strength to achieve the goal. "Ours is really a struggle for self-purification, because foreign rule feeds on our weaknesses and drawbacks for its existence. Therefore to remove it, we should only undertake a programme of mass self-purification of our people" — Such was the call to the nation. And he told the people to remove the sin of untouchability to take to Swadeshi Dharma by denying which we were suffering from want and hunger; to boycott Government educational institutions, etc. Thus began the use of a religious term like self-purification in the politics of India; and it persists more or less till now.

And there is good reason for it. If we wish to work through Truth and Non-violence, so in a peaceful and legitimate manner, the only way for it is the way of self-purification.

The Congress is at present agitating for its organisational purity. There is to be seen in that organisation too much craving for power and position among its members and groups. Breeding bogus members, impersonators, groupies etc. are reported to be widely prevalent. It seems there has developed a veritable art of these bad means, specially in some big cities. This is bound to affect outside areas also.

Do not Government institutions also need self-purification? Do managers zealously pursue the policy adopted by Government? And how do Government servants behave? Do they abide by it? What about corruption,—these are also questions of nation's self-purification programme. This is particularly so in case of the latter, because modern statism is growing such a complex because that Government officials come to have real power in their hands. And power surely begins to breed its breed among them. This is a serious difficulty for our people.

The people also need self-purification. Then they can achieve through constructive activities. But at present there are gradually turning themselves into Government welfare or social service activities which are being done by Government servants. This has as if rendered these activities into a Government department. Therefore, in their effect over the popular mind, the idea of

self-purification becomes a demand or secondary, and the activities move in their old-type departmental ways of rules, regulations etc. The Dharma movement is a distinguished exception. It provides and works on the sense of duty and self-purification among the people.

The strength of the Congress was built by Gandhi through such self-participatory activities. As Government in those days was against the people, here for Government power and position could not be as common a motive as it is at present. Today vigilance is necessary on this count in all its three fronts—public institutions, the Government and the people. If the Congress is a leadership in all these three, it naturally follows that its endeavour for purity must cover all these three fronts.

26-5-35

(From the original in Gujarati)

## BUILDING FROM BELOW

(By Durg Patil)

Nearly four years of work in the U. S. Government's "Faint Fear" programme of technical assistance to underdeveloped countries convinced the writer that democracy—by freedom, peace and human dignity—will not and cannot be built from the top down through governmental welfare and development schemes. It can only be built from the ground up through unpolitical non-governmental action of ordinary people protesting—even while self liberate—self-help and mutual help in their own homes, neighbourhoods, communities and regions.

Getting into villages of the Caribbees and of India in the course of this work, the writer came to believe ever more strongly that the most urgent need of all is a simple and practical scheme of the neighbourhood organisation for mutual help. As India's streets sang, Vinoba Bhave emphasises as he walks the dust and mud of his land from village to village, neighbouring families must learn to care for each other in the same manner as the individual members of a family care for one another.

Today, the only institution most of the world's people can count on at all for their security is the family. The indifference of families to the plight of their neighbours is appalling. In these circumstances, are not parents bound to have a felt need as the Chinese proverb says, for many sons because there is a chance that one at least will be good enough to care for his parents in their old age? Is it any wonder, then, that population statistics reveal an "explosion" of human reproduction? How can we expect parents to develop a felt need for education at the care of their families and unless institutions like the neighbourhood are strengthened to provide security for the individual?

In India they have a good slogan: The Right to Live, the Right to Work, and the Right to Reserve the value of One's Work. They have been



working practical ways to make real these Rights, even for the best of their landless unemployed.

In India they also have some people who refuse to take it for granted that money is necessarily the ultimate, perfect incentive for organising the practical work of producing goods and services to meet human needs. They figure that people are a more potent resource than money. So perhaps the kind of neighbourhood trading club described in the following paragraphs will find a more understanding and interested audience there than in the writer's homeland. Yet even here, the experience with neighbourhood barter-trading clubs and with the short-lived movements in which people are both making them; money far further and also finding quite but deep satisfaction suggests the time may be coming when West as well as East may be interested in paying renewed attention to ideas like this.

### The Idea of a Neighbourhood Trading Club

**The First Need** In earlier times the neighbourhood was the social security system. But we have become more and more dependent on money and less and less dependent on neighbours in most our needs. In short this, however it felt and came to be realised the neighbourhood as an institution for mutual help? Even this can be a way both to help us make our money go further and also to make the individual more secure and happy in home and neighbourhood life?

**In Recent Developments From the West:** A trade trading club scheme that has come into limited use in several years appears to have potential for filling this need. Merely a simple barter-trading arrangement, it is a self-help scheme to be started, U.S.A., especially in trade barter trading services among neighbouring farmers. Recently the Indian press has indicated that this scheme is coming into use in villages of West Bengal to exchange various goods produced in village and village industries.

(Hindustan Daily Feb 8 1955)

**On Henry Regenstein's Neighbourhood trading club of this type is perhaps the clearest of all opportunities to establish and operate. The requirements are three: (1) a group of neighbours (say, from 12 to 50 or more) interested in exchanging services and goods with each other, each participating only so much as he desires. (2) one or more members of the group capable and willing to do a simple book-keeping job for the group, and (3) paper and pencil for book-keeping.**

**How It Works:** Members agree on a standard unit of value to be used in reporting and recording the value of transactions. This may be a point system based on any one kind of common labour in which one money value may be credited to point values by dividing them by the money value of the time unit. Another a psychological value (by writing market help value, one commodity is point system has the practical value that it is more stable than money which fluctuates in value with inflation and deflation of a nation's economy.

Members agree on who will be bookkeeper, one that paper and pencil are available. One is now ready to go further.

A. (a Woman) a service for B. (another for another a garden plot, B being physically handicapped and unable to do such work).

A and B agree between them as to the value of B's service and A reports this value to the bookkeeper.

Bookkeeper records this value as a credit on A's account and as a charge on B's.

The credit on A's account gives her a claim to obtain through the club an equal value of service in the goods that B desires and that she is capable of obtaining and able and willing to provide.

B, of course, can't pay off all B's indebtedness account by providing to any one else or more than the club is entitled of service, goods (or for this matter money) that he is able and willing to provide and that is desired.

As trading activities continue among the members of trading trading and charges accumulate on their accounts, they share credit with others and exchange is effected without exchange of money.

**A Step Forward:** In reporting on such a scheme at West Bengal's B. K. Day, public and some Calcutta (Feb. 1955) that this does not require the a refund from one of money to a more practical scheme. Rather it is a step forward from such transactions to the use of credit.

**Neighbourhood Trading Club:** How might a neighbourhood trading club be organized to exchange all kinds of services and goods that individuals can provide to each other? One may want to be told.

Group agree on point system and bookkeeper as described above.

Each member informs bookkeeper what kinds of services and goods he has to offer.

Bookkeeper assigns and records a list by kinds of service and goods showing for each the name of those who are prepared to provide it.

Members dividing specific kind of service or goods credit bookkeeper who will record the and give trading credit that have received the from the group can order additional service by giving credit to such service to members needing credit to balance their accounts.

**Credit to Bookkeeper:** Membership agree on a book for the bookkeeper to use in recording the account for his bookkeeping service, and for charging members for this service credit be similar to charges made by a bank for handling a checking account.

**Extensive Control by Members:** Membership to talk over and decide how meetings may be called to solve problems that arise in operation of the club. This may be left quite simple when the frequent fluctuations outside of neighbours tends to create a balanced check and balance that reduce the need for formal methods of control.

**Priority to Money Economy:** Neighbourhood trading clubs would have the same relation to the money economy that the self-help movement has in other words they should have the effect of increasing the use of those kinds of services require tools and equipment which neighbours can use in producing services and goods for each other. Furthermore money used—whether by means of voluntary projects in the home or mutual help projects in the neighbourhood—will tend to be spent for increased family purchases of industrial and agricultural products. Thus Neighbourhood Trading Clubs would help solve the problem of making markets expand space with the rising productivity of industry and agriculture.

March 15, 1955

### APPENDIX

#### Use of Trading Club to "Finance" Some Projects and Public Works

Suppose a group of members join together to form a nursery school. Working to save money they find capable persons willing to serve as nursery school teachers for credit in the trading club. The families participating in the nursery school can agree to have the charges for this service credited on their accounts in the club.

**Child:** This same arrangement be employed also by set a group of women adults to "finance" a 10-week training course for themselves? Why should they wait for government to meet it? Why, with a (self-financed) school before learning to read, write and figure?

Similarly suppose a neighbourhood group desires to maintain some recreational facilities for neighbourhood or members of the trading club are able to provide the

needed stable materials labor and tools to do the job as with the current project might this can be done through the trading club so that the facilities are provided at an money cost? Could not the same approach be applied by a village to build its own schoolhouse or to improve a road or develop a water source? Flood control and irrigation having to with increasingly for government agencies to come and do it.

#### Use of Trading Club for Extension of Mortgage Credit

Suggest a Trading Club member made to make a capital improvement. The adding a room to his house. Members of the club are willing and able to provide the credit on their accounts the club, maintain houses and tools needed to implement the system. But for the individual to accept all this help will mean running up a sizable debt on his account that is over his time, money or even years to "pay" off. To prevent the club in extending so much credit to an individual, and at the same time to make it work could not the club arrange to take a mortgage on the improvement?

Participation of Children and Youth in Trading Club  
Is not one of the reasons for our "youth program. That our young people take a sense of significance and meaning in the life they lead? Might not a neighborhood trading club help them get interested and active in doing useful things carried by store. This as a means of obtaining for themselves, through the trading club things that they desire?

March 1959

## CIGARETTE - CANCER\*

D. FRANK: Dr. Scherer, I suppose that there are millions of people in this country who are interested in this question of lung cancer and cigarettes — cigarette smokers and others too. Could you tell me is it true that lung cancer has increased so much as people say it has?

O. SCHERER: I had, Mr. Frank. It is increasing more than any other cancer in the body. It's outstripped every type of cancer in recent years.

F. Well at your hospital, could I ask about how many cases you've handled there?

O. We've seen about fifteen hundred cases of cancer of the lung, in all.

F. And you've operated on how many perhaps?

O. A little over five hundred of them.

F. That's an awful lot. Well, doctor, how does lung cancer compare with cigarette consumption?

O. There's a direct correlation. Over the last 40 years that, Mr. Frank. One sees that from 1920 on up there's a straight parallel between the consumption of cigarettes in the United States and the increase in cancer of the lung. Both of them go up about the degree of slope.

F. Could it be that lung cancer caused by something else other than cigarettes?

O. No, I'm convinced that it's due to cigarettes. There has been an attempt to blame air pollution for it. I've seen air pollution has nothing to do with it. In the cities where air pollution is so prevalent the incidence of cancer of the lung is not any greater than it is in cities where it is not. It is true that cancer of the lung is more common in the urban areas but smoking is more frequent, and particularly cigarette smoking is more frequent, in the cities than in the country.

F. What has been your experience in testing cigarette smoking as a cause?

O. Well the best work that's been done on that has been done by Dr. Graham at Washington University in

St. Louis and that work is very significant. They have taken a rat making the animal cigarette just as a human does. They have collected the smoke from this cigarette model. It was applied it to the surface of animals three times a week. At the end of eight months they got one extraordinary tumor. At the end of a year they had one cancer. And they stopped their investigation then. The results would have been negative, but at the end of two years 44 per cent of the animals had a cancer right where they had applied this so which was identical with human cancer. It killed the animal, it metastasized or spread to the other parts of the body, and it was indistinguishable from the cancer that we see in humans.

F. In other words, 44 per cent of the animals got cancer from having cigarette smoke applied to them.

O. That's right, sir.

F. Now what has been the situation in other countries? Have they experimented also with cigarettes and lung cancer?

O. Yes indeed. Mr. Frank, I have a slide here that shows the increase in lung cancer in England from 1934 to 1953. It has increased twenty-fourfold in men and twofold in women.

F. Just in that short period of time?

O. Yes.

F. It seems to me I read in the paper that the British Government had taken some official action in regard to cancer and cigarettes.

O. That's right. About two months ago there was a report in the parliament of the British Government by a committee that had been appointed to study this question, and they reported that their investigation showed that there was a relationship between cigarette smoking and cancer of the lung.

F. In other words, that was an official report.

O. That's right, sir.

F. Doctor have there been any studies made on the question of age and when people get lung cancer?

O. Yes I have a slide showing that, Mr. Frank. For instance there's a graph showing the increase in cancer of all types, except lung cancer, and you can see that it increases with advancing age. Cancer of the lung on the other hand behaves differently. It goes up very sharply as shown in this graph as a peak age of 55, and then falls off.

F. Why does it fall so rapidly?

O. Well that falls off I'm sure because the person who's been a heavy smoker for a number of years has subjected his lungs and blood vessels to the deleterious effects of tobacco and he develops coronary thrombosis, and due of coronary thrombosis and doesn't live long enough to develop his cancer of the lung.

F. It sounds rather ironic to say this, but in other words what that shows is that if man doesn't die of heart failure from atherosclerosis then he may get cancer.

O. That's right.

F. Well, Dr. Scherer what about pipes and cigars? Do they cause cancer of the lung in the same way as cigarettes?

O. The cancer of the lung is produced almost entirely by cigarette smoking. It is seldom seen in pipe and cigar smokers, and I am sure it is due to the fact that pipe and cigar smokers do not inhale it being necessary for the cancer producing agents to get deep into the lung. On the other hand an individual who smokes a pipe or pipe can get a cancer of the lip, tongue or mouth.

F. I had a very helpful picture for some people. I should not have any studies been made as to how soon people begin cigarette smoking etc.?

O. Yes there are very definite statistics on that. Contrary to what was true about twenty years ago, cigarettes are now beginning at the age of nine and ten.

F. Nine and ten?

\*This is the text of a colloquial Dr. Frank's interview with Dr. Allen Scherer of Indiana University School of Medicine on the relation of cigarette smoking to lung cancer.

Q. Now, and we said that shows itself in this graph which showed you here that about 18000 years ago you were in a kind of corner of the map was about 50. One week ago it was about 40 and now it's between 40 and 50, and I'm sure due to the fact that youngsters are beginning to marry earlier at a younger age and therefore there more when they grow up develop more at a younger age than they did before.

P. Now doctor, what have the cigarette companies done about this?

Q. Well unfortunately, they haven't done what I think they should have done. They have started a Tobacco Research Foundation, and presently are going to study this problem. I had hoped that the cigarette companies would be more enough about this to finance funds in independent organizations, such as our Medical Research Council, or possibly the American Cancer Society, because this the only research done by an independent organization that the public will have any faith in.

P. But the cigarette companies are denying in England with the British Government?

Q. Yes, the tobacco companies I have been told, have contributed to their National Research Council for this research.

P. In other words in England the cigarette companies worked with the British Government.

Q. That's right.

P. Well, please what about them in Singapore? Do they do any good?

Q. No Mr. Ponnau I have a little here that shows that very well. Here are five of the leading brands of cigarette showing the results after smoking. Now one of these is a popular brand of cigarettes. Would you please place your pen on the one which you think is that one will be the best?

P. Well, let me see, I believe I'd say this one.

Q. No this is the one here, which you can see has to much of nicotine residue.

P. Over here.

Q. Exactly.

P. It is really foolish me, Dr. Chatterjee is it that that there was a tendency on the part of some of the Press Association to suppress this news some time ago?

Q. Yes, there was. About six years ago I called on some of the men in Bombay and asked whether in the last 100 I thought there was a relationship between tobacco of the lung and cigarette smoking. A young reporter got hold of me and said that this is news and story I want over it with him in considerable detail and are his copy which was good. It was sent out over one of the press's releases and within twenty minutes was recalled. It was not published.

P. Just a feeling that they don't want to publish anything that might affect advertising? I suppose?

Q. Well I presume that is it. I don't know.

P. I hope that one of the press are doing very much better on this very important matter now. You could be thinking that you are a little prejudiced on this?

Q. Well I suppose I should be prejudiced Mr. Ponnau because for the last fifteen years I've made my livelihood from taking care of people who have conditions which are aggravated or caused by cigarette smoking. Actually, they're the greatest beneficiaries I have, and if I am prejudiced, I ought to be prejudiced in favour of people smoking more. On the other hand I am frightened about which going to happen to our nation unless something is done to prevent this tremendous increase in the incidence of cancer of the lung.

(From New South, July 1, 1964)

Dr. Pongin Khay  
BHODAN YAINA  
[Lived-1964 Member]

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## NOTES

### Training in Rural and Village Industries

For the rapid organization and development of Rural and village industries, on a wide scale in the country, there is need for a large number of trained personnel. The Government is now working on national service to organized persons who have an aptitude for village work and technical education. The need for the considerable number of persons with ability to organize and to lead is being heavily felt and, in the programme of the All India Rural and Village Industries Board experts their number will soon be a few thousands.

With a view to meeting this a scheme of organized persons has been decided in the first instance to impart applications from the graduates who have had at least two years experience or association with social work and (2) constructive workers who have been engaged in Rural and village industries work for five years. They will be engaged as organizers and leaders for the promotion and development of Rural and village industries in the country.

These selected will be engaged to service in the entry grade at Rs 100 to Rs 400 per month. Before they take up independently the work that may be allotted to them, they will be given one year's training in the Central Training Institute of the Board at Delhi. These interested might write to the Secretary of the Board.

In view of the importance of development of Rural and village industries to the economic and social regeneration of the country it is hoped that post-graduate men and women of education and experience will be keen to enter in large numbers and help the Board in the task of building free India.

All India Rural & Village Industries Board

For Post 440, Bombay 1

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## IF ALL WORK ABOUT AN HOUR MORE (By F. M. Gadhia)

Mahatma Gandhi knowing the real nature of our national problem showed us in clear terms that if all the young and the old spare sufficient time for their clothing in their leisure hours, they would benefit both themselves and the nation. 'Clearly they would increase the national income by some more, without making any special demand on the national capital. Many other benefits would also accrue from it. People would learn the dignity of labour and their attitudes would be turned into fruitful labour', unemployment would be reduced to a certain extent and above all the spinster would feel concern with the poor and the needy.

Gandhiji's apparently small programme of hand-spinning is full of so many potential benefits. Similarly, if people took to any such productive activity in their leisure hours, it would undoubtedly be beneficial both to the individual and the nation. It would, not only, increase the national income but the national power generated from it would be helpful in solving many other socio-economic problems and the people would be better fitted for Swaraj.

Shri B. L. Jalan, the well known businessman of Calcutta has taken up such a project in some villages adjoining Calcutta, worked with the people and done some work there with the co-operation of the people. After carrying on his experiment for some time, he has published his experiences in the form of a booklet\* and showed therein on the country-wide basis that "there are 11 crore working adults out of the Indian population of 367 crore. Now each working adult working for one hour daily in the busy season of an average of eight months, and two hours daily in the slack season of four months contributes during the year 40 eight-hour working days. Thus 11 crore (or 110 million) adults will contribute 680 crore (or 6,800 million) working days. Calculating at the rate of Rs 1-8-0 the present average rate in India, the net contribution only in terms of labour to the national income would be about Rs 1,800 crore (or 10,000 million rupees)". This comes to about one-fourth of present total national income, i.e. 30 per cent increase in national income in a year. What a great thing if achieved!

Shri Jalan suggests in his booklet that the scheme should include projects benefiting the rural population on community level. It should aim at the provision of all basic necessities to the entire mass of rural people. Thus they must have housing, education, medical facilities, good roads, adequate food, fair amount of clothing and a general rise in the income. It could also include irrigation and construction of wells, conserving

water canals, sub-culture, poultry farming, horticulture etc. The order of priorities should be determined by regional, geographic, cultural and economic considerations.

He has laid special stress on the housing programme. According to his housing scheme, each family would be required to contribute on an average one-and-a-half hours of daily work by two members for one-and-a-half years to two years. By contributing so much labour, each family would get a pucca house free of all cost.

It is calculated that each family would contribute, on the above basis, 307 to 373 eight-hour working days. By widening sixty per cent of this labour they would be able to manufacture 40 to 50 thousand bricks. For a house of the type contemplated about 30,000 bricks would be required. The surplus of bricks and the labour would be utilized for getting other required materials for house-building.

All this can be easily done by any adult, after some training, which is not very technical.

Thus was also the significance of Gandhiji's programme. Though it appeared to be small it was capable of increasing the national income by at least one-third of the above figure. It is clear that the people of this country by the strength of their number only would produce tremendously, even if they worked for one to two hours daily in their off-days. All that is possible but it should be put into action. It was Gandhiji's specialty that he made great things out of small things. He worked at small programmes but by persistence and zeal made it nation-wide and showed great results. Yashwantrao has done the same thing in the case of the Shroshan movement. Similar zeal should be created among the people and then there will be no question of production or income. To achieve that, it is not necessary to create capital worth millions for huge undertaking, but the national will should be awakened and the people should be inspired for voluntary productive labour.

By Mahatma Gandhi

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# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## ENDS AND MEANS IN BHODHAN

(By L. C. Ramaswami)

In an Ahimsa Order we have to be always vigilant to keep clear the ends and means. A slight overemphasis on the end will lead to attachment and thence to Hindu Bhodhan Movement being a drive towards the establishment of Servotopia Order; we must carefully examine its component parts and separate its ends and means and be ever mindful of our attitude to these.

The ends and means of Bhodhan may be classified as follows:

- (1) Economic—The End — Removal of poverty  
The Means — Proper production and utilisation of land
- (2) Social — The End — To raise ownership in the community  
The Means — Reorganisation
- (3) Political — The End — Possible transfer of land  
The Means — Change of character and outlook through persons

In visualising the end clearly is needed, while we should look for purity in the means. The ends will take care of themselves as long as we employ the proper means.

Therefore we shall have consistent consideration on the means.

1. Removal of poverty can be accomplished only by putting the land to proper use. When we produce for export or for the needs we create unemployment and increase poverty and distress. We should therefore concentrate on production for local use based on self-sufficiency. To educate farmers and workers on the details of this programme we urgently need Agrarian Colleges and Demonstration Centres.

2. At present private ownership characterises land-holdings. We have to change this. There should be no private ownership—large or small. It is not good enough to take the land from the large owner and give it as small pieces to individual farmers. The lands must be handed over to the tillers for a period of years and their performance should be subjected to careful scrutiny. This step also needs the education of the workers through establishing Agrarian Colleges.

3. Farmers should lead simple life, neither too frugal nor indulgent. To provide and appeal to the heart of the people we need workers. Trained workers is our means of attaining this. Hence again the pressure towards the establishment of Agrarian Colleges.

This short analysis drives us to the conclusion that our concentration must be on the worker. Focusing our attention on time and colour will lead us to violence. Targets are part of violent planning.

The workers, being our means, the cure of our problem reduces itself to finding them. We cannot just wait till the available ones finish existing institutions. It will amount to violence.

To clarify this, I may be allowed to cite one or two outstanding instances in which during the emotional upsurge workers had deserted their post of duty to fill what was considered to be a real need. (I trust the persons concerned will pardon me.) During the call for Ahimsa, Sant Ashadevi Ashaparkash, nobly came forward to dedicate her services to Bhodhan. Was not her life already dedicated to Basic Education? Was taken in part of the Servotopia Order. While Bhodhan conforms itself with Economic, Social and Political spheres of Servotopia, Basic Education is a Cultural and Spiritual contribution towards building up of the future citizens. Which is more vital? Ahimsa being Basic Education and taking to Bhodhan is definitely a retrograde step. To use Biblical language, "it is not lawful to take the children's bread and cast it to the dogs." Similarly, Shri Shrinagar Das and Shri Anand Sahas Shrinagar Das, who occupied key posts in the Servo Sava Sangha, had taken to Bhodhan. There are hosts of others but these few are mentioned only to illustrate that our choice of means—workers—should not hamper the task of Servotopia Programme.

When Gandhiji made a general call for Satyagraha he cleared the courts, colleges and schools which were all outside the Order, say, they were "anti-Servotopia" and their withdrawal was a progress. I may mention that I received definite instructions from Gandhiji at the time of every movement not to leave my post of duty. "Don't court arrest or do any overt act. And if you do your duty properly they are bound to arrest you." I had never

shape, an erect, not an inverted cross; and yet I was as pale seven times! If our life is a dedicated one within the Saravadya Order, we cannot desert a single my conclusion. Facing tapers leads over embracing to erect to such use. Let us beware of temptation.

There is no high or low in Saravadya. Even if it be interesting, if it be done in a true Saravadya spirit it is as important as any other. The only thing that matters in Ahiimsa. There is no greater tragedy than this.

### GOOD SOIL AND GOOD SOCIETY (By Wilfred Wallock)

THE late Henry Howard, Liberty and Peace, Ahiimsa Herald, exhorted Wilfred Wallock to one of the two or three greatest failures who are making a practical statement of the state of our civilization. Mr. Wallock—who was working on *Food and Modern Thought* in the vegetable fields some thirty years ago—has chosen the relationship between the food, the garden and the values of the good society.

Between the subject of diet and that of an integrated civilization stretches a wide gulf which it has taken me nearly a lifetime to bridge. A brief survey of how this was done may not be without interest for others.

My first dietary experiments took place in my early twenties, in a period of almost universal abstinence, when the least departure from a deep and narrow dietary track branded one as a crank.

In my case, vegetarianism was an experiment, adopted in the pursuit of perfect health. One year of experimentation convinced me that food was a major factor in determining the health of a person or of a community, but to problems this was only a start. It was shocking even to find that a diet of roast beef, bacon and meat puddings might not be the best foundation for a sound constitution. Disease might be a divine visitation or a hallowed mystery, but to question the supremacy of a domestic economy which from time immemorial had been the boast of every English household, was to challenge the foundations of civilization, indeed of life itself.

I soon became a vegetarian enthusiast. But it was not long before I discovered that one could go far astray, even become a chronic invalid, on a vegetarian diet. That disturbing fact led me to the conclusion that the science of health was in its infancy—a discovery which stimulated inquiry.

A two penny pamphlet on "Cold's" led me, in my twenties to the two-meal habit, which I have kept ever since, but the balance of my diet has changed considerably from time to time. During the last ten years it has approximated to that laid down by Dr. May. I am an early riser. After a cold bath I drink two or three cups of weak China tea, and then work for three or four hours. We have our first meal about ten o'clock, and our second about 4:30. The first consists of a good salad or cooked vegetables, various proteins, but usually cheese or milk, mostly uncooked and a liberal helping of fresh fruit. We never have puddings or past. All our fruit is home-

grown, with the exception of plums. We grow enough to provide a daily helping fruit for ten to ten and a half months, and bottled for use to eight weeks. The second meal usually consists of salad, lettuce predominating in summer and cabbages or sprouts in winter, possibly a little dried fruit, or honey, wholemeal bread generally home-baked and a little home-made cider. Our protein intake is two to three ounces per day. Fruit and vegetables contribute about sixty per cent of our diet and carbohydrates about twenty per cent. Of course, we have to modify this regime when away from home.

"With what result?" Simply that we keep well and fit, are very energetic, and enjoy life and all its demands immensely. We have never had a family doctor, and we never take drugs. We work hard all day long, varying our activities as much as possible. If catarrhal symptoms appear, we can usually spot the cause on reflection. Natural "infectants" pass us by.

During the last ten years our experiments have been in a quite new field. We have been alarmed by the widespread and growing use of chemical soil fertilizers and the extension of soil erosion all over the world, and since we personally shied from drugs and chemical "foods", we have pursued the problem. This led us to the subject of compost cultivation, to Sir Albert Howard and his excellent book, *An Agricultural Testament*.

Sir Albert Howard experimented for over thirty years in India trying to rid tea plantations and other crops of various pests, but he refused to pursue the orthodox methods of sweeping the pests and then looking for means with which to destroy them, and turned his gaze to the problem of so raising the health of plants that they would be disease-resisting. This process attracted me at once, because it was precisely what I had been doing with my own constitution for nearly thirty years. When last, I explained this parallelism of Sir Albert he was deeply interested. Howard's constructive methods were highly successful, so much so that he spent his last years in a heroic crusade to establish a cycle of health from the soil to the plant, from the plant to animal and man, and from them all back to the soil.

His sweeping method is based on a study of the forest floor, where, he contends and explains in its most perfect form, being a compost of vegetable and animal wastes, under conditions which he studied and explained. He and his followers have proved by innumerable experiments that compost-fed plants are disease-resisting and that animals and persons fed on compost-grown food are also healthy and disease-resisting. Recent analyses have shown that such food contains a far higher percentage of vitamins than food grown on chemically stimulated land.

I have proved these statements from my own garden. Indeed, I have discovered that a cabbage

may be much less than a village by reason of natural deficiencies. Six months living on the fruit, greens and vegetables fresh from a composted garden makes an astonishing difference to one's vitality, mental alertness and general fitness. I have composted by the Howard method for eight years. The quality of my produce has improved year by year—in colour, flavour, pungency and satisfying qualities. I don't spray, and my trees and plants will bear inspection. Incidentally, one also gets bigger crops.

In regard to fruit, from 325 square yards, I average thirty pounds of strawberries, eight pounds of raspberries, twenty pounds of dewberries, a few blackberries, twenty pounds of pears and 600 pounds of apples, while from sixty square yards I get ample supplies of pears, sugar pears, leaved and runner beans, a small quantity of carrots and beet-root and quantities of cabbages, tomatoes and auberges. The space has to be fed too, and so we have two lawns and an ample flower area.

This experience has convinced me that we ought to return to the ancient custom of cottage gardening and thus of providing a good diet, garden with every house. Family gardening in conjunction with a craft, small trade or other social service would make a good life for any man, create, responsible, personally satisfying and socially beneficial.

It is one of our ambitions to discover just how much land and labour are necessary to produce all the greens, vegetables and fruit required by a family of four or five people living on the house above described. The time required would be much less than many suppose, yet what immense spiritual and physical health would emerge! Many fight the idea of compost gardening because of the time it takes, yet I have found that it saves time. Composted land is easy to work, while a loose top and simplified weeding, and weeds are welcome in the compost heap. More important still, a composted garden does not require digging. The use in this fact was also got from a study of the forest floor. Nobody digs a forest. My garden has not been dug for four years, and my crops are better than ever before, both in quantity and quality. Composting is the secret of numerous worm populations and bacterial content, while the worm tracks provide the ideal conditions for sending the soil and conveying nutrients to the roots of plants.

All these investigations are a part of my search for the good life. They concerned with the search for healthy living, but have merged into a wider search of which they were a vital part.

Responsible, creative living by integrated persons in an integrated society is the province, or right, of very few people in the highly mechanised and centralised civilisation. I believe that the modern decay is primarily due to that fact.

To restore these long-lost rights and values calls for industrial decentralisation and the marriage of town and country in a new kind of social unit. The present industrial set-up, which is a product of the evolution of money-values, has produced a homogeneous study world, a mechanised man, and a man-made 'democracy', which becomes a potent's clay in the hands of the totalitarian state.

I believe with Gandhi that civilisations which lose contact with the soil are short-lived. Nothing less than creative living and close contact with nature can restore health and stability to this waning civilisation. It seems a far cry from a healthy diet and the cultivation of a garden and other creative pursuits to an integrated and stable civilisation, but in the age of totalitarianism and the atomic bomb the connection is as close and as vital in day and night.

(From *The Newer Anand-Walton*, 1936)

### OUR GREATEST NATURAL RESOURCES

(By *Minchendra P. Sen*)

Charles Bowen, Co-Ambassador of U.S.A., has asked for India's planners a very serious question. The question is: "What about India's greatest natural resources—the young people?"

Our planners today are very much preoccupied with things economic and monetary only. It is a truth that steel and mineral resources are very dear for more important than the material ones for a nation. Can our planners afford to forget this? How otherwise can they provide a man of Shri B. G. Kher's assurance to ask in the way he did while addressing the Second session of the All India Primary Teachers' Conference at Fort St. George, "Are stronger, better and purer men less valuable and less important than cleaner houses, water works, bridges and airplanes alone?" His plea was that "much larger portion of our resources (should be set aside) to bring up and educate our children into self-supporting and self-reliant houses men and women."

The question is, if the young men in India grow up without fundamental or basic national education and become gnomes, what will all the steel and for whom will it be?

Frank J. Bickel, while addressing the First Conference the other day in Delhi, remarked about the Indian economy in these terms, "Every human being is an economic factor and there happens to be 340 million economic factors in India."

The people are not the material for the politician's or the economist's scheme or pattern of things. It is only that the aspect of national work is out of sight. Shri Kher in fact has criticised it by saying, "Each State has its own policy or lack of a, and the nation drifts along according to the views of the persons in charge for the time being." He therefore stressed the need for "decentralising for ourselves a system of national education suited to our national requirements".

All planning and pattern of society are grown and thrown only on the strong basis of a sound system of national education. Then we will not be working with our material resources only but the mental and moral resources will also be accompanying themselves in a true way. Then only our planning takes below march according to the pulse of the people in the bottom and not to the planners or the Government in force above — from their "un-conditioned" outlook.

3-6/55

## HARIJAN

June 11

1955

### PLANNING THE SECOND PLAN

(By Mahatma J. Das)

What is called the "Plan-frame" is being thought out for the Second Five Year Plan (S F Y P). It appears as if this were a job for economists and statisticians only. This has been the defect of what is going on in India as a 'Plan' for the last five years. Of course, when one thinks to do a certain thing, one should investigate its monetary and financial aspects also. But what work should be undertaken, with what aims and objects and what should be the priority, is the soul of a Plan. This is not a matter for economists or statisticians to decide. It is a question of India's aspirations—India's ultimate future and destiny.

From this point of view, it may be said that what is described as the Sachintra Pattern of Society is set as the aim for the Plan. But what it will mean is not clear. Its meaning will be as the Prati, Mahatma gives to it.

From what we learn about the Plan so far, we find that the Plan-frame will cost about 4000 crores of rupees, of which 2000 will go to the Private Sector and the rest to the Public Sector.

It is being agreed with some pride that the Plan will be very much larger than the first one. And the credit from the same that are furnished or expected to come will be automatically from proportional magnification.

How to secure the huge amount is a big question. Ways and means are being thought out for it. The following are obvious:

- 1 Taxation and National loans and savings.
- 2 Over-use of printed currency.
- 3 Foreign aid.

The Finance Minister has recently declared that 150 crores will have to be found every year in additional income from savings, during the S F Y P period. He hopes he can have that amount. What will happen to the Plan if the hope would not be realised, will be a matter then. The chief concern of present is to finance a big Plan.

Another thing which he declared was that during the Plan period, there will have to be deficit finance to the tune of 1000 crores. Opponents of centralisation, Indian and foreign, who believe in the method of finance have been mobilised in its support, although there is no economist who believes the method to be true and reliable process. All say that there should be the cost when undertaking it, otherwise the evil of inflation will set in causing more harm than good to national economy.

We may see the proceedings of this method even today, as it is in vogue even at present. The effect is that prices except in agriculture are not falling. That means that the real-effects of deficit finance are on the workers and the larger sections of our people—the peasant, as it is generally presumed to happen. And Government is not taking any substantial step to appreciably ease them from its falling. Deficit finance is not being contributed to help it. One may well take it that this will continue to be so, because there is the traditional idea that there are only two sectors of our economy—the public and the private industries. Really speaking, there is the third sector—agriculture and related industries, which is a truly national sector marked by the vast majority of our people. This is not held worthy of distinct and separate consideration.

The third source of help is foreign countries, chiefly America. The amount available from this source is not very big. I do not know the exact figure, however, I remember, it is within 5 to 10 per cent of the total Plan amount. But it is a very interesting offer. Throughout America can have an effective hand in our economy and development besides. It would be having economic and commercial relations which is bound to have political effects too.

Therefore, the common people of India should tell Government to give no deficit finance and foregoed that these people are not hard enough today makes Government's responsibility doubly great. The Plan-frame could be truly solid and self-reliant only without those two sources. It would be disastrous for the country to bank and hand the big Plan on these two. They may at best be taken as handy crutch and therefore negligible and worth giving up. On passing I may add that the question of foreign money is relevant here. It is surprising that an economist has put this aspect of the question before the people though it is a relevant aspect.

There are other sources also—administrative and otherwise, for not going on for such big plans and projects. The bureaucracy is not fit to undertake them on various grounds. The level of our people's general education also is too meagre to bear the stress of a highly technological order.

And if we assume everything, we find that there are many things worthy of first priority that are undisturbed by the big talks of greater schemes overhauling them. This surely we cannot but worry about.

(From Gopank)

30-5-55



# SHRI VINODA IN ORISSA—VI

As the company was passing through a jungle Vinoda was saying sternly, "Do you know that people from Bhopal come into Orissa in the old days?"

Someone replied, "We do and history is repeating itself today."

Vinoda pointed out, "But there is a difference. People in those days came riding their horses, swords in hand. That was aggression; while ours is simply moving about. The British had called such moving about 'chandrakars'."

The difference between aggression and chandrakars is not apparent to us. Post-independence have taken the place of chandrakars a socialist movement has replaced the sword and horse killed with love has taken the place of the fall of horses and in the place of freedom to be aggressive the tendency to serve the people is in evidence. And Vinoda, today, is performing the more task of a chandrakar, but Vinoda attempting to be the people by staying the chandrakar's motto of a beautiful life in the contemporary spirit of his movement. He goes to every village, hamlet or the group of every language, caste and class, "We're doing it for the Bhopals!" He is never tired of declaring his faith that some Rama—God—was watching his task would be over for the world that take care of the rest of the job.

When we saw in the small village of Bhopal we walked after another village in the morning to take a rest in all humility that he would apply himself early in the work of Bhopals. He is convinced and that he would be answerable to God if he committed the slightest mistake in carrying out his responsibility, we were convinced of the truth of Vinoda's conviction.

It glorified Vinoda's belief in witness the independence of the world. He thus showed there a tremendous way to proceed about their work.

श्री विनोदचरणः । श्री विनोदचरणः ॥

श्री विनोदचरणः । श्री विनोदचरणः ॥

—Bhopal the life is a thousand times, contemplate the unchangeable form of Lord of Lakshmi, lead your mind to the company of the good and give wisdom to the poor."

He explained that these four acts of the warriors would correspond to the four things—the sword, the wheel, the spear and the lance. Bhopal Vinoda says in the four acts. He repeats the name of the Gita, in contemplation the form of that, to live in the company of the saints and to give what you can, to give to the poor—these four minutes would be in the hands of the workers and he would be sending them out into the wide world with the four arms of Vinoda who protects and sustains the world.

It is now two days since Vinoda has finished his work through the four districts and entered the village, Bhopal, then also his work began to be in the lap of the dense jungle and the valleys of the mountains. When he reached one such spot he was welcomed by men residing in the forest. They were chanting "We object." "We object does lead looking 120 him who would be 120."

Vinoda approached one of them and affectionately put to him the question, whether land should not be given to everyone. The saint finally replied that it should be a lot that he had given eleven acres in measure of land, and had now left to him eleven acres out of that which he had received. Finally Vinoda said that there was to be given the heart of him which community requested in the demand of righteous duty. Now, at the people present in the morning were looking in the words of that Vinoda they were all representatives of Lord Bhadracharya.

Vinoda gave to them the most of the minutes in the following words. All of you go to your respective villages, lead meetings, form groups and go singing in those who are kind. Sing to them that Vinoda who had to be given to the Indians. While seeking the demand do not get angry with anyone, but only the message to everyone

that just as we and give to the demand to the is kind. You have the demand to Bhopal in Orissa, so you must hold this thousand meetings. I am confident that if you carried this demand to those who need land in the manner I love them their hearts would melt."

Vinoda has recently begun his strong attack on the demand who attacks, at Bhopal he explained his policy of unity, "I with the landless in the village to stand up and make their demand without fear. I also with the landless not to wait for the demand but of their own free will to declare that they have given up their right of ownership. Let them ask the landless to give them by accepting the land that would come to their share. Let them also tell the landless that if they needed land they will give it to them and they will also give their bodies. This they should do out of their love for their Indian brothers. Just as the two hands meet in a handshake—meeting—let the landless protect their own and the women from the other to meet in loving to God. Today the two hands are not meeting and remain apart. When the two will not stay together and the other chandrakar the two will come together to make this a form in the land and the way of Bhopal will be firmly established."

Vinoda proceeded to say that it was a good sign that the Bhopal had fully understood the message of the world. He was glad that the voice of India rang out in the world and that the Prime Minister was moving toward it. Delivering the message of peace. Vinoda further pointed out that if the Prime Minister was also able to tell the world that we in India had solved our problems peacefully and non-violently his words would carry greater weight.

Returning with pleasure the help of resolution for maintaining peace in the world and preventing nations from going to war to solve their differences passed at the Bandung Conference in 1955. Vinoda declared that he had no doubt we could maintain peace in the world if we applied our whole strength to our task for the coming two years. The news from Bandung had inspired us and the work we were performing here was surely going to give strength to the world. After all Vinoda said giving peace to the world by to the hands of men who had created it. Day we had to help him, even as the workers had helped that Bhadracharya, by bringing the instruments of peace to the hands. That that and however in the first step, we had to solve the problems facing our very village in association to understand those present to understand that only he who would solve his own problems could solve the problem of the world.

11-4-85

(From Bhopal)

R. B.

## From Bhopal

For securing international peace and no-war in the world, Vinoda Bhadracharya thought out a code of international conduct in the shape of five 'shloks' (shloka or 'vratas' (vrat) and they came to be called by the beautiful name 'vratas'. From Bhopal. The word began to be spelled in English as 'Panch-shloka'. Quickly enough in the Indian languages providing the name to be written as vishva (meaning 'five shloks'). A radio speaker in English also pronounced it as that! I learn that some people in Delhi pronounce with Ashok as vishva!

This is really a shameful thing for us, that we should follow the English-words who wrongly write and speak an Indian word. What a disgrace for us to spell such a beautiful Indian word through our own ignorance! English writers should at once correct the spelling of the word and write it as 'Panchshloka'.

14-5-85

(From Gujarat)

M. P.





### WATER SUPPLY IN 1990s

1. The Government cannot blame

(The following is from a broadcast speech by Rajmatar Jyoti Kaur, Union Health Minister, on the occasion of the World Health Day, April 7, 1981)

The theme for World Health Day this year is "Clean Water Means Better Health." We are all painfully aware that in our urban environments diseases such as cholera, dysentery, typhoid and various worm infestations are responsible for millions of deaths every year and the economic loss thus sustained as a powerful deterrent to industrial and agricultural development. And yet all these diseases are preventable.

I can do no better at this stage than report the words of Dr. Claudio, Director-General of the World Health Organization, who was in the hospital:

\* Abundant supplies of clean water have always been a necessary condition for the rise of the great civilizations of history. Civilizations and cultures were nurtured in the valleys of rivers close—the Nile, the Euphrates, the Indus, the Ganges and the Tigris. As these wide waters flowed forward, however, these growing populations rely upon them. Eventually, the water on which they live, disappeared.

<sup>1</sup>As little as one hundred years ago, typhoid, the dysentery and other diseases caused by polluted water and sewage ate people out of the population. This caused 100,000 the inhabitants were hit of the great process of public health which has allowed almost inexhaustible results during the last few decades in bringing down mortality rates and reducing health expenditure.

'A great deal of the improvement in Western Europe and North America has been due to the purification of water supplies and the sanitary disposal of human wastes.'

We, in India, have not been unaware of the lack of facilities for the supply of safe water to the population of our country. But unfortunately the problem is so vast and the resources available for tackling it so limited that it has not been possible to do as much as we have tried to have done.

The drinking water supply position in our country is woefully inadequate. Only 10 percent of the total number of towns in India have protected water supplies. These only serve 6.13 percent of the total population or 41.3 per cent of the urban population. About 80 per cent of India's population lives in the rural areas and they rely mostly on an unguaranteed water supply from wells, tanks, springs, and streams. These figures indicate the vastness of the problem yet to be tackled.

The ignorance of health rules makes the people their own greatest enemies, for they pollute their own water supply without knowing what they do unto themselves. The greatest single factor all over the world leading to sources of possible water being contaminated is man's unhygienic habit of using the water to dispose of his waste products.

The gross pay on sales of the sale of life, taken by doctors and dysentery and diarrhoea, 1 might mention that doctors claim usually about 30,000 tons while dysentery and diarrhoea take about 1,70,000 tons out of a total of 2.0 million tons per year from all causes.

The Government of India appointed an Environmental Impact Committee in June 1988 and that

Comments reported in report in October 1977  
his recommendations have been widely appreciated  
and accepted in theory, but also their implementa-  
tion has not as far been possible on any large  
scale on account of financial constraints.

In April, 1934, my Ministry put out a proposal for a National Water Supply and Sanitation Programme. This was accepted in principle by the Planning Commission. After working out the various details, the urban phase of the programme was finally sanctioned in August 1934 and communicated to the State Governments. Similarly the rural phase of the programme was sanctioned and communicated to the State Governments in November 1934.

Originally, Rs 4 crores were sanctioned to States for the urban schemes, but later an additional sum of Rs 4 crores was made available to meet the increasing demands of the States. The States have sent in their voluntary reports of which have received the approval of the Government of India. As to the rural water supply and sanitation plans of the programme, Rs 4 crores were made available for outright grants to the States to meet 10 per cent of the cost of the sanctioned schemes. Provisions in grants to other schemes which can be substantially completed.

(Is this not one of the signs of human poverty, in the eyes of our Hologram? Is it a matter of natural choice, indeed, to have that polar water bearing state not, not provide that insubstantial water to her country, the table of knowledge and electricity? And, only because of this, the table of knowledge and electricity?

The speech of the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, at the annual session of the General Assembly and the programme of action for the development of nations were in health-giving effect. The problem in India is a real problem—a rural problem, not an urban one as in the West. Underemployment and unemployment today in India result not from the demand being too small but from the supply being too large. It is in fact the Government that is responsible for the problem, which is India's primary cause of unemployment. It is a rural problem, not an urban one as in the West. Underemployment and unemployment today in India result not from the demand being too small but from the supply being too large. It is in fact the Government that is responsible for the problem, which is India's primary cause of unemployment. It is a rural problem, not an urban one as in the West. Underemployment and unemployment today in India result not from the demand being too small but from the supply being too large. It is in fact the Government that is responsible for the problem, which is India's primary cause of unemployment.

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Two Annas

## NAI TALIM OR BASIC EDUCATION (By Vinoba)

(From a speech delivered before teachers at Rajmou  
School in D-Wate on 17-4-1932)

Recently the Avasa Session of the Indian National Congress passed a resolution on NAI TALIM. Pandit Nehru himself proposed the resolution. It says that Basic Education will be adopted by Government as its system of education at the end of five years. It follows, therefore, that the NAI Talim schools conducted today should be model or "Jyoti" of Basic Education. Only those could it, expectations they take to be fulfilled and the whole of India would follow their example. Otherwise, after ten years the Government basic schools will profess one thing and do another. As it is, schools which are called government schools are so conducted that they resemble the modern universities of Western nations only names are fully secured. They are not completely one thing, nor completely the other. It is, therefore, of the highest importance that we develop and run more model NAI Talim schools. But before we started in our task, we must have absolute clarity in our minds as to what NAI Talim or Basic Education means.

Many believe that if boys are taught a combination of craft and if they are made to do a little spinning on the wheel you have Basic Education. Some others believe that if less attention is paid to learning and knowledge you have NAI Talim. And there are still others who feel that once the process of learning is somehow connected with hand-work you have complete Basic Education. They do not bother themselves whether the education is natural; they do not feel the aspect of the question deserves such attention.

All these three views are faulty. The purpose of NAI Talim will not be served by teaching students a little of some craft. Boys and girls receiving their education through NAI Talim will be so produced in their crafts that they will perform their work as easily and naturally as fish swim in water.

I understand that students receive their education by way of scholarships. What we should aim at, however, is that during the last four months of their studies students will earn enough

by working five hours a day that they can forgo the money they get as scholarships. If they prove incapable of doing so it would mean that the craft or industry they have been taught is useless and that they will not engage themselves in it after leaving school. Let us suppose students are being trained in the art of war in their school. But suppose also that it has been so taught that none of the students who go out from here engage in war depending on the art they have acquired. What use then would such knowledge be? Our boys and girls should acquire such confidence and proficiency as to be able to earn their livelihood by working four hours a day in the craft they have learnt. Our purpose will not be served by our students learning merely a little spinning and a little weaving just to be able to provide samples when called upon to do so.

Some people may argue that there have no need to be experts at their crafts as they have after all to teach in school. We know the teacher teaches the child how to feed itself. Once the child learns how to eat we do not expect that now it has no need to feed itself. It is not enough for the child to learn how to eat. A farmer living should get his food everyday of his life. Just as eating is a matter of daily practice for man four hours of labour everyday should be the daily habit of teachers and students of Basic Education. There should be no proficiency in their respective crafts that the parents and carpenters of the village will go to them to learn them. They should also acquire the art of improving the instruments and tools they work with. They should become masters of the art of taking food. As it is, our village carpenters and crafts have been destroyed. We seek to restore them through NAI Talim.

We dare not neglect knowledge because Basic Education does not recognize the importance of books. It is generally believed that in NAI Talim one has much knowledge which the student acquires naturally and as a matter of course a different set from that the other is totally lacking. Through Basic Education students should learn all things which are basic to life. It is, of course, not necessary for students to learn lengthy accounts of history and chronicles of names of twelve kings. That requires

uncommon sense in the hands of students that I no longer believed that boys acquire worthwhile things in the ideas which are taught them and which tend to the development and progress. Knowledge is philosophy, religious thought and moral ideas is necessary. Knowledge of sociology, of the social history of human society and of such other subjects is essential. Students should possess the knowledge of the progression of our world development as well as of those of others. Boys should be familiar with the basic concepts of science. They should acquire the highest knowledge of the science of health, of behavior, of sociology, of the art and science of making food etc. Thus there should not be any want of knowledge in Nao Taku. Boys and girls who are taught through the method of Naoe Education should become experts in the use of language. They ought to learn the art of expressing their thoughts and ideas properly and effectively. Their hand-writing should be good and beautiful. They should also be conversant with literature. Thus there should not be any shortcomings in knowledge in our system of education which is named Nao Taku. Of course, there will be no place for useless knowledge in it.

A system, burden is imposed on the minds of students without any purpose in the universities of today and then they say that those who secure thirty three per cent of marks will be deemed to have passed their examinations. This clearly means that they have made a provision beforehand, for students to forget sixty-seven per cent of the knowledge they are supposed to have received! Truly speaking knowledge has to be retained hundred per cent. Who will engage a cook who prepares bread which is eighty per cent good? So too knowledge, even a little short of perfection, cannot be allowed to pass off as such. Either you have knowledge or you do not have it, you have either sixteen atoms of it or a super or you do not have it at all. Could we say that a man is eighty per cent alive and twenty per cent dead? If he is alive he is hundred per cent alive and if dead he is hundred per cent so. He is either fully alive or completely dead. There is no place for percentages here. No, too, there cannot be any percentages in knowledge. Knowledge has to be full and definite. Intellectual knowledge is no knowledge. That our universities have kept a provision for forgetting sixty-seven per cent of the knowledge students are supposed to acquire. This is because the universities also know that most of the knowledge they profess to impart is worthless.

Now, there will be no provision for forgetting the knowledge acquired through Nao Taku. Whatever will be taught will all be worth retaining and the student also will retain the whole of it because it will be useful to him in life. Truly speaking men does not forget what he has secured as knowledge and that which he forgets or does not retain is not knowledge. So, we will impart

such knowledge through Naoe Education as will not be forgotten. Nao Taku should be able to give us store of great knowledge.

Now let us take up the question of acquiring knowledge with work. Education is the word used in this connection. The word we have adopted is *shikago*. When I first heard the English word I wondered what it was. *Shikago* Taku is a system of education which we have conceived to suit our conditions. No *Shik* had done it for us. So there was no responsibility on us to translate the word in their language. We are told by the friends who have brought the word to us that there is a system of education in the West which has adopted the word. But we do not want to borrow anyone else's method or system. We are developing an educational system of our own. Therefore, there is no need for us to use that English word to indicate what we wish to do. What we wish to do is *shikago*. Let us explain.

The two things earth and the pot are so closely associated that it is difficult to define the relation between each one of which the pot is made and the pot itself. Are earth and the pot two distinct objects or are they but one? Now if you were to tell me that they are two distinct things I would ask you to take away your pot and leave my earth to me. But the two objects are so interrelated that they cannot be separated. When you have earth you have the pot also. But if you were to tell me that both are one, please allow me to ask you to fill water in earth which is before us. Now that too is impossible to do. All this argument boils down to this that the two things are so interwoven that you cannot do otherwise than distinct advantages separately one can you demonstrate that they are but one object. Thus, where you cannot decide about a relation whether it is a duality or an identity you have the inseparable relationship. In our Naoe Education method you will have the inseparable of knowledge and hand-work, we will not be able to demonstrate at any particular moment whether the process going on is one of knowledge or one of work.

That will be our method. When Ramachandra went along with Vishvamitra to the latter's ashram, he defended the sacrifice which was going on and he also acquired knowledge at the same time. Thus Ramachandra performed the work of defending the sacrifice and also acquired knowledge along with it naturally and as a matter of course. In our system we are thus not going to separate knowledge and work into two distinct processes. When the process of acquiring knowledge is on, the process of work is on too, and when the process of work is on, the process of knowledge is also operating. Work and knowledge will be so interwoven that there will be no need to establish a correlation of any kind between the two. There will be no stage

for receiving knowledge; who, using outside agency, Manu's life will develop. (through hand-work and the student will receive his training in hand-work through knowledge. That, in short, is our system. A system where knowledge and work are slatched into one sheet will not be our system of education. In our method knowledge and hand-work will be interwoven into one single sheet.

I have till now spoken about the misconceptions regarding Nal Talam which are prevalent. I shall now tell you about a very important aspect of the problem. You cannot expect Basic Education, and also hope to make the present social order permanent. Nal Talam is in complete opposition to the prevailing socio-economic system. If it is said that Basic Education is but one method of teaching whereby children are taught various subjects through the medium of hand-work it is entirely a mistake. Nal Talam on New Education cannot but create a new social order. It cannot live unless it did so. Nal Talam cannot find its place in the present social order nor can disparities in the salaries of teachers, as the custom of determining salaries by the different academic degrees of the teachers be allowed in it. And - if there were unequal salaries for teachers under Nal Talam how could the State be revolutionized? In the machinery of the State as it is constituted today salaries are given on the basis of educational qualifications and besides there are various grades. Nal Talam will undo all this. If Nal Talam is not opposed to all these evils and if it is not capable of remedying them it will surely not deserve the name. Under Nal Talam the moral and economic position of physical and intellectual labour will be deemed equal and there will not be any grade or divisions on the basis of educational qualifications. The status of all work will be deemed equal. This is to say that we have to change the whole economic order of the day. And Nal Talam is here to bring about the change.

(From Hindi)

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## COMPULSORY INOCULATION AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

To  
The Editor,  
Sir

Compulsory laws for vaccination and inoculation, which are evidently unconstitutional, are being still enforced on the ground that those that are not treated are a danger to the rest. Are they? Competent authorities are quoted in the *Pediatrics* by Sir British Doctors to our Government to show that this claim is unfounded. 'This is being confirmed from day to day. If it be understood that all these governments alike consent in giving an actual disease to protect a remotely likely disease, then any evidence bearing on any one of these will be relevant as against all of them.' Today in the *Hindu*, I read news that a mother of two children inoculated with the Salk Anti-Polio Vaccine contracted polio and died within 24 hours. This means that it is the unvaccinated that are a danger to the unvaccinated, while on the other hand there is no proof offered by the official medical claim that the unvaccinated are a danger. The medical claim rests on unproved dogmas. It is unreasonable with the findings of up-to-date science, that all disease is traceable to the defects of civilized mankind. Dr McCannock and Sir Albert Howard have helped to confirm this strictly hygienic teaching. There is also no guarantee that there is no risk to health and life and that there will be real immunity. In a real democracy the citizens are criminal and the advisors of Government can be proceeded against for these rascals. We should ask, are these Governments entitled to cause risk of death to individuals in order to confer a hypothetical immunity on others?

Also are our Governments free from the moral obligation to tell the whole truth before obtaining the consent of parents where the process is not compulsory? If so, they are not our Governments!

Puducherry 7-6-58

K. L. Sarma

It is a harsh lesson of jurisprudence that as long as one is not proved to be guilty, he must be held to be innocent. The law applies here also. So long as one is not suffering from a contagious disease he is not a danger. To inoculate one therefore on the ground that one is liable to suffer is violating the sanctity of the human body and the individual freedom of man. Compulsory vaccination therefore is a horrible outrage still prevailing in our country. This must be made vitally by public demonstration of the fact.

The B.O.B. campaign and such others in the name of doubtful science are clearly dangerous to public health. The Government to take them up is unimpeachable and easily understood and wrong. The Government should rather concentrate on hygiene and sanitation and such other rational preventive means. I very much fear that what goes on in the name of preventive medicine is more or less trading on fear complex which is being provided by interested parties. Government ought resort to its available powers to stop it as a thing about which health and opinion are in deadly conflict.

19-6-58

M. J.]

# HARIJAN

June 12

1952

## OUR GREATEST KEE INDUSTRY

(By Jagdishlal P. Desai)

Shri Kher speaking to the A.I. Primary Teachers Conference, Patna, last month, made a vigorous remark about the state of educational reforms in our country, which focuses our attention to a serious defect in India's system of education. This is what he said:

"We must not shut our eyes to the fact that all major schools in rural areas are located in the districts. We have so far been ignoring this fact and our reliance on education are confined and focused not only by city people but for city people" teacher noted.

This charge about city bias in our ways of educational reform may be illustrated even from the latest document, viz. the Secondary Education Commission Report. Its conservative or near reactionary attitude and approach to the question of teaching English in Senior Primary Schools has already been noted in these columns before. This attitude was only due to the bias of our so-called reformers in favour of cities and city dwellers. Another instance can be given from its main recommendation regarding multi-purpose high schools.

This recommendation envisages alternative courses to suit various types of students. Quotely enough these courses are mainly for urban employment; they do not include village handicrafts as one of the major alternatives, pre eminently suitable for rural high schools in particular. We know the place of importance that these industries are securing for themselves in the planned economy of our country. Their chief work is so compelling that it is asserting itself in our economic thought in spite of the emotional prejudice that the learned harbour against them. Therefore, in the immediate future, the country will be requiring thousands of young men and women equipped with adequate know-how as to to man the services that will be set up at village level and upwards.

The Community Projects and the National Extension Service Schemes till now did not take up village industries in their programme—another instance of the urban bias of the educated few who frame guide and administer the Plan today. Fortunately they have now undertaken to amend them and the Second Plan proposes to give some place to these industries under the wings of the Khadi Board. The unfortunate position that we find ourselves in today is that the educational system does not train out enough trained men to take up these new but simple undertakings. If we had worked Basic and Post-Basic Education with even modest faith, sincerity and requisite courage, the conditions

would have been quite different. However, it is never too late to mend.

If we probe deeper in this matter of urban bias of educational reform, we would find that it is really not a mere geographical thing, it is really speaking a distinction in the class structure of our society brought about by the English educational system. It is a question of the classes vs. the masses.

English education in India created a class of English-knowing people who mainly employed themselves in the government of the country. The educational system that evolved itself under foreign rule mainly catered to the need of English rule. Thus, in course of a few decades, changed the entire face of our indigenous educational system. Values administrative and cultural began to change giving rise to a middle class trained enough under the new system to be employed in Government services. What should be the education of the whole people automatically changed to be more instruction of the few for professional careers.

Naturally this state of affairs severely changed our educational and cultural values also, giving a classy bias to the system. Fundamental education of our people which was going on through ages as a self governing activity of the people themselves, under the stress of their new order or changed values also got disturbed. This system which suited to the people about 50 per cent of literacy and more suited the other way round and we have had the most pathetic situation wherein 50 per cent and more are illiterate and the rest are so trained that they are rendered almost incapable to be helpful in rebuilding our economy. The 50 per cent became the 'beavers of wood and drawers of water' not only of the foreign rulers but also of the English educated 10 per cent who aided them. Rather, to the President and a few weeks ago, the 10 per cent now tend to seek the marks of "educated unemployment".

It is the product of this out-of-date system of education, continuing as it was which still controls our educational reform, administration and machinery and hence the obvious happens viz. "our reliance on education are confined and focused not only by city people i.e. the classes which are the product of English education now growing out-of-date and anti-national but for city people." Unless this state of affairs is now boldly challenged by our people to improve and amend itself no sound or stable progress is now really dramatically planning worth the name seems to be possible.

It must be noted that education is the greatest and largest living industry of a people. It is of such a nature that it cannot be piled like material heavy industries with the help of money and machine usually and with ease sparingly. Man is pre-eminant here and he uses money to suit his needs. The new Plan should pay more attention



to this, at least as much as in being paid in the so-called heavy or key industries, because Education is now the most important and vital key industry of a people.

12-4-55

# THE NEW HAWAIIAN NOBLES

(By D. D. Hualalai)

The other day Vinohra was in the village of Akali in a remote corner of Kona district. Shri Dharmaraj Nair, the head of the village, according to a hearty welcome to Vinohra, narrated how his idea of a village fund appeared to him and his fellow villagers.

Originally our village did live as one family. But our economy was disturbed by the British system and artificial divisions and distances were created. We have achieved unity through Gandhi's efforts and now we have heard of you and your mission and were told that you were taking from village to village land, taking land to the location and providing that land like air, water and sun was a divine gift and not to be sold to any one individual. We had a universal appeal to your message and have preferred to contribute our land to all the members of the village whether rich or without land. Please listen to us this occasion and guide us for the future.

And one after another all the fortunate families of the village received Premium Palm of land, each according to his family needs. Shri Dharmaraj Nair, who owned fifteen acres, maximum holding of the village, now received only ten, the number of his family members being the same. Those who had no land or had very little received according to their family members one acre per head. Thus land areas which once were the property of big estate landholders individually were now redistributed among all the hundred members of the village family, the village Panchayat to function as the trustee of the land—entitled to assess the same periodically, say after ten years to make adjustments according to the needs of the families. Forty-two acres were left for collective farming. It was the first occasion that Vinohra was thus called upon to distribute land of a village. Four years ago, in Kona, he had performed the first distribution. But that was not for redistribution as the one referred to here. He was, therefore, validly moved by the event.

Referring to Hagey's remarks that Bhodra prompted people towards the path of Bhakti and served forth in God, he pointed out how it not only led to that path, but brought us very front, the realization of the Lord. How could the villagers otherwise rise above their ego—chances and draw their differences and surrender their sense of ownership by donating their total land to Vinohra? Were they very learned persons? They had not known the three E's, all of them being either Mariposa or Advaita. Maybe for this very reason, their hearts are more receptive and they react more promptly to the call of the age. Is it not a challenge to the intelligentsia and

to the more favoured? And to support his statement as it were, once the news that Bhodra also decided to donate all its land to Bhodra. What had happened to the villagers of Bhodra? In the morning, when the village Nair was introduced to Vinohra at that village, it was said that not an inch of land was received there due to the indifference of the Nair Vinohra, touching the latter's shoulder most affectionately, had asked him if he would co-operate in collecting land for the landless. And had come the prompt reply—"Why not?" Since then the villagers sat and discussed and the Nair gave the land. They had now known that Vinohra was going to perform the redistribution of total land at Akali. They sat and rose with their resolve as was conveyed and announced during the function at Akali.

The news had spread like fire that the villagers of Akali and Bhodra had donated all their lands. Villagers who came from surrounding villages had witnessed the ceremonial distribution and the logic of fact as explained in Vinohra's speech, could not but appeal to their minds and talents and they were convinced that it was now essential to think in terms of a whole village than to think as individuals.

And when next morning Vinohra left for the old hall, the landholders of Kona, a village on the way, gathered on the roadside and offered him flowers. Vinohra who never leaders his march on the way, looking at the eager eyes of the villagers chose to stop for a while and asked if they had to say anything. Within a couple of sentences, he also explained his message of selflessness and asked if they had attended yesterday's function and, if so, whether they had applied their minds to the implications of the event. And the Nair, with glister in his eyes, replied in the affirmative and said that they had decided to donate all their land. And in this way, more than hundred and fifty villages have all now donated all their lands to Bhodra. Every day is bringing new additions to the list.

A new slogan has come to stay. Till now, they used to say "There will be no landless person in our village." But now they say "There will be no landless in our village."

A unique revolution is afoot in the remote corner of the world. New values are being established. We are witnessing the birth of a new society based on equality, fraternity and social justice. It is in these villages now that we should be able to present a picture of proper planning for the people. It is in these villages that a model of self-sufficient economy could be built, that basic needs of a village such as food, education and justice etc. are provided in the village itself, that all finished goods needed for the village are manufactured from the raw materials produced in the village.

15-5-55

## LAND AND MAN

(By Bhagawan P. Desai)

"We persuade everyone to realize that every landless person should receive land and that is the basic concept of the Bhoodan Yojna. The movement is being looked at from various points of view. But to my mind the most significant of all of them is the fundamental moral idea underlying it. I have sometimes referred to it before, as for instance, in the *Gita Sammelan*. I believe that of the fundamental rights of man, one is his right to have land that would enable him to share it he wanted to serve it. In a country where there is not enough land the share for every person would naturally be small. But he has a right to demand whatever it is. Just as every thirsty person has a right to get water, or every hungry person a right to get food, or just as every person is entitled to receive air to breathe, so too it is one of the fundamental rights of man to serve the soil. This is why I feel such immense enthusiasm for the Bhoodan Yojna. There are other systems for it also. But I derive the greatest inspiration from the concept that it is a fundamental right of human life."

In these words Shri Yashvi expressed his belief in the Bhoodan in the prayer speech at Pune on 24-3-58. Emphasizing the idea that man has not merely a fundamental right to land but has also a duty to it, he proceeded to say:

"It is the duty of every man to do his part in producing food. Where a different social order prevails man is not able to see this his duty to serve the land. But in an ideal socio-economic order man has not only a right to land but also a duty. In such an order working on land will be looked upon as the best form of physical exercise or labour. Occupied in his work as land man breathes pure air and has an opportunity to enjoy the rays of the sun and the vastness of the sky. He is able to enjoy all those elements that go to make life in the proper proportion. All the parts of his body get exercise. He is enabled to produce food. And along with all these worldly benefits he is able to see and share the process of sowing and producing food which is brotherhood or the law underlying life in the universe."

I therefore believe working on land is a form of worship. Just as it would be a crime to prohibit anyone from entering a place of worship, so too it is a big crime to make it impossible for anyone who wants to do it to serve the land. Working on land is the best means of worshipping God. It helps man a great deal to control his passions. That is how farming is helpful in the practice of Brahmacharya that is chastity. Thus the occupation of farming may be viewed as many ways conducive to the advantage of man."

Discussing his social ideal from this point of view Shri Yashvi further pointed out:

"In an ideal socio-economic order there is no class system. Every house will have some land attached to it and those who occupy it will work on it. In an ideal order every farm will have a well and everyone will serve the soil. Man will occupy himself in farming in order to fulfil his fourth duty."

"In an ideal social order everyone will have to labour for cleanliness along with farming. Work in keeping one's surroundings clean is a form of sacrifice (yajna). It is a big error to impose the work of cleanliness and sanitation on the particular class of human beings. Everyone should do austerities of duty where the work is."

One of the reasons why I feel enthusiasm for Bhoodan is this: that it is the duty of all men of all classes, even as telling truth is not the duty of Brahmins only but of all the classes. The study of the Vedas may be a duty assigned only to one caste but it is the duty of all classes to acquire Brahminship. Even so the work of sowing land is included among the duties of every man of every caste. It cannot be the duty only of the priestly. It is the duty of all. Some people oppose against giving land to every one on the ground that it would lead to fragmentation. But that to my mind is a major problem. I am not here presenting an economic doctrine. To serve the land is one of the fundamental rights of man. Man can hope for happiness only when the right is recognized by all concerned."

The person who makes his duty to land as explained above will surely get land for worshipping God by working on it. Saint Purnanand used to exhort his followers not to beg for food but to go and work on the fields of the peasants who lived in the surrounding area and eat what they might give. Great indeed is the importance of body labour for human society. Truly, when body labour performed by man is informed with truth and non-violence it takes the form of worship of God (Karma used to worship God through the labour of weaving cloth on the handloom. It meant human destiny to achieve such a high state of being by performing an ordinary human vocation in the spirit of truth and non-violence. To that end he must devote himself to the labour of production which is for the good of all beings and which renders to the good of even the least among men. That is man's right, that is also his duty).

But everyone does not realize the duty. The six senses that reside within the human mind (eyes, nose, tongue, touch, etc.) trouble all of us more or less. The whole phenomenon of the human world is a consequence of their play. And it has to be vigilantly regulated to the end of securing an ordered world life.

Farming is an occupation. That is why man who is a social being generally stays in a place adopting it as his home. He does not uproot him-

well as that place. He will not leave his society even if land is to be had elsewhere.

Observing the affairs of the world today we find that people belonging to one nation do not allow others who belong to another to enter their country. There is enough land, elsewhere, for man on earth. But man has ordered his social life today in such a manner that we do not have enough land here in India while in Australia and such other places there is a profusion of it. People, however, are not allowed to migrate to them. And, besides, all would not wish to migrate to these places. The problem facing man is then very complex, and does not yield to an easy or simple solution. We seek to solve it not in the restraint of the brute but in the way of man.

18-5-55

(From 31609)

#### POLITICS AND RELIGION

(By Mahatma J. Datta)

The official organ of the War Resisters' International, England, in its Autumn 1954 and Spring 1955 Numbers 68-69 gives a detailed report of the Eighth Thiruvallur Conference of that organisation which was held in Paris in 1954. The major part of this Conference was devoted to a consideration of the Third Camp idea largely at the suggestion of the American Socialist, A. J. Muste. Really speaking, it is the idea of carrying religion into politics,—of securing peace and happiness through love and non-violence.

#### 1

Mr Muste in his opening speech stated that the Third Camp was no idea of creating a third bloc. "All who belonged to the Third Camp were opposed to military preparations of both the blocs. They disapproved of the arms race whether in the hands of the Pentagon or the Kremlin. The chief point to be noted regarding Third Camp idea is that the opposition extends to the whole economic regime and the culture of totalitarian Communism and of American Capitalism, which both stimulated war preparations. The Third Camp stood for a new way of life with an emphasis on spiritual values and the subjection of technology to the service of man. It was more than materialism. It stood for a more genuine and co-operative democracy."

At the end of his discourse A. J. Muste "warned against looking to the U.S.A. for leadership. Europe and other countries must be prepared to accept the responsibility of independence and of the creation of a new order in which the spiritual and the political were creatively integrated. Movements which were looking in the Third Camp direction must become consciously what Gandhi was, believing in non-violence at all costs, and through that belief generating the dynamism which would achieve practical results."

#### 2

The colonial and economic aspects of the Third Camp were discussed by Fanner Brodovsky,

the well-known English M.P. He said, "The Third Camp attitude was almost intuitive among the colonial peoples. Nehru represented the sensitive mind of the peoples of many Asian countries and of the African and Caribbean colonies."

He further declared that the "Third Camp movement must be associated with the social revolution of this century which was the social revolution of the colonial peoples. Two-thirds of the human race was engaged in the struggle for political liberty, human equality and education. They were not always adopting methods we could approve but increasingly they were thinking in terms of Gandhi's example, if only because of the overwhelming power opposed to them. These colonial peoples could become our greatest allies in the cause of peace."

#### 3

India was discussed in relation to the Third Camp idea. The chief speaker was Horace Alexander. He chiefly spoke about India. The first thing he said was to point out the special moral influence India was exercising in the world today due to Gandhi. In this connection he remarked that "Nehru had great qualities but would be the first to agree that when he was able to express an effective moral voice on behalf of India, it was because he was in some sense reflecting the voice of Gandhi."

Discussing the economic aspect of the question Mr Alexander said that the West often found that Gandhi did not fit into their Western categories. "Most of us represented the wealthy third of humanity and were anxious to save the standard of living of the other two-thirds. Gandhi's emphasis was always on self-help. When touring the villages of Bihar after the earthquake he did not promise aid to the villagers but suggested things they could do for themselves. During the chaos of partition, he rejected the suggestion of an appeal to Western countries for funds to help the refugees. He insisted that this was a problem they must solve themselves with only such outside help as came in the form of uncollected gifts."

Another point which he made in the Conference is noteworthy for us at present. "We forget that Western Socialism and Socialist theories were primarily concerned with the industrial worker. Pointing this out Mr Alexander said, Gandhi was primarily concerned with the peasant. "It might be inconvenient to do without modern mechanical contrivances, but no one could do without food. 'If we want to get a true harmonious community in the world we must build it on a real foundation and that real foundation is the soil.' That was one of the central themes of Gandhi's teaching."

He said that Gandhi had not been against all cities and machines but he did advocate de-concentration so that man could live in communities of which they could feel effective members.

He described the Khondan movement of Shri Vinoba and asked whether that Indian experiment had any message for the West.

4

This discussion was closed by a participant from Shri J. C. Kanasappa. He explained some of the practical details of Gandhiji's non-violent economy. Vinoba Bhave's land gift scheme was one aspect. The village industries was another. Agriculture, industry and administration must all be integrated into the new non-violent way of life. Government, wars and other things came in to obstruct that way of life. War was not an external evil, but a disease of society which must be eradicated. We were faced with the problem of sharing the good things of the world, and the Western pseudo-socialism failed to do that equitably. A human basis of distribution must take its place.

"Distortion of justice and war was inevitable until we had got rid of exploitation, which necessitated war. The curriculum of exploitation is taught here at Columbia University and turned him to Gandhiji, for it had revealed to him the evils of an economic system divorced from morals. We must learn to live as one family. This did not involve perfect equality. There could within limits be variations of income according to differences of production. Economic self-sufficiency for countries was some guarantee against exploitation and maintained the use of armed forces to defend trade routes. Only the surplus should go on to the international market after the needs of the people in the producing country had been met. At present food was exported from countries where people were starving."

"No country could envy freedom to another. The struggle to do so involved war. To enjoy the profits of exploitation was to bring war into our homes. Self-interest and selfishness spoiled peace and intelligence spoiled greater economy."

5

Another interesting discussion at the Conference was about the religious aspects of the Third Camp, which was introduced by Andre Trotski. It was a discussion on the burning question of politics and religion. Andre Trotski said that the realm of politics was that of power and that of religion was truth. They were distinct and religion could have nothing to do with power politics. But he said that there was a small area where the two spheres overlapped and where, therefore, religious people could be active. This common ground was religion that of Christian love, socialism and anti-fascism. This involved contact with political movements.

Another speaker emphasized that religion and politics were both parts of education and we must seek to harmonize them in the educational process. Those who know the Gandhian idea of basic education know how it clearly aims to achieve this harmony.

Andre Trotski concluded the discussion wherein he emphasized the difficulties in which

religious people found themselves when they associated with political movements. Fanatics could not share political power except by an alliance with Non-fanatics which meant acceptance of the methods of authority or the use of power and police etc. and which would cease to be religious except in a negative and fatalistic way. However, the speaker said there was a way to be effective even with the use of power. He said Gandhiji's methods of non-cooperation and economic independence show the way here. Unless we trained ourselves to act along Gandhiji's lines—and Gandhiji carried religion into politics—he said he should end up in the Communist party or in a sect.

Constructive workers, I hope, will find much food for thought and meditation from the above short account of W.R.I. Conference.

22-5-46

### Tainted Money

The *Times* of India gives the following news from Bangalore, June 7, in its issue of 5-6-46:

The Shree Government has conveyed its views to the Union on the proposed legislation to control unearned increments. Asked whether it was in favour of passing amendments, to give Law Minister Mr. A. S. Narasimhaiah said that if the suggestion was accepted then several other things including borrowing would have to be postponed.

It is good to see that the Minister tries to be consistent in thinking out policies for his State. The point is whether these agreed objections are valid objections or are controlled or biased. It is more relevant, therefore, to know the Minister's mind here. And it is in this connection that he is reported to have made an alarming statement. As the above news item concludes:

"He said that 'we have to put up for some time with this bad thing in order to raise money for good purposes.'"

There are many other bad things also that can give tainted money which can be put to 'good' (?) purposes. Is the Minister going to be consistent here also? We have been rather taught to see that tainted money itself is such an utterly bad thing that its giving up is a very good thing by itself. It is difficult therefore to agree with the Minister's doctrine that good can come out of evil that is allowed to persist by man knowingly and out of cynicism.

22-5-46

M. P.

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# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## THE WAY TO PEACE IN THE WORLD

(By Gandhi)

(These are the prayer speech at Deogarh in Orissa on 24-4-36.)

You all know that a conference is in session at Bandung. Representatives of more than half the nations of the world have met there and they desire to exert their joint force so that peace is maintained in the world and the peoples of the world are not driven into a war.

Pundit Nehru has declared that even if there was a war, India will not take part in it. She will surely defend herself but will not enter into it. While making the declaration he pointed out that he was doing so not on the strength of any bombs he possessed. He went on to explain to the audience that he made his declaration on the strength of the confidence he had in the people of India. He said that even if the world was involved in war we in India would remain away from it, would take care of the liberty of our country and steadily endeavour for peace.

The pledge could be fulfilled only if we depended on our moral strength and possessed it here. We have to realise that if we sought to depend on military strength we have none of it and that if we depended on moral strength we could cultivate it in India. India has a history reaching back into ten thousand years and during the entire course of it the people of India as also her great men have always carried on experiments in peace.

Not only the people all over Asia but all over the world desire peace. And the message of Lord Buddha as also of Bhishama Ghandi can serve the purpose of maintaining peace all over the world. The Buddha and the Mahatma both were born and had worked in India. From where did the words of both of them derive their power? Their words had the power because India had her belief and had grown to non-violence. Besides, during the whole course of her history India has never learned any other nation by aggression.

But we cannot have the strength that is non-violence merely by making a declaration that we will not participate in a violent war. That would be a negative approach. For non-violence we

would have to do something positive. Only then could our own latent strength increase. We will have to declare that we will not rest till we have removed the disparities obtaining in our social as well as economic life by the strength of our non-violence. If we cultivated this positive and constructive approach our non-violence would gather enough strength to be effective in the affairs of the world. Just think how our Prime Minister is moving about all over the world with the message of peace and non-violence. And also think what immense weight and power his words would carry if along with the message he could also tell the world that we had solved our problems of social and economic inequalities by non-violence. Along with the Khudai Gyaan and other movements like Sangathan and Shramdan associated with it and the Sarvodaya ideal have it then the capacity to generate a positive moral and non-violent strength. That is also the reason why young men and women of India have been so much attracted to the Khudai movement and the Sarvodaya idea.

Of all the people abroad of the terror of war the most are the representatives of the governments of the various nations of the world. We declare our faith that the people who are the governments or masters of these governments possess the power of love, non-violence, peace and co-operation. Acheson that power and the world would have at freedom from fear.

We must all realise that land is for everyone. It is not something which could be bought and sold. Nor could anyone have any ownership in it. That is why everyone has a right to land and all should have the opportunity to work it. Just as air, and water, and the light of the sun are for everyone so too is land for everyone. We have to bring home this truth to everyone by love. Therefore, our words while we persuade the people to see the truth should not be bitter but should be gentle.

Some of our friends are afraid of the form the law would take. They do not know, they say, what would happen to them and the land they own. That is why all over India farmers are being driven away by the landowners from the land they work on. But we do not believe that such landowners are hard of heart. We only believe



which period it should be made to depreciate by one-tenth every month till they die. In this way the history of paddy etc.' The same should be the case with bank deposits. After a period these should be paid off as depreciating currency.

Currency and Banks are useful institutions but they must be purged of the evils they have wrought. If currency also is so short-lived as the grain, the hoarding or accumulation would not take place. The evils of mal-distribution will be considerably lessened automatically.

Sense of insecurity in old age for oneself and for one's children, when one is gone, is also a powerful incentive to accumulate, but that has to be dealt with separately.

Efficiency in various classes and business is not merely a means of exchange. It becomes capital also, leading to itself and for others quite a different pattern of behaviour. The point made above is regarding the future use of money, which deserves serious thought if we desire to build up decentralised industrialisation in Rural India.

1947-48

M. P. 1

## A GANDHI ANTHOLOGY

## BOOK IV

Kavir, height 1

The art of dying bravely and with honour does not need any special training, says a living faith in God. Then there will be no abortions and no forcible overgrowth. (*Kavir Diary*, September 23, 1947, p. 13).

Kavir, height 2

Public confidence made in slavery parades the confidence and process him or her against reputation of the wrong. (*Ibid.*, p. 12)

Kavir, height 3

Those who are anxious to serve must have selfless patience and tolerance. They must never seek to impose one's views on others. (*Ibid.*, September 23, 1947, p. 17)

Kavir, height 4

Good ideas can beat good. Love breeds love. As the sovereign, it believes man to have the right door to God's house. (*Ibid.*, September 23, 1947, p. 20)

Kavir, height 5

No one can protect you other than God. No man can protect another. (*Ibid.*, September 23, 1947, p. 20)

Kavir, height 6

Death is a blessing bestowed by the Creator on all life, human and sub-human. Right conduct is the only right way of life which makes it bearable and even lovely. (*Ibid.*, September 23, 1947, p. 41)

Kavir, height 7

Thin tractors and chemical fertilizers will spoil our rice, I have got a shadow of a doubt. (*Harjan*, XI 1, February 1, 1948, p. 3, col. 2, para 3)

Kavir, height 8

It is the devotee's devotion that makes a temple a living shrine. The duty in the temple is only a reflection of the devotee's spirit. (*Ibid.*, p. 1, col. 2, para 1)

Kavir, height 9

How can the purity of the import of foreign cloth because foreign rule has ended? . . . Pure cloth alone has place in Swamy (and not even Indian mill-made cloth, much less foreign cloth on which a loaded crane of rapine have been spent with independence). (*Harjan*, XI-50, January 11, 1948, p. 204, col. 2, para 3 and 4)

Kavir, height 10

The teaching of the laws of health should be obligatory in all schools and colleges. (*Harjan*, XI-41, December 26, 1947, p. 484 col. 1, para 4)

Kavir, height 11

The conservation of grain in the village is needed as an insurance against scarcity. The new dawn always must be that the powers and duties must not be greedy or unscrupulous. (*Ibid.*, p. 481, col. 1, para 2)

Kavir, height 12

Through *Kavir* we were struggling to establish the supremacy of man in the place of the supremacy of power driven machinery over him. Through *Kavir* we were striving for equality of all men and women in the place of the gross inequality to be removed today. We were striving to attain subsequence of capital under labour in the place of the modern triumph of capital over labour. (*Harjan*, XI-47, December 21, 1947, p. 478, col. 2, 'Spanning Self')

Kavir, height 13

Searching of self emotion, searching of others debates. (*Harjan*, XI-46, December 14, 1947, p. 465, col. 1, last para)

Kavir, height 14

Man does not live but he never dies. He is allowed to learn to love death as well as life, if not more so. . . . Life becomes lovely only in the extent that death is treated as a friend, never as an enemy. (*Harjan* XI-44, November 26, 1947 p. 447, col. 1, para 2)

Kavir, full moon

A weekly enterprise carries on own Monday. On the other hand, if an enterprise began means any Monday from outside, it becomes, as it should become, a mere. (*Harjan* XI-43, November 23, 1947, p. 476, 'When Monday Becomes a Career')

By D. G. Tandelkar

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# HARIJAN

June 28

1955

## "BUILDING FROM BELOW"

(By Udayshankar P. Desai)

This is the title of a booklet issued by the Planning Wing of the A. I. K. & V. I. Board, Bombay. It is a small book of about 100 pages printed very well on hand-made paper. I commend it to all who seriously think about rebuilding India free democratic and peaceful, non-violent, happy and prosperous.

At the present time when we are discussing a plan-draft for the Second Five Year Plan, the booklet deserves more attention than it has got till now. It is a pity that our planning machinery at too much driven away by mere statutory and statistical considerations\* in the neglect of most of the basic facts of our people's peculiar situation. We need to industrialise surely. But the pattern for it should suit our peculiar conditions and it should also meet squarely the problems created by the Western orthodox pattern of industrialisation. It will be wrong to copy the latter blindly. The booklet makes a very bold attempt indeed to draw our attention to this great error. The error is perhaps due to the hold that the glamour of Western technology has on certain minds who try to build from above and not from below as it should naturally be.

The error is obvious if we look to the history of the development of technology in its home-land, the West. As we know the development of what are called heavy or capital-goods industries in Western countries followed in the wake of rapid advance of consumer goods industries. This way of development secured to these countries a balanced and harmonious economic growth keeping pace with the employment needs of these peoples and without creating an unnatural or unduly heavy financial burden on them. Rather, as we know, they were imperialistic countries exploiting and looking away the cheap resources of backward peoples who had the misfortune to be under the heel of the aggressive and industrial West. The educational system of these countries — that also grew along with it and the cinema was then even rudimentary got attracted to the new technological order. Industrial cities grew in its wake and there was steadily built up an order based on values that came to be incalculable among

the people in a result of this new economy and industrial endeavour, — the values that at present go under the name of modernism.

Shortly, there was socially and culturally no gap nor lag between the people's education and culture and the new imperial economy that they came to have under industrialism.

In India, at present we aim, through the Second Five Year Plan, as it is conceived, the historical process noted above and try to impose on our people a thing which is bound to be an exotic and therefore to create an economic and cultural gap over and above a too heavy financial burden. This will again, in a new form, create a difference between the classes and the masses, and thus perpetuate the evil that was born under foreign rule on account of similar socio-economic reasons. The book under review lucidly shows this in its own way and in its introduction remarks that

"The scheme of endeavour presented by (it) does away with all artificial distinctions between urban and rural areas, towns and villages and makes possible an approach to the past wherever they are. Each village in truth is confined in its due role as a unit and in that mode is served, rather than to served by the people. Thus it makes building from below possible and creates and places foundation of technology with the capacity of the people to absorb it. The programme is essentially based on self-help and therefore does not require for its success foreign technical or financial assistance. It relies on the potentials of man-power resources in the country and by directing them into productive activity, increases the size of the industrial base and escapes the epidemic deterioration."

And it further notes that,

"If 'Building From Below' is not an entirely plain despite its intensive focus for a considerably larger role of capital formation, because it realises effectively the increasing need to save and invest with increasing income and the increasing capacity to save and invest."

And a further mark of the scheme is also noted in the introduction that,

"Above all, it wants the system to change the system and relies on such an voluntary acceptance of the need to change as its legal enforcement. The clarity and intensity of approach provide for change that may come and it incorporates adequate inherent strength to withstand the deviation of change. Its direction into various stages is thus designed to effect the transition smoothly."

We may note this vital difference between planning from below as contrasted that from above (which is the way adopted today by Government under the adapted slogan of 'Socialist pattern') in other or more concrete terms.

Our main problem is immediate removal of unemployment and raising of the level of living of our poor people through giving them gradual occupation and then putting increasing purchasing power in their hands. This must be done in a democratic way. Which in a technical sense that they must come to have increasing economic power also along with the political.

A plan that does not directly aim to fulfil these major aims and help to realise them will not be worth while our democratic. The most rational and safest way to secure these aims is to make a plan essentially

\* It will be interesting here to read the following from an article of Dr. Alfred Weber of the Social Science Department of the INDIAN INSTITUTE OF MANAGEMENT, p. 504. "Economists and industrial planners rely too heavily on statistics and hence practical problems become too tied with an abstract rationalism. They seldom see any link-up of the relationship that exists between the various institutions of a group and fail to realize that its culture cannot be altered piecemeal."



labour-intensive and not capital-intensive. The Second Five Year Plan means to err here, as can be seen from its pathetic reliance on foreign aid both technical and financial, and the dangerous venture of debt finance. Such a plan will be having not only cultural disharmony and imbalance of the sort noted at the beginning above, but will also create an authoritarian tendency commonly associated with centralised government or bureaucratic power. As such the new venture in planning assumes political and cultural values also.

My plea therefore is that the Five Year Plan-force should be examined from the cultural and political angle also because it is not a mere economic thing as is being unwisely held by many. And in contrast to that plan for the country and its Government bent to the small hill water of those who stand for truly democratic planning which can and should be from below. This voice today is weak and feeble; but it is, I hold, the voice of the dumb masses of our people as expressed by the Father of the Nation through his idea of decentralised economy of Khadi and village industries, which cumulatively form the largest and the broadest group of industries of the nation and economically and culturally the soundest and the most situated to our genius as a people.

We shall see the nature of the scheme suggested by this booklet hereafter  
16-6-62

In this connection, the following observation of the noted Marxist Togliatti is worth noting:

"Technology operates on the nature of life, and therefore it seems providence to adopt a foreign technology without feeling oneself in danger of ceasing to be able to eat one's food and one's rice. This entire idea, in adopting a foreign technology, one is deceiving with a limited ability may, of course, be a rationalisation. The truth seems to be that all the different elements in a real new culture have no loose connection with each other, so that if one abandons one's own traditional technology and adopts a foreign technology instead, the effect of this change on the technological system of life will not remain confined to the surface but will probably work its way down to the depths till the whole of one's traditional culture has been undermined and the whole of the foreign culture has been given entry. As by its, through the gap made in the outer ring of one's cultural defences by the foreign technology's entering wedge."

The truth is that every historic culture-pattern is an organic whole in which all the parts are interdependent, so that if any part is pulled out of its setting, both the human part and the surrounding whole suffers differently from their behaviour when the pattern is intact. This is why "one man's meat" can be "another man's poison", and another consequence is that "one thing leads to another". If a spirit is taken off from one culture and is introduced into foreign body, what the wanted effect will hold in there is after it into the foreign body in which it has lodged the other component elements of the total system in which this spirit is at home and free, which it has been familiar and constructively developed. The better pattern, while it permeates itself in a foreign environment, two which one of its components has been found its way.

For fuller illustration of this point see Togliatti's article in *Starling*, 12-12-60 and 24-12-60.

## PLANNING FOR THE THIRD SECTOR

(By C. E. Menon)

The members will note, the Third Sector 1956 (Session 1956-57) in the scheduled sector of Khadi and other handicraft village industries that constitute the largest bulk of our national income. They constitute a significant and increasingly known and democratic sector of our national economy, as against the two well recognised sectors, viz. the Public and the Private. It is worthy to recall a pertinent fact—Khadi and village industries in the 1956-57 the Private Sector as is being increasingly done by some. These industries being labour-intensive touch the life of our people the most, unlike the two other sectors which mostly concern themselves with capital and more often material goods and services. Therefore a truly national and human plan will chiefly concentrate upon the Third sector. What is called a plan at present is only a scheme for the ruling Government. Large-scale industries affecting private lives also to be planned. However, it is good that Government has stepped in to pay heed a swelling recognition to the Third Sector. It should give more weight to it. The Second Five Year Plan must chiefly centre round this Sector rather than the heavy industries which, however big apparently are only appendages to the nation's basic economy of self-reliance and self-reliance. This is the issue that should be clear if our Plan is to be really democratic. Otherwise it will be a capitalist plan clothed in the guise of the private capitalist.

The following is an account of the views of the A. C. B. V. L. Board in being the great bulk of our planning in the programme. It will at once show that we need not go into hardening India's wealth by highly planned industries in industries of the West.

16-6-62

177

Development programme for Khadi and village industries for the Second Five Year Plan prepared by the A. C. B. V. L. Board and Village Industries Board reveal that with a total capital outlay of Rs. 1400 crores—half from capital grant can be provided to 10,000 units of people and part-time employment to about 100,000 more. The industries covered by the programme are cotton textiles and hand spinning of wool, weaves of basketry and handloomed goods, and handloomed paper. In respect of each of these industries the programme of the Second Five Year Plan provides a detailed programme. This information was given to the A. C. B. V. L. Board and Village Industries Board by the Chairman today June 1, 1962.

The Chairman of the Board referred to the discussions with Shri Y. T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, about coordination of activities between the Community Projects Administration and the Board with particular reference to the development of Khadi and other village industries. In the Project and Extension areas he referred to the MS introduced to the Government of India for the creation of a Khadi and Village Industries Development Commission and pointed out that the text of the MS would be soon presented by the Board. The Commission would be a Standing Body while the present Board would continue to function as an Advisory Body to the Commission.

The programme for the Second Five Year Plan, it was mentioned envisaged extensive production programme in respect of cotton textiles, wool handloomed goods, handloomed paper, basketry and handloomed goods, and handloomed paper. The programme for development of these industries involved a total capital outlay of Rs. 1400 crores over the five year period providing full-time employment to 10,000 units and part-time employment to about 10,000 persons more. The textile part of the programme is not detailed out, would largely depend on the degree of coordination between the Board and that of the Handloom Board. The Board, however, felt that the MS was to provide it was to have a representative of other Board on the other.

Regarding coordination of activities between the Board and the Community Projects Administration, the







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## BUREAUCRAT + DEMOCRAT

(By Manendra P. Dass)

I happened to receive a news item dated May 27 from New Delhi. It was to the effect that the Railway Minister Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri celebrated the marriage of his daughter honouring all the grandeur, pomp and show usually associated with a minister of Government. The railway authorities would have been eager to help in all manner of ways, but Shri Shastri did not accept it and only took the courtesy of his personal relatives for the occasion as he would have done if he were not a minister of the Government. It is also said that the railway authorities had proposed to make special arrangements of travelling for the bridegroom's party who were to go to Delhi from Allahabad. When he learnt of the proposal, he cancelled it of his own accord. He also prevented the railway officials from arranging to hang some articles useful for the occasion free of charge.

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri deserves our congratulations for this exemplary, unassuming simplicity. One cannot escape the temptation of comparing this event with the huge feast that was made in the name of VLP in the case of the late Jawahar Nehru.

Our bureaucracy has been very wrongly trained during the British regime in this matter. Unless the training was retained the power of the people will not be motivated. Let me give an instance about the railway department itself which I personally witnessed recently.

"I was travelling in a day-train some days back. The crowding due to the marriage season was so unexpectedly heavy that bridegrooms who are supposed to be specially privileged persons on the occasion had to accommodate themselves on benches sitting space even in first class compartments. And some of them could hardly find space to stand." Passengers who were travelling from long distances with reservation tickets are to their dismay that the railway authorities had conveniently forgotten to attach reservation labels to their compartments. They, too, had to share the rush because they did not desire any concern to enter their compartments as the Indian ideal of good breeding dictates.

All this very incident a big police officer had secured a whole compartment by getting the reservation label fixed to it. I was told that reservations were not allowed during the day. I was therefore surprised to see the reservation thus allowed and asked a railway official about it. He, however, ignored my question. I believe he was helpless and could not dare to take notice of my question. I feel certain that local policemen had seen the railway people and got the compartments set apart for their labels. How could the travelling ticket examiner dare to enquire whether the extra eight seats for reservation had been paid over and above the fare? I also drew the attention of the railway official to the strange fact that there was no reservation card for those who had reservation tickets for long distance travelling.

Only two military men were occupying a compartment meant for six persons in the same manner. The reservation label was attached to their compartment also, hence the two soldiers got more passengers who had entered the compartment to vacate it? The reservation label made the position of the unfortunate passengers helpless and the railway officers were not prepared to persuade the two men to share good courtesy by allowing some passengers to sit in the compartment when there was such extraordinary heavy crowding on the train.

Why should such things be possible for the police and the military? They, too, do not now have any special privileges outside the law. No one is free from the rule of the law which has been established by the Constitution in our land. But it is for the people now to assert the rule of the law by their correct behaviour and self-governance. It is up to the Government also to come to the help of the average citizens in such matters. The big task of converting the bureaucracy which is traditionally trained in the autocratic ways and habits of a system of monarchy to the ways and habits of a democratic system lies before our Governments. It does not involve any budgetary provision of capital for expenses and should be attended to before all other things. Can we hope that matters of such primary importance will be included in the Second Five Year Plan?

1-5-50

(From Gujarat)

## "BUILDING FROM BELOW" — I

(by Jagdishwar P. Datta)

### Objectives

Planning philosophers clearly laid out objectives and a pattern to work for. The next thing would be to decide upon a system best suited for these failiures. The book *Building from Below* — shortly B.F.B. — (vide previous issue, p. 140) in its first chapter discusses this and says:

"The objectives of economic development and the main principles that should govern its national Indian lines and their activities in India are already specified (Bhaskar, 1954, p. 1) in the Preamble and in the Directive Principles of the Constitution. While the Preamble sets before the country a broadest objective, the Directive Principles specify the contents of these objectives and the role of the State in creating the operative conditions for their attainment. (Ibid, para 1)

Paraphrasing this, the book summarizes the objectives by saying:

"That, while the broad objective of economic development is the progressive raising of the standards of living of the people, the social and economic order through which it is to be realized must be equitably and in spirit and in fact. Creation of the right social order is thus, as important as economic progress, because the latter without the former is without relevance. The effectiveness of an economic system must therefore be judged not merely by its productive efficiency but also by its ability to achieve the main social requirements." (Ibid, para 4)

### 2

#### Appropriate Economic Pattern

How can these requirements be met, best? Which is — if there is one — the appropriate economic system for it? The answer given by the B.F.B. plan is:

The search for an appropriate economic system that will ensure equitable distribution of the benefits of economic progress, while the State limited to the acquisition of capital and consumption, it is not necessary to venture in detail here their respective merits and defects. It is enough to note that the open free pattern in both systems results in a sharp social lining of society — into employer and employee, master and servant, capitalist and capitalist, on the one side — with all the attendant inequalities of status and opportunity with their attendant frustrations.

The more recent attempt to evolve another system to attain for the people the advantages of both and avoid the pitfalls of each, popularly described as the "mixed economic system" also does not provide an effective alternative. The logic of public ownership as an overall system of private enterprise institutions, on the one hand, increasing legal restrictions and controls to increase the functions and operational field of the public sector and public ownership of the means of production and participation in production function, on the other results in an increase of bureaucratization of services. The original motive that led to public ownership operates so powerfully as before all public ownership becomes the principal force in the economy itself, constantly at present and as it seems likely to develop in the future that fails to satisfy the main need of the country.

In other words, the known and tried economic systems, either in their approach or in their operative pattern, fail to reconcile economic development with social and economic justice and in the context of the serious social economic and political frustration in the country arising from the serious gap between our economic and expectations, the need for evolving a suitable system becomes imperative<sup>1</sup> (Ibid, para 5 & 7)

The plan-makers clearly gave a picture of "System of ownership and organization, to which all agree, but which does not accept the 'mixed economic system' for which we now use the term 'socialistic pattern'." And, it calls a new line to be suited to India's conditions. In doing so the approach is not merely economic but is also social and human, because the real pattern of society we wish to have in India is unique in a way. We aspire for a free and democratic *Survedaya* society, through the B.F.B. does not use that term.

### 3

#### Essentials of the System

The following are the essentials of the system it suggests for adoption:

An economic system will be appropriate to India only if it is based on the fact that within the vast growing and productive manpower resources, as against all financial capital and wealth, all social overhead capital, to be acceptable, the system must be sufficiently elastic to adjust itself progressively to the country's dynamic growth trends on the one hand and on the other must operate in a manner such that the savings arising from the productive employment of the entire labour force are equitably distributed among its members. Such a system alone can create the conditions in which capacity to rise increases simultaneously with the need for income in family. In other words, at each stage of its operation, the system must provide the conditions for an equilibrium between demand and supply of capital.

That this alone is the correct approach to the evolution of an appropriate economic system for India is confirmed by the growing need on a world-wide basis. Though its acceptance cannot be necessarily measured by the absence of adequate statistical data, and limited statistical evidence partly corroborates this, are open to question, it is contended that unemployment and only through economic crisis has also exhibited a threat to the social and political stability of the country. In India today, there is in addition to the growing number of the urban educated unemployed — dispersed unemployment and regional underemployment in the countryside. Calculated on any basis, the combined total of their number would indeed be "alarming".

An acceptable economic system must therefore, by necessary means, providing full employment to the total labour force of the country.

Full employment implies that, with the traditional economic concept of employment for the entire labour force but also the most important social and human significance of employment that engages all faculties of the particular human being in the world's production line, in other words, employment tends to be not merely full but also engaged to serve simultaneously a man's individual as personal and economic needs.

"Engaged employment for the purpose of this analysis may be defined as employment that brings into

<sup>1</sup> "In the absence of accurate statistics of unemployment, two different estimates of potential unemployment in the country can be made, on working hypothesis, although their accuracy cannot be claimed for either. The breaking down of India's population by livelihood classes and the number of the remaining disposable in the age group 15 to 64 is roughly taken as a part of the working force, while as the excess in the potential unemployment in the country. Another estimate worked out on the basis of the distances between the total population in the age group 15-64 (1100 lakhs) and the actual labour force employed in the country (440 lakhs) revealed that disguised under-employment is approximately at 25 per cent whereas 25 lakhs are the unemployed in the country."



# HARIJAN

July 2

1953

## PLANNING FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

(By Mahatma P. Desai)

The economic classification of industries as capital-intensive and labour-intensive is noteworthy in another way also, which is very relevant and significant. In their effect on the people these two types of industries bear a consequent distinction also.

One such distinction is that capital-intensive, viewed from another angle, is capital-driving production-oriented. This relegates equal distribution to a secondary place. Now we know that equal distribution is no less—and not more—important than production, if our aim is social justice and equality. Capital-intensive industries being essentially production-oriented and capital-oriented usually tend to create or intensify the existence of the classes in the rich and the poor, or the wage-giver and the wage-earner and in their result upon the general process of distributing increased wealth in capital-intensive production, these industries make the rich richer and poor poorer. We may say, the whole thing, by nature, is not in any way conducive to natural social justice and an egalitarian order. It breeds class distinctions.

On the other hand, labour-intensive industries have quite different effects. These industries are essentially and directly employment-increasing and distribution-minded. They directly aim to provide work to all in their own economic and social conditions and ameliorate them. This is their immediate object and rationale. Thus they remove unemployment and in this way they forthwith begin to secure to the social economy maximum production also consistent with the claims of social justice and right to work which cannot be any time overlooked if our aim is to have an egalitarian order and healthy and balanced economic progress.

The planning that goes on today as the First and now the Second Five Year Plan is clearly capital-intensive. Its aims are still in a tentative stage. They follow the traditional pattern of planning devised by Western nations. Its effects are visible as they are feared to be. A few months ago a writer in the columns of a daily paper quoted statistics from official records showing that the rich were getting richer and the poor poorer. We have now the results of a rural survey from Government sources which indicate a similar trend.

The Reserve Bank of India has undertaken a rural credit survey in about 75 sample districts in the country. The main conclusion of the body is now reported to be that "the level of debt as well as the proportion of families indebted was

generally higher among cultivators than among non-cultivators and among the former the burden was greater on those of small holdings" (The Pioneer of India, 12-6-53). The First Five Year Plan mainly aimed to provide for planned schemes of irrigation-and-electricity production. They are still not complete. These capital- and power production-intensive schemes can immediately help non-cultivating classes only. Their employment potential is comparatively low. All this is obvious.

There are very many other interesting lines of enquiry also in this phenomenon in our field economy today. It is for economists and sociologists to study and point them out. As a layman, however, one can say that the nature of truly beneficial planning for our people should be predominantly labour-intensive. Otherwise the fear that always inheres in a capital-intensive industrial pattern, the creation of classes who are rich and those who are poor, will also outweigh the new order which, on the face of it, denotes social justice of equal distribution of wealth and opportunities. It will also tend to make the State a planning, or a controlling State with a kind of authoritarian democracy, if one can say so. The economic power will concentrate itself in the hands of the Government or the capitalist and the general administration will more and more be bureaucratic and managerial. Therefore our planning should not be economic or industrial only; it must be with an eye to the total advancement of our people in all the spheres of their life as a co-operative commonwealth.

22-6-53.

## PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE

(By Mahatma P. Desai)

A press report says that a delegation on behalf of cloth mule is going to U.S. Asian countries to see how far they can secure markets there. There was a time when India exported cloth to those countries and beyond up to China. But there are differences between then and now. Then there was no competition, nor machines causing unemployment, nor also modern exploitation and an obnoxious money mechanism and such other ills. The world today is getting smaller, thanks to science. The above-mentioned evils also as if concentrate themselves in the body international and spill out as danger from it. That the above delegation goes in search of profit from cloth trade and commerce is obvious. Therefore, the question needs to be thought of with due foresight and wisdom in this new age.

The Government also is in a way interested in such development of factory goods trade. It gets from it simple custom duties. And when we see that the Government at present is not to get money from whatever sources it can, there is the danger of its forgetting to take a long view of this matter. The added reason for such fear from it is that its departments view their work in the conventional way of orthodox economists.



Economists now accept and say that there is no other way to remove unemployment but to take to Khadi and village industries. Rather, the Second Five Year Plan considers them indispensable as a necessary part of its frame-work. It is worth while seeing how it does so.

The Government desires to establish certain highly capital-intensive industries under the new plan. It wishes to finance this scheme even with the help of foreign aid and the dangerous device of deficit finance. There is the danger of three ways impairing the country's economy. If there is not enough production of consumer goods, the situation would be alarming. To avoid this un-warder calamity, it is proposed that the plan should report to labour-intensive village industries. This will help remove unemployment also. Thus it is that Gandhiji's idea of a peasant economy as contrasted with modern money or capital economy — an economy wherein labour is capital and therefore man can occupy a pivotal position — that has asserted itself in the plan of our economic thinking, due to its sheer strength of its intrinsic truth and vitality.

If what is reported about this welcome change in view, it shows that in this also we find that the slavish dependence on the West is visible. Prof. Mahabadi of Calcutta had called certain foreign economic experts to his Institute. We learn that they agreed, after studying our economic conditions, that colonial rule-power we have and without industries are in no way less efficient than machine-industry and it is economically sounder also to utilize them. Thus got the idea of Gandhian economics got its approval from the West which had its effect on our blotting-paper mentality.

It is indeed a good thing that we have realised this special thing of Indian economics, as pointed out by Gandhiji. Did we not bend to his idea of non-violence in politics only as a practical and workable measure? Similarly now has it come about in economics also. This is a happy thing indeed, because it is surely going to help our progress. I hope it will have as good effect in accelerating the pace of Basic Education and in bringing out its true meaning and significance.

If as is being contemplated, consumer goods begin to be produced through village industries, it will, to that extent, tell adversely on the sale of factory production, — an unwelcome consequence for the mill industry. The obvious way out of it is to try export possibilities. And there is nothing wrong in it as a policy as it is the nature of such capital-intensive mechanised industries to behave that way. They must needs be fed amply well by raw materials, otherwise they will behave, if we cannot sell the huge piles that they might produce.

This is the state of things European Industrial Revolution has brought about in the world during the last two centuries. There is growing

dislike for imperialism there also but the rivalry in market-hunting, which is the state of imperialism, will stand. We cannot afford to forget that fact at present when the slave cloth trade depuration is going ahead in search of foreign markets.

It will not do in the present age to think of this by following the Western way blindly. India desires peace and no-war. She wants no sort of imperialism for herself. This policy must inform the endeavour of the slave trade depuration; otherwise as Europe gradually came to have well as a result of its trade rivalries, so India also cannot escape it if she continued a similar mistake in her international trade.

If we should have world peace, international trade also must be based on love and friendship, and piled without recurring policy of anyone. Justice and property must be observed in these relationships also.

There is something like an economics of peace or no-war. Its basis is a nation's economic self-reliance aided by international trade based on mutual trust and good human neighbourliness. Today international trade is a sort of a race or a gamble in rivalry born of selfish interest, profit motive and exploitation, and yet mutual benefit. Further, there is a scramble for capturing the trade for oneself, leaving the whole affair a matter of international politics. We must keep ourselves away from this and in international trade.

17-6-66

(From Gujarat)

## **TWENTY-FIVE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BUDDHA**

(By Mahabalan P. Desai)

Newspapers inform us that the twenty-five hundredth anniversary of Lord Buddha will be celebrated next year at Bodhiya on the full moon day of Vaisakha and that fifteen eight cruises will be spent for the purpose. It is a beautiful coincidence that the day is believed in tradition to be the day on which the Buddha was born, attained knowledge, and attained Nirvana. Next year there will be a great international celebration on the occasion and the Buddhist nations of the world will also prominently participate in it.

The occasion will be utilized to resurrect the four principal places of pilgrimage of the Buddhists. They are Lumbini, the place where prince Siddhartha was born, Bodhiya, the place where the Lord attained knowledge, Sarnath, the place where the Tathagata gave his first sermon, and Kushinara, the place where the Buddha attained Nirvana. The principal celebration will be held at Gaya. It has been decided to hold the celebrations on the site where the Girvanaya Conference was held last year. In the neighbourhood of the site is situated the Saranvaya Ashram established by Shri Yasho.

The aim of the Saranvaya Ashrama is to work out a synthesis of the tenets of Jhankara

and all things in connection with metaphysics and so forth the Conference will discuss further this idea. The idea has entered the field of public discussion now in another way also.

The religion of the Buddha was born in India but it spread, developed and finally established itself outside the country. It practically ceased to exist in the land of its birth after the age of Shri Shantarakshya. It does not, however, mean that India gave up or forgot the message of the Buddha. The religion of the Hindu, which is a synthesis of various views of life and of different practices of realizing the Truth or God gives it its proper place in its system of thought and practice. It is quite in the line of things that India should think of re-emerging the four pillars of paganism which are the visible symbols of the message of Ahimsa to which the world is now looking up with hope and eagerness after a real experience of the opposite principle.

The fact that China, Japan, Cambodia, Burma, Ceylon and such other countries are also nations friendly to India in the international political field lends a pleasant colour to the forthcoming celebrations. Let us hope and wish that all the nations who will thus come together in the name of the great precept of non-violence will not only show the way to Aquinas (St. Thomas) who wrote into the hearts of individuals but also find out ways and means for the liquidation of the great misadventure of war which threatens humanity now and again and give to the world the great truths and the rightward path to achieve that end. India has a great responsibility here, because the great Gandhi is the father of the Indian nation.

Shri B. K. Ambekar has been threatening again that he will go out of the Hindu fold to enter the religion of the Buddha and seems to think of arranging some celebration to mark his conversion next year. The religious thought of men is becoming so liberal and all embracing in the present age that the very idea of conversion from one religion to another rings curious indeed. The reason is obvious. To one who seeks to be truly religious the religion of his birth fully shows the way and there is full scope for improvement in it. Thus a man who here the year contemplated by Shri Ambekar might not have a religious but some other end in view. If the spirit he has cultivated all his life for the Hindu religion is dividing him to the step his conversion to another religion could hardly be credited with the true religious motive. nor will he or anyone else argue any religious went out of it.

I remember here Kishorba and Bago of covered rooms in this connection. When the late Shri Harikrishna, their eldest son gave up Hinduism and accepted Islam as his faith, the said parents expressed their feeling only by saying that if their son was really to become a

servant of God—let of that by now telling himself Ahimsa they had nothing to complain; the word Ahimsa also means favour of God.

In the same manner Indian society can tell Shri Ambekar that if by becoming a Buddhist he was becoming a greater servant of India there was no harm in his doing so. But if the nation or mankind driving him to his conversion is something else it is going to benefit neither the religion of the Buddha nor anyone else.

18-5-55

(From Gujarat)

## LITERATURE'S ROLE IN HINDUISM

(By Shri K. Rameshwar)

"What do you expect of it?" This question was put to Hindu; the other day it came by a prominent Hindi literature. The gathering included some well-known writers and journalists from different parts of the country. By you want to, emphasize our ideal, to write such words cannot be given to me full of words like 'Buddhism and Hinduism' that our contribution to your movement be measured by the number of lines we repeat these words?

There was rather a laugh. He is the first time on earth to ask anybody to do something against the wishes of some community. He asked: "Then a Hindu writer writes to 'We are here after all when such Hinduism' (copy of it) 'What would you like to do in your literature service in the Hinduism cause?'"

With a few last words, Hinduism, said he reported contributions to the literary community and began with the words: "Hinduism has been a long in which we addressed our to Hinduism. They did not know the spirit of the word. I know it. Literature, the literature do not know the spirit of Hinduism. I know it. Give to the glory of literature."

There was a laugh. "When in my heart I analyze the word Hinduism (literature) I think the conclusion that literature cannot be violence. You will wonder at this analysis and call it cheap. However, to bring to ourselves everywhere that men of letters have (Hinduism) observed that the Hindu literature is only suggestive. Why? Because it does not include the reader. If somebody were to be satisfied by words in Hindu literature and still think their Hindu is not working."

There was a laugh. "A good work of literature is that which is capable of multifarious interpretations. This is just the mystery of what happens in a work of art—where one sentence carries only one meaning. If there are two or more it creates confusion. What else Hindu literature? However, one does not come upon every sentence. Like the flowing things, it makes a theme reading and different people (Hinduism) it is different ways. No, the same man, (Hinduism) it is different ways in different times. I therefore do not expect of literature to do something for me or for the men of their own qualities or best."

After a pause Hindu asked: "Literature (Hinduism) has been too positive before it is a well-contrasted. But the possibility of literature is that it addresses without a reader what cannot be addressed with words. I know this for the same reason, it makes up to keep our nation, it further shows in the realm of action in the Hinduism work. I do not know of any other book providing things that our nation action."

The same is the essential feature of my interpretation of literature. It contains such vital strength as to contain (Hinduism) into (Hinduism) (Hinduism) Nothing individual can be obtained without literature. But work is the price of literature that it transcends (Hinduism) (Hinduism) that the two come to be (Hinduism) by the demands of literature the two go together. Literature (Hinduism) can be (Hinduism) on the side."



and, sometimes with. Instead, most of them work calmly and prosperously goes up and down with the ebb and flow of the mills where they have jobs. When the mill is running at capacity, they are good as wheat. When the mill is down, the sawdigger has to burden his boat."

### NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND HUMAN WEAL

(By N. Sankaran)

If India accepts American aid her words of protest against nuclear and thermonuclear explosions lose moral sanction. If her protest has moral sanction behind it then she should give up the aid. There does not seem to be another alternative so long as the morals of these dual explosions are equated to the American economic aid.

Thrust of use of force rather than use of force is a deterrent against crime. Hence, possession of nuclear weapons by opposing parties is not a guarantee that peace will be a permanent fact. Democratic nations must realise this. If armaments and rearmaments are the basis of democracy then weapons are its enemies. Nuclear weapons are far more so. While nuclear weapons may temporarily procure a dubious peace, the principles of non-interference and co-existence embodied in the Panch Sheel make a powerful contribution towards peace. This subverts the need for a change in hearts and not in weapons or armaments.

Japan suffered from deadly effects of the atom bombs in 1945 and is now suffering from the experimental explosions. There is a saying in Tamil that even though the showers stop drizzling does not. Such rain clear weather. Protesta from the Japanese have not been of avail although the U.S.A. seems to be interested in Japan's prosperity. While the people are maimed and killed or live in weakness, it does not matter so long as there are more dams and bridges, more roads, more factories and more food and more employment. Who are to enjoy these facilities, when the people are crippled? Nuclear weapons and atomic assistance seem to be contradictions in terms. When the prospect is total annihilation by atomic weapons it does not matter if there is one ear of corn lost on the field or a thousand more. The situation reminds me of the man who in the hearth of the poor neighbour and poured water down the chimney so that the fire was extinguished. Those who advocate receipt of foreign assistance from the hand that may kill are only remind us of those who oppose prohibition at home. They say that Government is throwing away millions of rupees by the policy of prohibition while those millions can be used to develop national welfare. They forget that prohibition by itself is a welfare measure. It is far less costly to develop in a few more years with or without foreign aid than to be overthrown by the deadly effects of nuclear and thermonuclear explosions.

### VILLAGE OIL INDUSTRY

(By A. Venugop)

A major portion of the oil produced from privately owned wells, through distilleries and marketed as a few oil seeds can serve as edible oil. Therefore it is a good move to bring legislation to reserve these seeds exclusively for the processing of village oil product. This step is an absolute necessity.

This move will not do full justice to all phases. There are a number of village plants that are today engaged in processing of these seeds for ghee and oil, for edible purposes. A lot of them also press karanja, mahua, Castor, etc., and with other seed-bearing seeds do other village industrial and household work. In all these fields the village oil plants face competition from the power-driven mills. It is necessary to afford such plants some other form of relief. In order to bring about an effective relief for all the village oilmen, the move said above, namely the reservation of certain seed-bearing plants will not be enough to meet their requirements.

Hence the following suggestion is offered for the good direction of oil industry in the development of the important village industry.

More oil pressing by power should not be allowed as an industry. Factories that require oils as their raw materials alone should be allowed. If necessary, power-driven mills to be set up while their demand. That is every power-driven mill should be an adjunct of a processing industry such as soap factory, talcum factory, lubricants manufacturing, etc. power manufacturing but not. Venugop's factories as there should be no place for these latter in our country. The oil thus pressed should be completely sold up within the belt of production itself. These factories should not be allowed to bring into the market any portion of the raw oil pressed out by them.

Such a restriction will be a great relief to all the village oil plantations as power and fuel is always in demand and prohibition, also for edible purposes.

We trust this suggestion will meet with serious consideration of all those concerned with the development of the Village Industry.

(From Ganga Vilaya Periodic, June 1955)

By Mahatma Gandhi

### TRUTH IS GOD

(Revised by Mahatma C. Appaswami)

(Changes suggested by Mahatma C. Appaswami from the Words of Mahatma Gandhi bearing on God, God-realisation and the Godly Way.)

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## HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY BHARATIA GANDHI)  
Editor: MADANMOHAN P. BHARATI

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TWO ANNAS

## "BUILDING FROM BELOW"—II

(Continued from the last issue)

(By Madanmohan P. Bharti)

So then, as we saw in the last issue, if we should build from below, a plan for such a way of reconstruction should centre round the most important sector of national economy. All else can revolve in its orbit, filling up the picture of an integral and really human plan as contrasted with an economic or technological plan with money and machine as its chief instruments. In short, the plan should put all the needs of villages first where most of India's teeming humanity lives in illiterate, ignorant, enforced unemployment—partial or whole, squatter, dirt, disease, scarcity of potable water, etc.

The problem thus viewed is not economic or technological, but is pre-eminently human. A plan, worth the name must therefore directly touch and tackle it. It must be rooted in the soil of India's present problems and distress conditions and circumstances. The Indian plan-frame placed before the country lately by the Economic Division, the Ministry of Finance and the Planning Commission, in consultation with the Central Statistical Organisation and the Indian Statistical Institute, does not do so. There is much in it which may be termed as wishful planning. It is "to try and reverse the historical process", which is not only an unconscious proposition, as is obvious from the need of deficit finance and taxation and creating an unstable equilibrium and imbalance, but also it is usually laid as it will immediately create more problems than it will solve, if at all any. This is so because of wrong emphasis it puts on 'capital intensive industrial programme' It as if puts the cart before the horse. It mainly takes up questions the rightful place of which is to be solved the central question noted above. Therefore the whole picture of the plan-frame is as if out of focus. It is like a planetary system in which the sun may be required to revolve round a planet! How else could the frame of the plan-frame man in work immediately re-establish and evolve and develop the main sector of our economy, which is that of self-employment, in the R.F.B. Plan under circumstances here done?

The R.F.B. measures the economic efficiency and social significance of self-employment, and describes the various as follows:

Self-employment thus away with the distinction between employer and employee, because in it the worker and the worker of the home of production unite. At the same time, the doctrine for the first time, in the human degree, the production means must be made relation with man and machine not only a psychological change to machine productively but also a structural reorganisation of the economy that ensures an equitable distribution of the benefits of higher productivity. (1947, para 12)

"The semi-structured pattern in this system makes for the early attainment of economy of man, machine, materials and management in the traditional economies of primitive communities because the efficiency of work, because the members of the family, is on the basis of their respective capacity, and economic needs interfere with individual interest and ability" (1947, para 13)

"The social significance of self-employment is twofold. It ensures equality of status and opportunity to all and consequently social stability and progress of social development. In a social order of self-reliance self-employed families social stratification based on economic inequalities or superiority and inferiority based on technological superiority or inferiority is not possible. Consequently social relationships tend to be based on exchange of services and social interdependence tends to be based on higher intellectual and/or emotional levels. Social justice, equality of status and opportunity and with other goals of social policy become, thus easier to achieve. Moreover social interdependence based on socio-economic interdependence ensures economic interdependence in the family without changing the socialisation of its social obligations. Such a society can progress towards higher levels of material comfort without changing basic social or cultural values in the process. (1947, para 14)

"Self-employment makes for the gradual establishment of self-regulating communities and development of political power in them is possible and advantageous. Thus, self-employment lays the true foundation of a cooperative commonwealth because it encompasses a continuous universal training in the exercise of social and political duties of the individual." (1947, para 15)

Thus we are shown that to put the self-employment sector as the focal centre of the new Plan is a clearly true, and practically it is necessary if we look at our economy as it is today without Western technological bias. The R.F.B. goes into the latter or practical aspect of the question where it concerns the employment pattern as it obtains in India at present.

22-5-58

(By the author)

## THE HARVEST THAT WAS PLENTYFUL

(By Demetrius Chakraborty)

It was in a remote village in India, a little far off from the power meeting. It wanted them to bring their own grain. It was not on the main highway. It was in a small village and the people were very poor and they were not allowed to go to the temple. It was a small village and the people were very poor and they were not allowed to go to the temple.

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## HARJANS AT MADIRATH

In June last year Shri Chandra Prasad, M.P. had gone with his wife and children on a pilgrimage to Madirath Temple which is one of the four holiest places of the Hindus. Unlike other pilgrims, he was not allowed to enter the temple and to have darshan of the Lord, because he was a Harjan.

About seven years ago another painful incident took place in Madirath when Shri Brijendra Chandra and Shri Saradendra who had taken Gandhi's advice to be unmarried in the Harijans were not allowed to do so as it was closed to Harjans. They had to remain Gandhi's ashram elsewhere in the Allahabad district of the United Provinces.

The question of Madirath Temple being thrown open to Harjans and the incident, naturally came up for discussion at the 21st Annual Meeting of Harjan Sevak Sangh in September 1964 which adopted a resolution favouring temple entry for Harjans in the near future. The Harjans of Uttar Pradesh in their several conferences and meetings demanded that the Temple should be thrown open to Harjans taking which they resolved to offer Satyagraha.

All this, of course, was met without effect. The Madirath Temple Committee last year adopted a resolution declaring that everybody believing in Indian Philosophy could enter the temple and worship the Lord without any discrimination. Doubt, however, lingered in the minds of Harjans and those sympathizing with them whether they would be allowed to enter the Madirath Temple freely.

To give effect to the resolution of the Central Board the Harjan Sevak Sangh sent 60 members of the staff and students of Harjan, Udaypur, in two batches to Madirath Temple in the last week of May this year. Both the parties reached Madirath, singing bhajans on removal of untouchability, distributing literature and posters

published by The Hindu and letting Anbum prayers twice daily on the day. The first batch entered the Temple on June 25, 1947, and on the 2nd and the second batch on June 3rd and 4th without any hindrance so that the members felt elated and overjoyed by having the darshan of the Lord. They also bathed in the holy Taptu Kunda. Both the ladies and gentlemen in the temple in which other pilgrims freely and heartily joined.

It was heartening to find that most of the people at Radhanagar were supporters of temple entry for Harijans. The Radnagar Temple Committee deserves our thanks and the gratitude of the Harijans for the hearty co-operation and hospitality rendered to the pilgrims.

It is of utmost significance that temples of our holiest places of India have now been thrown open to Harijans who could go and worship without any discrimination.

VINOBI BHAU  
General Secretary  
A. L. Narayan Sewak Sangh, India

### MAN AND TECHNOLOGY

[The Prime Minister is very keen on having industrialization through setting up new-works but believes as a public order in India - economy. One of the greatest hurdles is that India is lack of necessary technical staff and know-how amongst us. This lack is being made up for by importing it from outside. But what is technologically wrong or questionable about the whole process of importing technology in India this way, is that, apart from the basic differences in our position that we are predominantly a rural people with the untapped West. The education of our people is totally unorganized and totally unoriented to such line of progress. This is bound to create a disturbance in our technological growth as a people. While the western goes by his present state through extension of growing capitalism, imperialism and expanding technological way of life and education, the common man in India is working poor and illiterate though he is intelligent and not without culture and wisdom.]

However there is still greater and more basic considerations here that is being ignored by us. The ways of technology are generally mechanistic and of mass application. They set plans and projects targets and production first and then work for which they are meant. There is as if a feeling that of belief in man. Therefore, these ways of plans etc. are best their helping hand to and be converted instruments in the hands of powerful individuals, families and groups dominate other from them. It is that the larger line by which is man and his free human from within the latter who make him a part to their power.

Western civilization even has come to find this human aspect of the question gradually creeping up among its peoples — both in Europe and America. The point is discussed in the book of Huxley of 1932. The following is quoted therefrom. It is a warning to us when we are planning our economic future about at their having paper dogmas or illusions:

24-25

M. P. I

A new mood or spirit is entering the serious writing of our time. To characterize this spirit briefly, we should say that it represents a new respect for man — for the potentialities of human beings. Men have always said that respect for man is "important", so that this may be thought

although now its novelty, however, they do point it somewhat to reinforce. Through acquaintance and particularly in this new respect for man.

Now is the age without ethical ground. The combination of both Gandhi and Schweitzer — in note the same existing thread in both East and West — has been to help people to see the values involved in modern work. Schweitzer teaches the gospel of reverence for life and Gandhi turned the principle of non-violence into a dynamic of moral action. We have the habit of stretching the past for "new materials" but here is these men, are familiar enough for our time for have not Gandhi and Schweitzer attempted to take above the horizon the aim of a new era of peace?

In the East, the new nationalism that is creating nations out of peoples long under the heel of Western colonialism strikes a new note, revivifying the idea of world solidarity with the spirit of national birth.

In India President Rajendra Prasad has called upon Indians to return to a more enduring practice of Gandhian ideals. Gandhi, he said, studied every aspect of Indian life and this enabled him to understand fully the feelings and sentiments of all sections of India. He "identified" understood the shortcomings and difficulties of the people and suggested practical steps to do away with them. "The interesting thing," here, is that the President of India addresses himself to the problem of human difficulties, and not to the mechanical aspects of political relations or goals. He also comments on the influence of the West in Asia.

"The light that has emanated from the West seems to have crept on and gripped our imagination. The result is that whereas we have at times a vision of our long white country as we have our improved civilization in our minds and that in what other nations will follow it or — whether that will this the step that we take or not and what will be our ultimate position in their eyes.

The main result of this attitude on our part is that we begin to attach more importance to things foreign than to the West and less to our own."

These questions illustrate the matters of the new leadership in the East. It is a leadership which places primary emphasis on the attainment of human human responsibility in human community absolutely as the article for West writes.]

It should not be difficult to see that the extreme specialization of modern life — the subdivision and delegation of responsibilities which once belonged to the individual — is not due only to the progress of technology. It results also from the decline of belief in man. There is no reason why technology had to reduce human beings to the condition which Marx had described as well.

"My last assumption is that we have been chiefly set up into isolated compartments where only form of union and interrelationship comes through. Being told the automatic organization and mechanism that in fact govern our daily existence. We have lost the essential capacity of self-governing process — we

freedom to make decisions to exp. 500 of the 10,000 of our very people—so that though we have really progressed a 1/2 percent through the high development of machine & c. India has developed the capacity to control these powers to very considerable degree. As a people, our members are only further symptoms of the alien half."

As Mundford elsewhere shows, this condition is the outward measure of our inward dejection and fear of making discovery. Lacking art in life, we contribute to the powers that be

(Telegraph from Ahmed 5-1-52)

## HARIJAN

July 5

1952

### REAL PLANNING FOR THE PEOPLE

(By Nageshbhai P. Desai)

The Free Press of India reports from Karnool, June 28

"The Production Inquiry Committee of the Planning Commission has recommended to the Government of India the introduction of real planning from 1st July 1952 to October 1952. It is definitely laid down.

"The Committee's recommendations were submitted to the Planning Commission on June 14 when a summary of their report was signed in the capital.

"The full report of the Committee is expected to be submitted to the Planning Commission in the first week of August. The advance summary of the report was submitted to the Planning Commission to enable the Central and State Governments to prepare their schemes for the Second Five Year Plan in the light of the Committee's recommendations.

I congratulate the Sharma Narayan Committee on this their piece of real planning, which will be hailed as a solid achievement for the good of our people. It will be a landmark in our modern history too. Like our peace efforts in the world, this too will prove to be a rare significant thing even for the world. That apart, for India it is undoubtedly real planning work which immediately and forthwith strengthens the world, the material and moral life of our common people. It will directly distribute health, wealth, and happiness to them. It will fulfil one of the chief Directives of the Constitution. (Art. 47)

There is another Directive equally important which our Members should take both from its vital importance to the people as also its immense potentialities to do real and solid economic good to them. That Directive is

"The State shall endeavour to secure, by suitable legislation or economic organisation or in any other way to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, work, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities and in particular, the State shall endeavour to promote cottage indus-

tries on an individual or co-operative basis in rural areas. (Art. 83)

I draw particular attention of the reader to the last part of the Directive, where it speaks about cottage industries. It is a good thing that the Planning Commission has dared to appoint a Committee to go into the matter. That piece of nerve is really as noteworthy as the previous one above quoted. This Committee is asked to prepare

"the draft plan of village and small-scale industries for inclusion in the Second Five Year Plan."

"The Terms of reference of the Committee are to prepare in the light of the provision made in the draft Plan-frame the village and small-scale industries and in the field of recommendations on the same subject made in the recommendations suggested by the Third of the Committee a scheme of industry-wise and wherever possible State-wise allocation of resources to be earmarked for the purpose of development of these industries as an integral part of the Second Five Year Plan."

The scheme should be prepared with particular reference to the following objectives:

(i) The bulk of the increased production during the First period of consumer goods in various demand has to be provided by the village and small-scale industries.

(ii) Employment provided by these industries should progressively increase and

(iii) Production and marketing in these industries is organized, in the main, on co-operative lines.

The Committee will receive full co-operation from the Central Ministries, State Governments, all India Boards connected with the village and small industries and other organisations which are in a position to help and is requested to submit an outline of all its main recommendations before the end of September, 1952."

I fear the Planning Commission has had a wrong perspective or a small point of view when they referred the question of home- and village industries to the Committee. They probably expected it to go into the question so far as the Five-fringe allotment of Rs. 250 crores to and its view and appreciation of village industries went. This is a special view from the position they take and the approach they make in regard to the important Directive Principle of State Policy. As we know, the Planning Commission takes cognisance of this Directive of the Constitution, but just as an adjunct to, or as a passing phase of, their scheme of economic planning for industrialism in India. If that is right, it will be a wholly wrong view to take of village- and home-industries. These industries are not merely economic in their content and behaviour vis-a-vis our village people; they have moral, educational and deeply cultural values also in them. Unlike the capital-intensive industries which are number and pace in their content of cultural and human values and effects on man, they directly bear upon the chronic ill-health and unemployment of our people that deter any real progress. Moreover these small-scale industries give us an instrument with which to revitalize our educational system also by introducing the sound method of learning through socially productive and peace-making activities.



The fulfilment of the Directive of home- and village-industries by us will begin to operate not only to add to the meagre earnings of our agricultural workers and thus ensure to them a decent standard of life and full employment, but also it will prepare needed ground and atmosphere for introducing real Basic Education successfully well. Only then can the State be in a position to implement a third Directive of State Policy, I mean the one about free and compulsory fundamental education to every child up to the age of 14 (Art. 51).

Our planners should carefully note the positive opposition of the Christian constructive programme, which we are sorry to see are not recognised to the extent and the depth they deserve. This programme is intended to vitalise and recreate the human resources of our country. Unless we do that, nothing else can stand if we need to plan for New India. If we do this then only can all else be added unto it — even the aid of the machine which should employ many, as it has done in the West.

2-5-35

### 'TAMIL MEDIUM IN COLLEGES'

(By K. S. Srinivasan P. Pillai)

The *States* (June 18, '35) reports as follows under this headline:

"Hence, June 18. A Conference of Vice-Chancellors, after consultation officially and semi-officially, was held at the University buildings today to consider the question of adopting Tamil as the medium of instruction in educational institutions including colleges and preparation of a list of suitable textbooks for such higher studies, Mr. C. Srinivasan, Education Minister, presided.

The Minister looked the views of the Vice-Chancellors and others present, in particular on the question (1) of making a beginning to the introduction of Tamil as the medium of instruction in colleges and (2) as to whether a dictionary or other suitable apparatus might be set up for preparing scientific and technical terms in that language."

Speaking about the choice of the medium of instruction in colleges Mr. Srinivasan said:-

"The present problem is as far as primary and secondary education is concerned is that the medium of instruction is the English language or the mother tongue. The students who have studied vernacular subjects in the original language in high schools, especially find some difficulty in adjusting themselves to the English medium when they join colleges where the medium continues to be English. We have to take note of this difficulty if we should avoid further deterioration of University education. The change of the medium of instruction in colleges means, therefore, not only logical but also necessary conformity on this question, unless however some to be decided.

"We should naturally, look to authoritative guidance in this matter and we cannot but think of or entrust a body to the University Commission of which our Vice-Chancellor Dr. Lakshminarasimhan, was a distinguished member. The Commission has already recommended the choice of 1932 to be adopted as the State language of the Indian Federation. But at the question of its suitability as the medium of instruction the University studies the Commission felt that Tamil did not enjoy such natural supremacy over other provincial languages as to include the intelligibility of

these positions in connection with every position for their language. It was ultimately decided to find the role played by English in instruction suggested that while the Federal language should be used for all Federal activities — cultural, educational and administrative — regional language should occupy a similar position in the States and units of the Federation. It proceeded further to recommend that at every region and unit of India has to play the proper share in the Federal activities and also with a view to promote linguistic uniformity and uniformity amongst India has to make up its mind to be multilingual and people of the higher secondary and university stages will have to know three languages — the regional language, the Federal language and English."

The special correspondent of the *For India* (June 22, '35) in his "South India Review" writes under the headline the "Battle of Languages in the South" describes the issues in the following manner:

The controversial issue of the introduction of the regional languages as the medium of instruction in the two State universities and existing colleges was taken a step further with the Commission of educational and officials constituted by the Education Minister.

"In the circumstances in which the State Government has to function, the decision to introduce Tamil for English as the medium of instruction in the university and other educational colleges is the only possible one. Tamil is already the medium in the primary and secondary stages and within these is the possibility of this decision being reversed — which is inadmissible — the only course open to the State is to change the medium of the university stage as well as Tamil. The State Government has got to do this if only to enable its home rule with those opposed to the teaching of Hindi in the educational institutions in the State on the score that such a step would result in the capture of the regional language in view of the existence of this opposition to Hindi based on existing law proposals, the alternative of using the Federal language as the medium of the university stage has to be completely ruled out.

"In 1932 about 1934, to secure the hands of the Indian Government have been considerably strengthened by the action of the Gujarat University which has introduced Gujarati as the medium of instruction and examination in the first year course of commerce, science and art faculties of the university. The Act implementing the university reorganises the complete education of Gujarati as the medium of instruction in college education to the end of 1935. This is good enough for Gujarat and Hindustan is surely good enough for Tamil and, especially as Tamil is not a low progressive language than Gujarati."

All this is really good news for those who desire to see Indian education proceed on right lines. In these columns, the issues involved in this question were clearly thrashed out before. The story is repeating itself in the South, as it would naturally be, for the decision on this vital subject is rebuilding free and democratic India has to be taken by our people in good time, and that is fast drawing near.

The HT special correspondent raises the hackneyed question of national unity here and says that "the development of regional languages is a perfectly legitimate object, but in making these languages the media of higher education in different States, the obligation is on the States to

see the writing on the wall regarding the bonds of national unity."

The people, it is legitimate and timely also to heed. It must not be forgotten that national unity is not the exclusive function of the language. There are many other levels of that function. And the language question in India has already met the remark by postulating that there shall be along with the regional languages and as their very necessary complement, an all-India common medium, Hindi. This must be a subject of study in our schools and colleges, so that future citizens might have with them the instrument of a common language for forging national unity.

The Madras Conference does not seem to have gone into this aspect of the question. Though it clearly saw that Hindi cannot take the place of English as the medium of university instruction and that there will be three languages at the university stage. We hope the South will give due place to the teaching of Hindi along with the change to Tamil medium in colleges.

1-3-55

## WESTERN CIVILIZATION — A PROBLEM \*

(By Rajford W. Mack)

I

### Last Phase of Industrial Revolution

Western civilization is like a blind man who has been led on the wrong road. He thinks he is looking for Arcadia, but is heading for a precipice. No matter in which direction we look in world affairs we are confronted with a one-sided empire — economic, ideological, and military. But at root it is the empire of a materialism that has been spreading for a long time as the result of the gradual abandonment of many vital spiritual values. One effect of this spiritual decline has been a marked fall in the quality of life in the West, especially during the last half-century.

The sad truth is that for nearly two centuries the West has been functioning from impulse which it has never seriously challenged or even questioned. These impulses have been gathering momentum ever since the dawn of the Industrial Revolution, although they had an earlier origin. A new factor phenomenal prosperity captured the imaginations of politicians and businessmen and swept the nation into a race of life by economy and means of values which have never been subjected to careful analysis. Let alone condemned, by any institution or school of thought. Individual modernizations there have been, but it is only in these latter days that a few people have begun to realize that prosperity may be a dangerous addiction, a means of lowering the quality of life, fostering class divisions, and creating international tensions.

\* From the introduction to the book *Five Centuries which was reviewed in these columns Jan. 1955, p. 166.*

This situation before the prophecy of earlier economists that world unity and peace would follow the expansion of world trade. Instead of peace we have a world divided into two power blocs — a Western, headed by the United States, and a Communist, headed by Russia, while a new Eastern group headed by India stands aloof from both with respect to power politics. At present the tendency of both the power blocs is to develop an anti-the-other policy.

Here also, therefore, India has succumbed to fear. At least, the West should remember the extent of its gain from the exploitation of the colored races during the last 150 years and translate them into present obligations. We need not be concerned at the end with which these races are driving out of their territories the last remnants of Western imperialism. It is not without significance that the clash between Western and Communist powers is most marked in these areas.

The modern world is in the throes of a many-sided revolution, yet it is not the revolution that is needed at any rate in the West. It may best be described as the finished last phase of The Industrial Revolution. Whether Western civilization can survive it is not yet clear.

Unfortunately, the Western Powers are already back in the old economic fight for markets, dividing two world wars which were the outcome of that conflict and the threat of the third. They are feverishly trying to build up an economy which collapsed in 1914 and then survived for some years after the defeat of Germany in 1918. The reparation of the defeated Powers revived the old competition and led to the second world war with its added ideological antagonisms and hostilities. The defeat of Germany and Japan and the shattering of Holland, Belgium and France in that war generated Britain and the United States with a monopoly of world markets which enabled them to develop their economies and fortify their way of life for a few more years. Lately, however the defeated and battered Powers have re-entered the battle for world markets and thereby brought Britain's fabulous prosperity to a halt with the result that no Western economic or political dare prophesy on the world's economic future.

## II

### Disturbing Factors

Today, looming up on the horizon, are new and disturbing factors. The world economy which was established by half a dozen Western Powers during the course of the Industrial Revolution, passed down the greater part of the world to primary production lands which poverty prevented any escape. The second world war played into their hands. By rendering various streams to the Western Powers, chiefly Britain, most of

these countries wiped out their financial indebtedness to Britain and even became her creditors.

Since the war they have demanded machinery in settlement of that debt and in return for vital primary products, whereas they are giving all out to achieve a large percentage of self-sufficiency under a well-balanced agro-industrial economy, and thus their political and economic independence. They are restricting their exports of consumer goods in favour of minimum exports of machinery, and even of plants for the production of machinery.

Despite these developments, which constitute a second Industrial Revolution, the Industrial Powers of the West are still trying to believe they will be able to get all the markets they require. For some years they will export machinery instead of consumer goods, but in due course, as above indicated even their exports will slow down. The basic fact cannot be dropped that if the greater part of the world decides to develop a largely self-sufficient economy, the rest of the world will be compelled to follow not sooner or later.

Another market-threatening fact is to be faced in the uncertainty of trade with the west Communist bloc. When trade becomes a factor in the diplomacy of power, its tendency is uncertain and its value doubtful.

Need we wonder, therefore, that Prime Ministers and Chancellors are baffled, and that year in and year out they plead for economy, for cheaper production, bigger outputs, and more aggressive competition? If markets fail, supplies will fail, which would quickly bring the collapse in which Communism thrives. Britain's economy is particularly vulnerable since it is more unbalanced than that of any other country.

### III

#### The Challenge of the Situation.

The latest means of overcoming this dilemma is the discovery of an "expanding" economy. Whenever production outpaces consumption and exports, various financial techniques are to be employed by which to increase the consumption of goods and services. This means that as industrial production rises as the result of new industrial techniques, consumption will keep pace with production by means of new financial techniques.

Unfortunately, this discovery overlooks certain economic and spiritual consequences which are fatal to its purpose.

The chief economic consequence concerns the supply of raw materials. If we are to accept the view that civilization can only be kept going by perpetually increasing the consumption of

goods and services and running the world's machinery at full speed, where are the raw materials to come from to keep going what can only be described as a "devouring" economy?

But what will be the situation when the rising demands of the awakening East and the rest of the coloured world for the earth's resources come into conflict with those of the West? No one will deny that the impoverished East has the stronger title to increased supplies, but will it get them? The fear of Communism will play a part in deciding that issue, but may not suffice to satisfy the growing appetites of the West also stimulate Communist aggression? There is no answer to that question, and it would be folly to look for one, since the "way of life" in question is not the good life for men and must therefore be rejected.

We then come to the moral consequences of this devouring economy. That economy is now accepted by most Westerns, and possibly a few Eastern, nations. Capitalist, Communist and Socialist alike. It is the latest stage in the advance of what is perhaps the most colossal negation of materialism the world has yet known. It is intrinsically evil in that it substitutes for spiritual means, including promised advancement (as in the U.S.A.) the cultivation of habits of extravagance without any reference to the good life, the strict good, or the needs and welfare of mankind as a whole. It therefore stands condemned.

By means of this devouring economy the Western Powers are driving the world towards an impasse that will render the third world war well nigh inevitable instead of averting off Communism. It will invite and insure Communist aggression.

Is it not time, then, to pause and take stock?  
(Continued)

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## NOTES

## Panch-Sheel

[This is from the joint Declaration by Prime Minister Nehru visiting anti Prime Minister Polignade (UNESCO) that they signed from Moscow on July 17, 1954]

The relations between the Soviet Union and India happily rest on a firm foundation of friendship and mutual understanding.

The Prime Ministers are resolved that these relations shall continue to be informed and guided by the following principles:

(1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, (2) Non-aggression, (3) Non-interference in each other's internal affairs for any reasons of an economic, political or ideological character, (4) Equality and mutual benefit, and (5) Peaceful co-existence.

The Prime Ministers are convinced that these principles, which have lately received an increasing measure of recognition, are capable of wider application and that in the observance of these principles by nations in the conduct of their mutual relations lies the main hope of banishing fear and mistrust from their minds and thus of lowering world tensions.

The wider acceptance of these principles will enlarge the area of peace, promote mutual confidence amongst nations, and pave the way for greater international co-operation. In the absence of peace thus created, it will become possible to seek peaceful solutions of international questions by the methods of negotiation and mediation.

Both Prime Ministers recognise that in various parts of the world there is on the part of the smaller and weaker States a vague, and possibly unnecessary, fear of bigger Powers. They feel that it is essential to dispel this fear in all possible ways. Here again the best remedy is to adhere unflinchingly to the principles of co-existence enumerated above.

## Savagaram Ashram

Shri Dharmendra Kumar, President, Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, has issued the following statement in connection with Rupa Rupa at Savagaram.

"In the Savagaram Committee held at Puri in March last the Sarva Seva Sangh gave a call to the people to devote all their energies and time to Bhododa work till 1957. In response to the call, the workers of Sarva Seva Ashrams which is being conducted under the auspices of the Sarva Seva Sangh and the guidance of Shri Vinobaji accepted their duties to join the Bhododa movement. The activities of the Ashrams were therefore suspended and when the workers left the Ashrams on the 15th April 1954 the Rupa Rupa (Gandhi's village) which forms part of the Ashrams had also to be closed pending the making of further arrangements for its future upkeep. This I was and intended to close the Rupa Rupa Ashrams was done from the letter written then by Shri Vinobaji to the Ashramites. Hence such apprehensions expressed in cir-

culars issued by some of the Ashramites, unfounded, and were on 27th September 1954 by Shri Vinobaji.

The Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh which met 19th March 1954 at Puri, 20th March, 1954, now made the necessary arrangements for keeping open the land in Bhododa. The Ashrams however remain closed for the present till 1957, the Ashramites being engaged in Bhododa work. The Sangh has also appointed a Committee to prepare a scheme for the permanent preservation of Bhododa land and certain other specified categories of historical importance."

M. B. KODAKOTI

## Carved Mark Bhododa

The Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh has received suggestions from some prominent social and political workers that if carved mark donations of land are accepted the Bhododa movement would get a great fillip.

Shri Vinobaji and the Sarva Seva Sangh have already considered this matter on the occasion of the Puri Conference.

They held that if the donors attach any conditions to the gifts they make, such a Don or donation is not 'Krishnagat', i.e. full surrender of their individual rights to God or society. It is 'Vishnugat' or surrender to the particular individual leaders of this, each gift would do no harm to our movement.

Therefore the following conditions are fulfilled there is no harm in accepting carved mark donations of land.

1. The recipient of the land should belong to the place, where the donated land is situated.
2. He must be landless.
3. The land to be given should be sufficient for the needs of his family.

An effort should also be made in cases of such carved mark donations that the donor should also give the necessary implements etc. for cultivating the land.

The workers devoted to the cause of Bhododa Ashrams may accept carved mark donations if they fulfil the above requirements. However, our aim should be to secure unconditional gifts as far as possible.

TALLERSONMAN	
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Two Annas

## NO GOVERNMENT, GOOD GOVERNMENT AND FREEDOM FROM GOVERNMENT

(By Pincha)

(This is the paper's speech at Madras Sarvodaya Conference, 1949-50)

During the day a Sarvodaya posed the question "What should be the form of government?" The workers sitting under the tree in the garden, and others who were sitting on the benches, and others who were sitting on the ground, all of them, through a long and arduous process of discussion, arrived at the following conclusions:

### The Form of the Family

The form of the government of a people depends on the state of their development. Let us take the instance of a family where the children are small and the parents young. Here the word of the parents will prevail, and the children will obey their orders. This would be the form of rule in the family. In a family where the children are not quite young, where they have developed in understanding and imagination, and where the parents have not grown too old to be able to function, the affairs will be managed in cooperation by the sons and the parents, the latter would have generally not to lead, and in a family where sons have reached a mature age and parents are quite old, the sons will carry on the affairs of the family. Here the parents will be confined to give advice only, their orders will not prevail, nor will they be actually functioning in the management of the family affairs.

Thus the form of rule in a family will vary with its condition, but in all the three conditions the basic principle governing family life will however be love and the approval, form of the rule will vary with the condition of the group without affecting the governing principle.

### Just in the People in Their Government

Just as the basic principle underlying the family is love, similarly Sarvodaya should be the basis of governing society. Sarvodaya is a Sanskrit word which means the welfare of all. The basic principle on which society should function is a society where the subjects would be totally ignorant of their responsibilities and where they have not attained the equality in rights. The government will have more power and the people will expect protection from it just as small children expect it from their parents. Thus, if, where the people are more or less ignorant and weak, the government will be running the Sarvodaya itself but would not through the power it holds for the good of its subjects. The form of the government in this instance will be paternal. As the subjects go on progressing towards the Sarvodaya, and thus stage of understanding on the Sarvodaya is acquired with one another goes on being cultivated among the subjects the necessity of government for them will be less and less. Thus government will not remain as something which will order about people but will become something which will advise them. Thus at the final level of the people goes on being the power of government to govern will grow increasingly less and there would be less and less of government over the people and we ultimately

hope to see the institution of the State whirling away in the distance.

### A Self-Governing Society

We conceive of a society which has attained the Sarvodaya ideal in perfection. We do not see the form "no government" as a society where there is no government, we have society or no order at all. The state of things where there is no order whatsoever and where the whole can have everything that one may could be termed having no government. Such lack of government is society in its worst form. What we seek is to grow out of a state of affairs where there is no government, into one where there is good government and then that condition to one where people are free of government altogether. It would not be true to say that there will be no order in a society free from government. There will be government and order there, but it will be distributed in the villages. There the use of force will be completely abandoned. Some social ideals will be so ingrained in the minds of the people that they will be constantly moved to actual practice in society and even small children would be naturally trained into them. People living under such a social order will, of their own free will, obey the social law. That society will be a self-governing one.

### Ordering and Non-Interference

It is our experience that millions of people do not control their. The reason is not that there is a law against it. It is well known that in such a law on the streets look, but the millions do not obey because the moral principle that it is wrong has been totally accepted in their minds.

Now, just as today because it has been generally recognised that drinking is wrong, people on a number of occasions will not drink even though there is no law of prohibition, or prohibition in the present state system. In the old days people used to recognise that drinking things for pleasure is wrong. They will not then have things to govern them. They will go away to society as soon as they called, with them for the society is believed to be very wrong today.

Truly speaking this process should rather be called not one of growing out of good government but of progressively improving it and it should be seen and described in one of reaching people the condition of order to a state of greater and greater order. Complete lack of government as a society fully governing itself, that is, a society free from government altogether are the two ultimate aims which we conceive of to help us think, logically, both the conditions apparently show absence of government—but not for the reason that it has no government or refuse to have one and the other for the reason of society having reached a perfect state. What we seek to achieve is a state of things involving continuous progress in self-government. In truth the ideal of a democratic form of government is to have less and less of government and it is expressed in the slogan, that government is the least which governs the least. — M. R.

In society and people gradually want to save themselves from it, though there may or may not be a law against it, because the moral principle has been accepted, so the moral ideal that this interesting thing for promoting them is wrong will be accepted in the future. Society will then act upon the idea of non-government<sup>2</sup> and most of the problems that this human society now will be on their way to a satisfactory solution.

Now the idea that to stand in a line is certainly good or bad as it goes, but it is only part of a whole ideal. When, however, it will be recognized that in certain things and goals for promoting them is also wrong, society will give its hands and the two ideas together will form one single complete moral ideal. Today we see that one who has great collections of things and goods in his possession is gloried in society, but tomorrow such a person will be condemned just as a thief is condemned today.

#### Government in a Self-Governing Society

When this non-government comes to be recognized as the basic principle of the social order there will be still more need of power to enable the government to rule. People living in a village will look to their own school, streets and government at the top will be their most or less in nature it will be a government which will guide by advice and not power. Persons contributing their government will be men and women with good character and of clean behavior. Therefore, the power they will exercise will be moral and not physical. This is the sort of tomorrow's social order which we seek to establish. All our endeavor should be directed in the direction of this aim.

#### Establishing Freedom in Villages

The idea of a non-state pattern of society and such others that have become current nowadays are all pertaining to good government and not to freedom from government. As, however, they are about good government they are implied in the aim of freedom from government, just as the aim in society developing in the mother's womb receives its substance from her but does not know of it, so also the development of the social order which places under the aim of a non-state pattern and such other things will grow and receive their substance in fact from these progress in the non-state. They derive from the endeavor for the establishment of a free society. We have to progress from a state of no government or want of government to one of good government and from the latter to the ultimate state of freedom from government.

#### Good Government and Self-government

We will progress thus from one step to another. But if our ultimate aim is complete freedom from government we will have to carry on good government also in a further or as to keep the way clear to the ultimate aim. When the ordinary human who does not know anything of controlling himself and his energy is taught the duty of a householder to himself and to his family, a politician like them begins to control himself as well as his energy. But if he were to stop in that state and were not to progress towards the higher state of householder to come to give. The householder's state which was a means to the controlling of his energy would become a hindrance as it is order that man may practice control of himself and his energy and may get out of a state without any control whatever the householder's order is established. But for his further progress man should cultivate the congressional ideal. The householder should carry on his duties of the political character with the aim of achieving the congressionalism. Even so in the political state of society we should as the last hand carry on good government with an eye on the aim of freedom from government and on the other carry on our efforts to advance the people so that they can organize themselves for a social order which is free from government altogether.

#### Freedom and Freedom from Government

This is why we want to make the people conscious of their power through Bhodhan Yajna and to set them

on their own feet on the one hand and on the other aspect to have a law for prohibition. The reason for the latter is that popular opinion is driving of the progress is not directly indicated. If in such a state of the public mind there was no law to prohibit the use and sale of intoxicating drinks and drugs we would be having bad governments which will come in the way of our progress towards the ultimate aim of freedom from government. That is why we ask for a prohibition law while at the same time seeking to achieve a state of society free of all government, but regarding the situation of the problem of land we want in this stage to create a psychological atmosphere among the people for ownership of all land in a village to the village itself. We want to educate the people so that they will accept the idea. As preliminary step in such education we are withdrawing the women with part of the land they own. We want the people with give to give a part of their land out of love or not, so the remaining landless in a village. That we are making on the one hand an effort to teach the people to organize their power by themselves independently and on the other to transform their government into good government.

#### Freedom and Law

If public opinion regarding withdrawing the ownership of all land in a village to the village community itself as a whole becomes effective, that is if thousands of people give land they own in gift for the landless, we can have a legal measure to achieve the ownership of land in a village from individuals where in the order village community finds a measure of law would be formed and not established by the people. Let us suppose eighty per cent of the people in a village give their land to the village and twenty per cent of them are not prepared to do so. They are not prepared to part with the land they possess because of their intention of ownership. Though they have accepted the idea of the ownership of the village all large community Government can have a law in such a state of things. In one whole effort will be in the direction of persuading the village people to accept the idea so that Government will have society to record public opinion and to act they will be in the direction of a measure of law. Just as when preparing a book one writes one one chapter and put the words 'the end' where it ends, so also when people achieve something in actual practice it is for Government to write the words 'the end' in the chapter of people's progress. But if the chapter remained actually incomplete the meaning of the words 'the end' by the Government would not in any way mean that the chapter was over. Writing of a chapter is finished by writing it up to the end and not merely by adding the words 'the end' to it. For instance we had begun to write the chapter of not having child marriages, but Government intervened to write the words 'the end' by a legal measure before it was fully written. The result, we all know is that the chapter is not finished and the evil of child marriage will persist in practice.

If we viewed the whole subject in this fashion we will see that government also has a function in equity in the ultimate stage of development government would not have any function to perform, but in the present interim stage it has a definite one. But even in the present stage the people will initially go ahead and it should be the government to follow their footsteps behind them. This way we will not only have good government but will also go forward in the direction of the stage where there will be freedom from government. When our endeavor is to be free from the rule of government we at least achieve good government in the same way or when our endeavor is to collect a great of repairs we will have surely collected a lot already.

Thus when we have before us the unique opportunity of going among our people to work a revolution through Bhodhan with such a great and glorious objective in view, we should surely feel great enthusiasm and have unwavering faith.

[From Hindi]

## "BUILDING FROM BELOW"—III

(By Nageshwar P. Das)

We now go to examine the employment pattern as it stands at present. In this connection, the first important consideration we have to note is the national income pattern as revealed by the following figures\* :

Source	Income in Crores
Large-scale industries	100
Small-scale "	100
Agriculture	400

This shows that agriculture and small-scale industries are the main sources of our national income. Naturally they also employ the largest part of our population. The following two tables are interesting here :

## Employment Pattern in India

Table 1

## Distribution of India's Population

Category	Lakhs
A. By Region	
1 Rural	2140
2 Urban	410
3 Total	1550
4 1 as per cent. of 1	43.7
B. By Occupation	
1 Agriculture	1491
2 Non-agriculture	559
3 Total	1550
4 1 as per cent. of 2	41.3

The distribution of population by region and by occupation (Table 1 above) that 17 per cent of India's population is rural and 83 per cent of it is engaged in agriculture for their livelihood. The distribution of India's actual working force shown in Table 2 below reflects fully the importance of agriculture in India's economy (Table 2, p. 20, para 20).

Table 2

## Actual Working Force

	Male	Female	Lakhs
	Supporting	Earning	Total
Agriculture	710	100	1000
Non-agriculture	100	40	400
Total	1550	200	1550

The D.F.B. goes into further analysis of employment and says :

"The available classified employment data set out in Table 3 below show that independent workers of self-employed workers constitute the majority of the labour force of the country. Closer study of the figures shows that self-employment is the dominant form of employment, accounting for 75 per cent of agricultural employment and over 50 per cent in non-agricultural employment. The overall picture, including agriculture and non-agricultural employment but excluding Government services shows that self-employment accounts for 52.5 per cent of all employment in the country" (Table 3, para 20).

\* See Further D.F.B., p. 10: "About the Common Mass Economy First."

† The discrepancy in the two totals is due to the loss of about 50 lakh women alive in the Punjab.

‡ Source: Census of India, Paper No. 2, 1951, SUMMARY Tables I and IV.

§ Source: Census of India, Paper No. 3, 1951, SUMMARY Table IV.

Table 3  
Self-employed Population\*

	Agricul- tural	Non-Agric- ultural	Little Total
1. Self-employed	245	155	710
2. Total productive employment (Total of Class. services)	694	324	1000
3. Total productive employment (Total of Class. administrative services)	5	100	105
4. (1) as per cent. of (2)	35.3	50.9	48.7
5. (1) as per cent. of (3)	25.3	24.5	21.3

## Self-employment and National Income

"Not only is self-employment the predominant form of employment in the country but also it is the most important single source of India's national income. In the absence of comprehensive detailed classified information about the working of self-employed workers in each sector, it is not possible to measure accurately the contribution of the self-employed sector to the national income. The figures set out in Table 4, based on the assumption that the income for a self-employed person in a sector is the same as the average income per worker in that sector must therefore, be treated as the total potential rather than the actual contribution of the self-employed sector to other words Table 4 shows that under appropriate capitalisation and other aids the self-employed sector alone could have accounted for 40 per cent of India's national income for 1950-51" (Table 4, para 27).

Table 4

## Contribution of Self-employment to National Income

	% of workers (Lakhs)	Income per worker Rs.	Total Income Rs. Crores
1. Agricultural Income	24.5	700	1715
2. Non-agricultural Income	100	17.7	1000
3. Total	50.0	450	4715
4. National Income	1400	4.5	6300
5. (3) as per cent. of (4)	40.0		40.0

## Then,

"The analysis of the employment pattern in India overwhelmingly proves that self-employment prevails and is the dominant form of employment in India's economy (Table 3, para 20).

An important point must, however, be stressed here. The prevailing pattern of self-employment is neither full nor healthy. As a result the productivity of the self-employment sector today is inadequate to satisfy its own needs and help create adequate capital in India's further economic progress" (Table 3, para 21).

"Though the most important aim is to ensure and to total productivity, the self-employment sector today is weak owing to the complete lack of organisational and financial strength. It shows the threat of gradual disintegration due, mainly to the failure of the prevailing economic order to recognise its existence and value. The absence of any scheme for its rehabilitation on the one hand, and intense pressure from the capitalist industrial and commercial sectors on the other, its condition today is miserable. This is further accentuated by low productivity due to general inadequacy of the production tools. Any programme for its rehabilitation in, however, developed upon the recognition of its importance, and

\* The figures of employment in this table include working dependents and self-supporting persons whose principal income is not derived from actual work.

† Source: Census of India, Paper No. 3, Summary Table IV and V.

‡ Source: 1. First Report of the McLeod Committee on labour, Table 10.

2. Table IV, ante.

employment of an individual "voluntarily and without compulsion to achieve and sustain a socially significant pattern of development." (*Ibid.*, para 20)

"Thus the chief work of self-employment in this function may be considered the employment in voluntariness of equal economic and social significance in the work of the self-employment sector to begin contributing to the increase of national income without any flow in, as the source of the investment as it enables it to go into production as such." (*Ibid.*, para 21)

It remains, at the end, to see and examine this proposition in its practical aspect, viz. the scope for this kind of employment in India.

9-7-52

(To be continued)

## HARIJAN

July 18

1952

### SARVODAYA AND SOCIALISTIC PATTERNS

(By Kapanthi P. Desai)

Some few weeks back a prominent Congressman from Bombay expressed his view, so far as I remember, while speaking under the auspices of the Poona Vastant Vyakhyamand, to the effect that they did not accept the Sarvodaya ideal because it ultimately implied no-State or freedom from government, while the Socialist pattern had an ideal aiming to have good government with the help of which to establish a Welfare State. The background behind the statement appears to be at variance with the one behind the opinion expressed by Pandit Nehru in this regard. Panditji points out as honourary that persons not like him but like Shri Vinoba who work for the Sarvodaya ideal work with propriety use the word "The truth of the matter is that between the Sarvodaya view and the Socialist pattern view there is definitely a very vital distinction."

Both the Sarvodaya and the Socialist pattern ideologies accept a republican democratic form of government. However, the ultimate aims they seek to achieve have a radical difference which we should now clearly understand by giving close attention to it. It is essential because the difference which is at bottom very significant influences all our present undertakings in planning as well as other programmes of nation-building.

Santhalay has explained the distinction between the European democratic view and the Sarvodaya view in these words:

"A victory of ultimate ethical idealism in the ultimate terms of the greatest good of the greatest number. He will strive for the greatest good of all and die in the attempt to realize the ideal!"

Discussing the same point Shri Vinoba in one of his speeches uttered the following words:

"Sarvodaya" is Philosophy and Propaganda (p. 11). Published by Harijan Publishing House, Ahmednagar 14, price Rs. 12, postage etc. Rs. 4.

which are really interesting and deserve close attention.

"During the last century an action ideal has dominated in Europe which lays down the duty of achieving the good of the greatest number of men. It is described in short as the greatest good of the greatest number in the English language. This means that it is the duty of Europe to attempt to secure the utmost happiness for the largest number of people. Here the Sarvodaya ideology does not accept this idea. It seeks to give the fullest happiness to all the people and not merely to their greatest number. This is why the Sarvodaya ideal is very consistent with our culture which has from nearly every time to us from ages past, it seeks to be in *सर्वज्ञानेन* (in devoted to the good of all beings).

There is also another vital distinction between the two ideals which Gandhi has referred to in his writings. Quoting the words of the American writer Thoreau he used to point out that "the government which ruled the least was the best." This implies that the Sarvodaya ideology would accept the doctrine which is described as 'philosophical anarchism' or 'anarchism' in the language of European political science, because rule from outside does not ultimately lead to the true and full happiness or welfare of man. Just as good government for the people is not possible without self-government, and just as the preliminary condition of all good government ought to be self-government, so also true welfare or happiness or progress in the life of an individual is possible only when and to the extent to which he rules himself or has his own *Swami*. This is the significance underlying the philosophy of anarchism or of self-rule. It will be noticed that this theory is not one of anarchy or no-rule, though the word signifies both the concepts in the English language. It would be better if instead of calling it anarchy or no-rule we described it as self-rule.

This idea teaches human development to itself and it is as apt and true for the welfare of man that every votary of democracy has to accept it unless, of course, he is a commandant or a votary of the Welfare State idea to be established through State power or is a socialist or is one who believes that rule from outside is always inevitably necessary for and beneficial to the individual.

A reference to the point made by Shri Vinoba in one of his recent prayer-speeches is worth making also. It is published in this number as a separate article under the heading "No Government, Good Government and Freedom from Government."

All the above argument then boils down to that that our planning should be based on a faith in man and not merely on faith in science or technology and finance. The Sarvodaya ideology which is our ideal seeks to deal with the people and their government keeping the ultimate objective of faith in man and his true progress in view.



We rarely want good government. No one ever wants a state of society without government, that is anarchy. As a matter for that, there can never be total anarchy. In any human society however primitive it may be human society will always create for itself a State in one form or another that may best serve its purpose. And good government is the aim of all forms of government. The problem is how to achieve good government.

For example, will it be good government if an all-powerful monarch or a dictator ruled well? Certainly not, only because freedom or self-rule is an essential condition for the true development of the human spirit. The essence of good government consists of its potentiality of allowing increasing autonomy to its citizens. The measure of good government will be the measure of self-government it affords to men. This is to conclude that the State should be a self-governing democratic State because such a type of government only allows the largest scope for self-rule to men.

In the end, therefore, democracy will reach the stage of self-rule by the human spirit where the State will fade away. But the too is an ideal stage and in the constant endeavour for its achievement lies its fulfilment. An ideal is never fully achieved, it is a dynamic living power. As the crown of the State goes on developing its capacity to rule herself or in other words, goes on building her moral responsibility of his own free will, we will be going nearer and nearer to the establishment of self-government and along with it of good government: so that the State will of itself be withering away to that extent. In the words used by Sri Vinoba in his speech, the communist or the socialist pattern as implied in it, lies within it; it is an interim stage in good government and not the ultimate one. The final stage is Sarvodaya or democracy with its roots in the ideal of self-government of, for and by men.

25-6-55

(From India)

#### Army and Alcohol

New Delhi PTI message of June 20 says:

From next July 1 all posts direct to women forces canteen in India will be in non-alcoholic drink. An order to this effect has been approved by the chiefs of staff of the Army, Navy and Air Force.

"The ban on alcoholic liquors is an indirect hint given to the fact that consumption of alcohol has been going down in the service since Independence. The number of casualties is increasing steadily with the picking up of the old habit that local doctors make hard to ignore."

This is really good news. We hope it will facilitate the introduction of complete prohibition for our people including the Army, Navy and Air Forces.

8-7-55

M. P.

#### YANARA VILAS

(By C. Rajagopalachari)

(The ban on export of opium has been lifted on stamped conditions have now improved. A South Indian translation)

Know you not what they'll do with us  
In whose hands is selfish cruelty  
You trap and place us for a little pill?  
If you are tired of your cocaine dumb  
And you think our number rises you

of your food,

Send us to lethal chambers  
Or shoot us down among our jungle trees  
O give us sudden death, but do not make  
Victims of us for torments inconceivable,  
More horrid than any disease  
That man has earned by his vicious sin

Have the tears of dumb creatures  
No power now to ease your hearts?  
Put us not in a hell, greater far  
Than our fate's miseries could drive  
We cannot speak the tongues of men  
But the gods do hear and understand  
We did not grow up to be like his men,  
And may be 'twas well we didn't  
And we remember the moments we are  
O stop this sacrilegious crime  
On the bones of your sacred book,  
That cradle on the nearest corner

that science

Has found for humankind

Feel not the sweetest river of faith  
That waters still your land  
And makes you worthy of some attention  
In the world of avarice and greedy men.  
Think you the tear of these dumb  
creatures of yours  
Shall no power for a crime or that

misfortune

Cannot teach you now that science has  
progressed?

Or that you can help the world  
With knowledge got through execrable  
cruelty?

"The true Ramachandra rules not now  
O thoughtless ones that rule your care  
Up the horrid way in Indragiri  
And sit on your little thrones in the  
red secretariat,

You rule the affairs of an imperial people  
Through whose veins still runs  
The noble blood of compatriots,  
Whose pleas ever are drink will  
The mass of Tulsi and great Valmiki,  
And their undying voices give  
Solace and hope to agonised souls

Not for this did the Father of the people  
 Clear the chambers of power  
 For you to take the chains the farmer shed  
 He had might unleashed in those chains,  
 But he ever acted with a care that was wise  
 And so unlike your present thoughtlessness  
 Look upon us the same as you.

Wille Ross

The sweet children who're dear to you,  
 O do not send the race of Harman.  
 For unbearable tortures to foreign lands

### PELOPONNES PROGRESS DAY BY DAY (My Demodondos Demodoi)

Visiting completed his tour of the Cyprian districts on the 25th May and returned the Karpas district where a new chapter in the process of the Boundary Movement has opened in the form of Cretanion.

The following figures which were obtained when Visiting arrived at Anzla, the first halt in Karpas district are self-explanatory:

#### Cretanion — Karpas District

On 14	Land worked in acres	Number of Donkeys	Strawed and wedges
24th May 1959	33,334	3,334	80
26th May 1959			
June 16 May 59	5,424	354	11
Total up to			
26th May 1959	38,758	3,688	91

#### Distinctions

On 15	Number work- ing (incl 20)	Number of people	Area disturbed
26th May 1959	20	50	1,111

NOTE: The collection in Karpas district is the highest in the whole province.

The people of Karpas attended a most hearty welcome to Visiting at Anzla. On the border of the district, he performed the opening ceremony of a new road of 11 miles they have built to connect Karpas and Karpas districts. Workers' leaders and officials warmly stated this part. But whenever come had to reach it the Anzla Dock. The new road has brought the workers which very important. It was not, however, as easy for the Anzla road had to be broken and big areas of the district forced remained temporary bridges that had to be reconstructed. At Anzla (since the road on mountain slopes was steep beyond imagination) into the the town of Anzla, workers and children descending from many slopes all day while leaving down playing trumpet and carrying Karpas flowers. In the heart of this people rightly called Anzla even from mental facilities beautiful Anzla were created, dance observed upon, folk dances warmly performed and the whole atmosphere filled with the traditional music of the Anzla. It was all so picturesque!

Addressing the gathering at Anzla, Visiting in the very beginning congratulated the people of the district on their unique achievement of Cretanion and expressed his hope that all the villages in this district and various exceptions will be the with the new movement, the day going on appropriate to the experience of establishing Cretanion of Karpas district.

It may be pointed that he had been looking through a better forest instead of much to look at by with all such who. With a pointed reference to who would, he actually observed that there would be no difference between the life of Anzla and that of those who would be, if the former did not realize that they had been rejected. While towards the ending to be surprisingly changed and that they did not the opening need of organizing the concept of a family from the present, narrow form of the four walls of an individual's house to the broader field

and towards a new future. He said: "Let us all, the whole of a village, be not in there. Live as one family. But not our whole life, as the same? No, you had the money has really made us forget those lessons of our fathers and mothers and we are all more ashamed of making each other day in and day out."

And then he put them this simple but profound question: "What will adequately us when we shall have this world? Money or love? Are we the human beings divided like the dogs and other wild beasts only to be kept, fed and shot?"

Continuing the discussion he went on: "The beauty of a man's life lies in the natural beauty in nature, order and others, but not in his himself and also the natural around him, that has given us peace for his purpose as also the doing against those for maintaining order. And has given us those hands that to with our future to show us to give them what we have. Did we look Christ ask us not to let our left hand know what the right hand gives? How then can we possibly be getting our own backs?"

On the first day of his entry into the Karpas district, he gave them the following five maxims:

1. Brotherhood in your last common purpose and live as one family;
2. Right and wrong your choice;
3. Give up the dirty habit;
4. Get rid of luxury and idleness; and
5. Give back your hands always to those needed work.

Thus ending the first lecture, he said: "This will be a break-up for the first time when the proper time comes, you will be glad to remember it as the first of the Lord."

A special feature of today's gathering was the sudden appearance of a number of the Anzla ladies fully clad in home-made cloth. The cloth for us to learn that they were from Karpas, a beautiful Anzla. After the way they had all come to Anzla. Visiting, this Anzla, we were told, was extraordinary in cloth. We eagerly looked forward to our visit of this Anzla couple of days later.

Immediately after the prayer meeting those ladies went to Visiting. He asked them about their work of crops. One of them handed over to him a production basket of their language published in the Anzla district. Visiting immediately started to compare himself with some of the words of this language. According to him, the language is quite an important one similar to the Telugu and to the Odia. It has only some letters to the standard. Out of the thirty words he knew, only one appeared anywhere similar to Hindi and another to English.

At Anzlapur, the next halt, Visiting distributed 20 acres of land among nine families of the nearby village Karpas.

In his post-prayer speech that evening he traced the history of how the land was formerly never considered to be a marketable commodity or a considerable property on the payment of a price because the community value was ever attached to it and how later on, it came to be recognized for valuable commodities in terms of money under the evil process of money-lending and 'money-watching' of the money class.

Explaining the significance underlying this dangerous process, he appealed to them to change their concept of land as the property of an individual as of persons and said: "It is high time that you bury the dream of being rich in the land in terms of money by the simple and noble process of contributing the entire land of a village amongst all the families inhabiting it and by maintaining the whole village as one family."

Visiting went on to say further that he did not mean by the land that only the land itself be shared in common. Even his individual and families be protected, situated and must needs be gradually shared back to the employees and the workers so much so that there would be no

more any master nor any servant in the current meaning of the words and that all would be their own masters and their own servants simultaneously. Every one will then work for common good of the whole society but only that the present gulf between the employer and the employee would be bridged but also the very grounds creating such distinctions would automatically vanish. The idea of the individual's property rights and ownership would then become a talk of the past, all the wealth in the society being then shared in common by all according to needs. The beginning of this process had to be made somewhere. It was really good that the question of land—the problem of peasants—was being tackled first.

Visitors there explained to her simple and bold right how the solution of the land problem will indirectly solve everything else. Other economic problems like taxation, applied to the village so that all their heads then take the land and strengthen the bonds.

Visiting there pointed out how he was never tired of repeating in every village his own dreams that land like air, water and light of the sun was a giving gift and, therefore, was meant for all and was not a privilege of the selected few individuals. He had been repeating these words often and without an exception in every village in every province and as such had really attained the name of a Marxist for him.

And last but not the least giving his friendly and genuine advice to workers.

Those who desire to live an organized and long for individualized way of life had better refer to the leaders and spend their lives there to learn and do as the bees, signs and other wild beasts of the jungle do. Those who love to live a civilized life shall find a complete model life for they shall live as one family only. They shall be either slaves.

## REVOLUTION AND PEACE

(Prof. Numa Suran)

In the process of revolution man has advanced from one stage to another not by force exerted over him from without but by a process of evolution or gradual change, which spontaneously revolutionizes the entire outlook of man. By revolution we mean a complete and thorough transformation in the sphere of thought, feeling and action. Revolution is the first change-come from an old order to the new one after a long and continuous process of evolution has completed itself and has prepared the ground for a fresh establishment of new values spiritual, moral and material. Thus revolution has a certain atmosphere behind it. It is the smooth and spontaneous culmination of a process of change.

Evidently therefore a change effected in the social, economic or political set-up of a particular people forcibly is not a revolution. Revolution is inherently a gentle, delicate and quite smooth but unshakeable conclusion of a particular process of change already going on voluntarily or involuntarily in the social mind. It is the happy end of that process. A revolution means the voluntary acceptance of a particular set of transformed values which are designed to transpire the prevalent system of values, by the consent of the human beings.

Therefore, imposition of the will of the majority over an unwilling or innocent rather ignorant

minority is not a revolution. Revolution cannot be thrust upon a people. It must intrinsically be a natural expression of the transformed views of the people. It is a manifestation of a change of heart and mind.

A revolution is not an operation like the one you may make just to drop off the skin you are strapped with. It is an operation including the new blood into every nerve and vein in the body of the human society. Revolution, therefore, postulates the transformation in the virtual interest of all.

A revolution is not a fight of one man against another as, Heidegger tells us, was the case in the pre-State period. It is also not a conflict between the two antagonists, classes based on exclusive thinking. It is a proper adjustment of relations between man and man on one side and man and matter on the other. It is, therefore, not possible to even think of the vehicle of violence for the march of a revolution. It should be clearly borne in mind that the severity of a revolution arises only when at a particular moment the various institutions of a particular society become degenerated and they cease to operate as media of every man's good; rather, on the contrary, they begin to suffer from a sort of civil war where the different members of the community begin to work against one another and develop a biased notion of antagonistic interests fanatically under dogmatic beliefs. This state of affairs is a state of violence. To put an end to this social injustice, violence and self-contradiction a revolution emerges. Revolution is a force against prevalent violence. It aims at rooting it out. It, therefore, must be non-violent in its nature and effect. It is a pledge to establish peace and order not for a few or a large section of the human society, but for all. It is the acceptance of the creed of peace. As such it is essentially an outright rejection of the idea of war or bloodshed. Revolution is peace embodied, working to end war and to establish harmony and concord in the human society.

But when a situation arises in which some people are found supporting the old values and opposing the new ones, how will a revolution deal with them? Evidently the success of a revolution depends upon its power to convert. This conversion must be mental or rational in nature brought about by discourse, logic and presentation of facts.\*

A revolution is a project against the prevalent violence of some against others. As we have already stated above, this project cannot succeed unless it has a basic faith in the natural goodness of man. The basic notion of revolution consists in the doctrine: "Take no man's life, for every man is good by nature and he can revert to goodness provided a rational approach is made."

\* In this connection, see the note 'Technique of Non-violent Revolution' added at the end of the article.—H. F.

### Technique of Non-violent Revolution

I may add a note here. I draw the attention of the reader to a remark of the author where he says, "conversion must be mental or rational in nature, brought about by discussion, logic and presentation of facts." A reader may well ask in this connection, what if reason, or as the author says, discussion, logic and presentation of facts, — what if they fail to convert? The doctrine of Satyagraha is the answer. As we know, Gandhi came to it in South Africa, exactly in a situation where "conversion by discussion, logic and presentation of facts" of General Smuts and his government failed. To quote Gandhi himself:

'Up to the year 1906, I simply relied on appeal to reason. I was a very ineffective reformer. I was a good draftsman, as I always had a close grip of facts, which in its turn was the necessary result of my meticulous regard for truth. But I found that reason failed to produce an impression when the critical moment arrived in South Africa. My people were excited, even a warm will and does sometimes hurt — and there was talk of wreaking vengeance. I had then to choose between allying myself to violence or finding out some other method of meeting the crisis and stopping the riot and it came to me that we should refuse to obey legislation that was degrading and let them put us in jail if they liked. This came into being the moral equivalent of war. I was then a layman, because, I implicitly believed that the sum total of the activities of the British Empire was good for India and for humanity. Arriving in England soon after the outbreak of the war I plunged into it and later when I was forced to go to India as a result of the palsy that I had developed, I led a recruiting campaign at the risk of my life, and to the horror of some of my friends. The disillusionment came in 1916 after the passage of the Racial Discrimination Act and the refusal of the Government to give the simple elementary redress of proved wrongs that we had asked for. And so, in 1918, I became a rebel. Since then the conviction has been growing upon me that things of fundamental importance to the people are not secured by reason alone but have to be purchased with their suffering. Suffering is the law of human beings, war is the law of the jungle. But suffering is infinitely more powerful than the law of the jungle for converting the opponent and opening his ears, which are otherwise shut, to the voice of reason. Nobody has probably drawn up more poisons or composed more detestable crimes than I and I have come to this fundamental conclusion that if you want something really important to be done you must not merely satisfy the senses, you must move the heart also. The appeal of reason

is more to the head but the penetration of the heart comes from suffering. It opens up the inner understanding in man. Suffering is the badge of the human race, not the sword" (Young India, 3-11-22, p. 341).

Satyagraha is persistent assertion of, and living up to, the truth one perceives, through love and non-violence. As such, it seeks to convert the opponent through the irresistible and unfulfilling appeal of loving action to the whole of the human personality. Thus Satyagraha becomes a form of non-violent revolution or the peaceful and proper way of social change and transformation to desired state of human good. Really speaking, then is the law of the eternal process of human evolution going on in society. It may emerge, as an assertion, as a revolutionary action — as a non-violent fight specifically needed by a particular revolutionary situation whereas the above revolutionary process of Truth-assertion might have been impeded or thwarted by violent or non-programme elements in society. But the reason of force of such action or fight will be the assertion, at all cost and through peaceful and non-violent action, of the truth one may hold. The action must be legitimate and planned for the good of all — not selfish and unscrupulous.

30-6-68

M. P.

By Mahatma Gandhi

### TRUTH IS GOD

(Foreword by Dr. C. Rajagopalachari)

[Quotation selected by Dr. K. S. Prabhu from the Writings of Mahatma Gandhi Bearing on God, God-realisation and the Daily Way.]

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# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MARGHNA DASGUPTA)  
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THE ANNA

## SCHOOL TEXT-BOOKS AND GOVERNMENT

(By Marghna P. Dasgupta)

The problem of text-books for primary and secondary education has come to the surface not only in the Bombay State but in other States of the country also. Everywhere the problem presents similarly. The chief one is that the problem which is educational is treated as if it were one of trade and supply. The fundamental misconception is in evidence everywhere. Without going into the reason why things happen this way it would be worthwhile concentrating on understanding what actually happens when the administration of education is not carried on as a business related to it.

The worst consequence is that in the field of education the broad view valid to it is lost sight of and the officials of the department of education resort to regimentation. Inspectors of the Government department of education like those in other Government departments such as revenue, post and telegraph etc. become mere administrators, so that matters like the progress and control of education which should be their primary concern become secondary in their view or are lost sight of altogether. Let us take an instance. Education departments of the Central and State Governments have taken their immense task of executing the great plan of Basic Education, but where are they devoting their attention? To what matter are they drawn away? What are the things in which these departments are wasting their and the nation's time? With what aims in view are they training schools for teachers and the latter themselves working? Replies to these and such other questions, I am sure, will immediately bring home to the readers what I have been trying to convey.

For does the problem end here? Once the process of education is diverted into a wrong channel it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to bring it back to its normal and sacred course. Government departments have assumed for themselves the right to sanction text-books for use in schools by legislation. This is an obvious misstatement of the policy adopted by foreign governments which had better now be discarded. It is obvious that a foreign government can rule only

with suspicion towards the people of the country. It has to keep the system of education under its direct control if it wants to maintain itself. Now, text-books constitute an important item in the scheme of control. Controlling the use of text-books, therefore, becomes a Government function under foreign rule. This idea still persists. And the machinery of the education department which was trained in the technique of administrative control has also remained what it was. One can understand that Government, therefore, cannot immediately take the risk of removing itself from between the department and those responsible for conducting schools. But on the contrary, Governments are aiming at establishing such control over schools now, as was not in evidence even under foreign rule. To that end they carry on various experiments with equally various different results in the various States. Ideas about administration which took shape during war times in an age of controls and new ideas of setting up a complete pattern of security add to the confusion so that the problem of education does not purely remain what it should be but becomes one of supplies and controls for regulating them.

What is actually happening in this field in States like Bombay, Transvaal-Cadiz, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Delhi etc. should serve as a timely warning for our Governments under Swamy. It is necessary that all the education departments of all the Governments look timely warning from these events because otherwise the machinery set up for carrying on the English system of education will prove worthless along with the system itself. The system has had its time and is now falling away. If along with it the machinery begins to fall away also the consequences would be disastrous because it will not be able to cope with the entirely new task of basic reform in education. And we have no other machinery ready to take charge of it.

This unfortunate oversight seems to be coming into being. If we looked deeper into its causes they might be found hidden, perhaps, in the plans which are at present being considered for building up the nation. One feels inclined to ask the question whether these plans are supplying the true drive and inspiration to the nation.

These plans ~~cannot~~ of undertaking the real tasks facing the country seem to be drawn away to schemes which can be easily wished. Take for instance the Constitutional task of giving compulsory education to all children up to the age of fourteen. Has a plan for it been considered and worked out in detail? It has been stated that the method of compulsory education will be the basic method of education through the medium of such as shown by Gandhiji. But has any thought been given to its execution in detail? When the first Five Year Plan was under consideration we were told that as there was shortage of food the problem of adequate food supply should receive priority. But what now? Indeed, can we say that even our State Government is having a plan for its own scheme of education? If it were the case serious mistakes that have been committed in the matter of text-books, for example, would surely have been avoided. Education is a national activity and should, therefore, involve national effort and people should be aided and enabled to create an independent system of national education by the Government. If instead of entrusting such helpful outside Governments were to rush into undertaking doing everything for the people as soon as some difficulty was felt, we would have to pay dearly for the mistake. Ideas of a Welfare State would not serve our purpose here. If the Welfare State idea were unconsciously to take the form of paternalism, then the idea of democracy would suffer decay. Particularly, in the field of education, education itself would suffer. That would mean destroying a living instrument for the building up of our people.

20-5-53

[From Calcutta]

### To Foreign Subscribers

We sometimes receive foreign currency notes by post from our foreign friends to be utilized as subscription for the *Manjira* weeklies. We learn from the Reserve Bank through our Bankers that the payment should be made by foreign subscribers through banking channels as the sending of currency notes by post is considered a violation of Exchange Control Regulations.

We, therefore, request foreign friends to send us their subscription through banks and not directly by post.

14-7-53

JYOTI B. BHAR  
Managing Trustee

\* This method has a positive view of its own regarding the plan of books in teaching Hindi as not at the centre of the scheme of the method, nor are they the medium of education as we are using. This point of view is surely going to affect the problem of text books under discussion in its fundamental manner. For a reconsideration of the whole question deserves separate treatment.

### PILGRIMS' PROGRESS FROM DAY TO DAY — II

(By Ramachandrar Kundala)

1

During the week from the 15th May to 4th June, Vinayak commenced his harping, haranguing, harpading, harping, harping, harping and harping in the district of Kharagpur, travelling over a score of other villages on the way all through the three forest areas, witnessing the most astonishing and novel reception accorded by the people, listening to their songs, music, appreciating their demands, observing their social customs, way of life and the richness of their culture as was manifested in their poems, songs, dances, songs and dances, songs, and displaying the richness of the land and the people with the presumption in the party.

#### Nothing Less Than Question Now

On arrival at Haragpur, the village from the previous day, Vinayak at the very outset, declared that he was not going to protest for anything less than total lands gift. Piece of land had not much attraction for him. And they responded.

He asked them to stand all their land together. Despite of having these things, was extremely heavily words with the dignity, was afraid of the policeman or, for that matter, of any authority, he wanted them to stand that land together completely.

Regarding his own relation also, he made it clear that it was not a matter of any concern for them whatsoever. On the contrary, his mission was one of love for religious duty and collective good and they should respond to it, only if they were concerned about his ideas.

Before reaching Haragpur, one night halt on 1st June, we crossed the Mahabharata Thanga river twice within a distance of six miles. Haragpur is predominantly a Thanga speaking area. Vinayak told the people how glad he was to meet them as they reminded him of the place of his last mission which happened to be a Thanga area.

He distributed the certificates for 100 acres of land in 10 families of one village which greatly impressed the gathering.

He then referred to a letter from him, Ramachandrar Kundala, of 1st June. The letter said how some help was needed, during the Haragpur Kharagpur, visited the district of Kharagpur in the Punjab and how they witnessed not only Haragpur but Haragpur also and would also send a lot of letters. The letter also carried how a wave of enthusiasm was witnessed in that area. The atmosphere was thus ripe for Haragpur everywhere and the people were ardently ready to respond. It was now the turn of the members to spread out all throughout without delay. Vinayak declared he also pointed out that the mission was no more limited to his person. It had become universal and every one had to contribute his or her share in its fulfilment.

#### No More Suppression Now

Following in the thousands of Indians who attended his daily prayer meetings, Vinayak pointed out how they were now justified in thinking that their long-held demand of land would now be fulfilled. They were now an extension of people and would no more remain under any oppression whatsoever, nor did he want them to be so under any circumstances, he declared. Liberty implied complete and unqualified freedom to all, the country was linked above when and where even the animals and birds were kept in cages. In this connection he narrated how on one 15th August, 1947 he had in a village where he had gone to address a meeting, persecuted a village to see the imprisoned parrot free.

The point was that not a word implied that we had no suppression any more, nor are we being suppressed by any one. We suppressed the Haragpur and in turn were suppressed by the British. Gandhi taught us to get justice for



## HARIJAN

July 23

1953

### THE NEXT EDUCATIONAL PLAN-FRAME (By P. N. Srinivasan, P. Desai)

The Union Education Ministry has presented a 1953-59 crore rupee plan of work for incorporation in the Second Five Year Plan. Like the plan-frame, this also is said to suffer from over-ambition. Quicker enough, the Planning Commission, though not seeing the same drawback in its own handwriting of the proposed plan-frame, remarks that way, for, the Commission does not accept the Education Ministry's plan-frame and suggests that not more than 550 crores can be allotted to education in the forthcoming national plan. The Planning Commission was success in its pruning of other departmental plan-frames only if it begins to reform its own plan-frame, which is surely infused with ideas of ends, and intends hardly possible to be realised. And there is to be at the top of it, deficit finance to boot which is really a deficit and no feature in any real sense of the term.

The above is only one aspect of the educational plan-frame. The more pertinent one is what is going to be actually done during the next Five Year Plan period. I have not with me at present the blue-print detailing it. I write this from what I gather from the daily press.

In primary education there will be increased attempt to implement the national policy of introducing Basic Education. Along with it, and quickly, there will be further attempts to start more schools so that about 75 per cent of children between the ages of 5 and 11, and about 55 per cent of children between the ages of 11 and 14, could be brought to school by 1961.

In secondary education there will be introduced a certain number of multi-purpose high schools.

In higher education, it is proposed this new venture should have a 3-year first degree course instead of the 4-year one we have at present.

And there is to be a uniform attempt to raise the teacher's pay in all the classes. I think, this will be one of the major items of additional expenditure which will be welcome. But, the action will have to be initiated by the Education Ministers in the land that teaching work will be really done with love and integrity, that the pernicious manner in which masters educational are being conspired at present will be radically changed, and that the unbridled commercialism that has set in as a result of the out-of-date system of English education that still prevails despite of our declaring it and wishing to change, will be brought under control. This is a vital change necessary in our entire educational system. It should have the topmost

priority in any planning worth the name. Unless we mind that, our schemes of quantitative expansion will only lead, complicating the matter and creating more confusion and stress in the already chaotic conditions. This is surely not to deny expansion or to deny as need. My contention is that it should not condemn our vital needs of qualitative change or basic reform of our education.

Coming to the plan-frame of quantitative expansion and reform it is necessary to remark that there are too many bones in the furnace for simultaneously being hammered into shape. The programme envisaged by the Ministry lacks planning and educational soundness.

For example, the 3-year degree course reform can be envisaged as the last stage of reformed studies of 12 or 13 years before it is schools. The latter are also to be reformed both in their curriculum and organisational contents. It would be, to say the least, like to provide the universities with the basis of production and to undertake a reform they seem to be reluctant to do. It will unnecessarily disturb them without any immediate compensatory gain. For, a mere change in years from 4 to 3 is a mere change in period and with no really substantial gain in quality. The saving of a year can well follow the sound reform in the previous stage of the first 11 years of schooling. It will naturally emerge and even justify itself. To go into it at present will be only blindly following a suggestion of old Commissioners that took their main thoughts from British models. These are now unavailing to us. We have to create our own type of an educational system which must serve the interests and needs of the whole of our people, whom we wish to bring to school and university. The planning age had as mind only the restricted needs of a few classes who formed not even 15 per cent of our people. Therefore the educational plan-frame may be better advised to go into deciding its priorities and leave out items like 3-year degree course for a later date.

Undoubtedly the topmost priority is the work ordered by the Constitutional Directive of providing by 1960, free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years. The educational plan-frame admits that this is impossible to do within the time-limit of 1960. And if the Planning Commission raises a bar in the 1953-59 programme that will be the more so. What should be done then? This is a problem as formidable as its counterpart in the economic sphere, viz. our colossal under- and unemployment. The Union Government plan-frame owns deficit here in the same way as the Educational Ministry in the former problem of universal national education.

It was here that the Father of the Nation, moved in his wisdom and foresight over the mere educational or economic aspects in Government and outside. He proposed that Basic Education, i.e. education through production



hand-industries and, can ultimately be a sound proposition even financially, as it will be also productive of consumer goods. As a counterpart of the same idea, he said that these industries must also provide the fullest employment for our idle human resources, thus ensuring on the other hand, a necessary social background and atmosphere for the new idea of Basic Education to grow and thrive.

We have largely begun to accept the economic or industrial part of this composite proposal of Gandhiji not so the former one of educational reform. I mean, the Union plan-frame has, however reluctantly, come to accept small-scale industries as an integral part of its scheme, whereas the educational plan-frame, however much it may wish to, cannot do so to that extent, because the lay people of our advanced world still lack salience at it, and do not seriously apply their mind how to revivify and reorganise our native education.

We should note that education is not new to be a microscopic class activity. The Constitution provides for a citizen's right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment etc. The right to education is far complete education up to the highest available, for those that deserve to have it irrespective of their economic status, sex, class or creed. This right cannot be given through doles and aids; it must be in the natural gift of the social, economic and educational order that we will build now. It is in this context that Basic Education and village and home industries form our integral programme and render themselves inevitable for us if we wish to really build a healthy, self-reliant and prosperous new order. The Education Ministry should plan its work in the light on this principle and with such a larger perspective. This will make its demand for necessary finance irresistible and imperative. Work and education cannot be related to a citizen who denies them in a healthy and well-ordered State. To assure them the Government of India must recognise the worth of the above two items of the Gandhian programme of rebuilding the nation *en-masse* in the next Five Year Plan.

33-7-55

By Mahatma Gandhi

### TRUTH IS GOD

(Revised by Shri C. Acharyaiah)

(Comments compiled by Shri S. K. Puri from the writings of Mahatma Gandhi. Edited by G. K. Gokhale and the Daily Way.)

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## WHAT SWARAJ SHOULD MEAN

(By Feroz)

(From the proceedings delivered at Chhatrapati camp in Delhi on 14.5.55)

It is better to contend with any society whether people living in our villages have or yet come to realise that our country has attained Swaraj. This is because our villages live in such ignorance that people in some places do not even know that Swaraj has come to us.

That the British power has withdrawn itself from the land is the only fact of what has happened in India. This fact is described as Swaraj. People come to feel that the rule of the Congress village today is that of the Mahatmas of the Mahatma or that of the British and today, this the present regime does not in any material respects that of the British or that of the Mahatmas. The present rule is just one, it is the rule of everyone of you. The fact that the Congress comes on the Constitution of the country does not in any way mean that there is a power apart from us which governs us. But the people do not yet realise that you actually experience that it is their own rule or that they themselves are governing themselves or that it is their own responsibility to sway or to rule themselves.

Swaraj must be felt and experienced in every one of our villages. People in every village should manage their own administration themselves. Only then will they truly realise that Swaraj has come to the country. As it is the people in a village start quarrelling amongst themselves and go to court which are in the place for the solution of their disputes. There is this Swaraj? Experience of Swaraj will come here to the people only when the people in a village decide their disputes themselves and will not go out elsewhere for their decisions. When people in the village will decide for themselves not to have any internal disputes or if there are disputes or differences, to resolve them in the village themselves will they have a realisation of Swaraj.

When people living in each of the villages will come to their minds that the land in their village belongs to everyone of them, that they will all be together, that the individual will have ownership in land and that land will belong to the village as a whole. Swaraj will come in every one of them.

When people living in each of the villages will decide to manufacture the cloth they wear in the village itself, to sow and grow their own cotton in spite of the hand on the wheel and to use the cloth themselves will they have an experience of Swaraj.

When people living in every one of the villages will decide that those of them who are illiterate will teach their illiterate brothers and sisters for an hour every morning and every evening to read and write, that they will not remain one person made or female who cannot read and write, and that everyone will be literate will the realisation of Swaraj come to them.

When people living in each one of the villages will decide that to take any debt in the village is never the thing and will work with earth and thus to convert their idle nature and to turn the whole of the place into a field of activities and beauty, will they experience Swaraj that is Swaraj.

When people living in every one of our villages will decide to start schools not to get others or Government but to start interesting them, to free themselves from all sorts of self-education. Swaraj will come to them.

When people living in each one of the villages will decide once for all not to combine any differences among themselves or between the illiterate and the literate, to increase the illiterate and the others, to relieve every other person in each equal and to have all the individuals in the place equally, will Swaraj come to them.

When people living in every village will decide for themselves that they will work together every evening and will come together with devotion, the idea of Swaraj will

and much effort from this time will not allow a single child to remain among them who has not been able to find these great words, will those to finding in the village.

When the children who live in every one of the villages will make up their minds to consider all the boys in the community as their own sons to love them all equally and when all the boys and girls in the place will get food and drink and education as a part of equality, will the village have peace?

When people in every one of the villages will begin to take care of the river and the hillside in the village and when there will drive food after the children have been fed they will feel that they are enjoying peace?

and peace will be there in every village only when people in every one of them should stand all day and declare that they will not be treated by any force which means, when they will determine not to be treated by anyone and not to fully agree, not to be agreed to, anyone and not to agree anyone and not to yield to anyone who threatens them.

There things will have an experience of being when people living in them will speak great ideas words, will give up using that language, will take the name of peace, and will always be peaceful in all creation.

I have described all now the development of being our peace is in our own hands. It is we who can create peace for us and make other. Just as another person does for us or just as another animal, not for us, or just as another the matter for us, just as everyone of these are and has to perform for himself and no one else can do it for him so we no one else has the capacity to give us our being. If we wanted to arrange our being we have to not find ourselves and if we wished to quicken our spirit we ourselves have to not let us be slow. If we wished really to see peace for our world we will have to make all the village I have mentioned by ourselves. When people in a village will not create peace but will have received knowledge, when they will grow better, when they will be better than being and perfectly clean, when they will be able to have an experience of peace in their land.

OF THE WORLD

## WESTERN CIVILIZATION — A PROBLEM

(By Wilfred Webb)

(Continued from 94-95 issue)

### IV

#### Consequences of Industrial Revolution

First the Industrial Revolution mechanized and dehumanized men by the process of industrial specialization, depriving them of responsibility and creative opportunity and thus of the power of self-expression, and then set about stimulating their appetites and desires in order to increase the rising industrial output and at the same time appease their frustrated thirst for life.

We thus reach an age in which all recognized values are purchasable with cash. Leisure and cash are expected to make up for the spiritual deficiencies caused by the passing of satisfying creative, manual labour. Under this regime a nation's dope account runs annually.

The economic impulse thus leads to the unpauc of materialism, which is attended by fragmented human beings and a host of problems which cannot be solved at the materialistic level. Among these problems is the weakening of moral codes and sanctions which governs itself in a serious fall in business honesty, and in the growing attraction of crime to our youth. But what we call crime, the offenders call adventure and romance, which reveals

a staggering lack of knowledge or sense of right and wrong and of relative values. But what can we expect when no more than a very small percentage of our youth ever receive training in the art of living or in the discernment of values in human conduct, especially spiritual values? Before a certain social level the majority of youths are indoctrinated into repetitive jobs against which they quickly revolt, when these possessing grit and imagination drift into crime as the only avenue to a life of adventure of which they have knowledge or to which they have access.

For this condition the social system must accept a large share of responsibility. We have produced a generation that is suffering from spiritual starvation. It is still hungry emotionally impoverished and culturally and religiously forsaken. Our need is not more and better prisons or bigger police forces, but the re-organization of our economic, educational and cultural life so that responsibility and creative opportunity may be the heritage of all.

The decay of religion as a social force and guide to conduct has had much to do with the present crime situation. This decay coincided with the divorce of economics from ethics and the consequent departure of spiritual values from the labour of the people during the course of the Industrial Revolution.

Consequently, it is our fundamentalists that are wrong. Life is one, a unity which rapidly disintegrates when one of its major functions ceases, as happened when creative and social values were taken out of the labour of increasing percentages of the people. Once spiritual values and principles cease to control the vital functions of life, religion quickly loses its significance and meaning; and religion will not regain its lost power until it earnestly seeks to restore to human labour the spiritual values which alone can make it wholesome and holy.

The nature of a man's work has more to do with dehumanizing his spiritual health and well-being than any other single factor and if it fragments him, religion cannot make him whole except as a stimulus to a social revolt. Man must work in order to eat, but if his labour does not develop the whole man, his imagination and creative genius, and thus satisfy his inward being, his life will be out of joint. The right to wholesome work, and it should be one of the major aims of religion to make it possible for all men to achieve it. It was the failure of religion to do precisely this and also to demand economic justice for the workers during the first century of the Industrial Revolution that was responsible for the great crises from the Churches of Britain during the first three decades of the present century.

The acceptance of the inevitability of human fragmentation in the interest of 'progress' was also responsible for a change of emphasis in the working class struggle for justice and freedom. The economic pressures of

the struggle for markets and the consequent necessity for increased specialization, blocked the road to responsible, creative labor for the average worker. In consequence of which propaganda was concentrated on shorter hours and higher wages. It is a long jump from the values of the early Christian Socialists and of the pioneers of the I.L.F. to the "bread and butter" politics of the last thirty years.

The spirit of man wilted under the materialism of quantitative production for the capture of markets, whence politics became a model parcelled and class struggle for cash and power. The "good life" was reduced to machine consumption of goods and services.

The Welfare State is the logical outcome of that policy, and an indispensable condition of a materialistic civilization, notwithstanding the unpleasant fact that it has increased personal dependence upon the State and reduced personal responsibility personally when it needed to be increased.

Worse still, the longer private needs continue, the more fragmented will people become, and the more dependent will they be upon endless diversions in order to preserve their mental balance. Meditation is essential to spiritual growth, but fragmented people spare meditation because they are afraid of themselves, the darkness covers of the starved mind. To such people consumption and war are often a means of deliverance from a futile and meaningless existence.

### The Best Problem of Our Time

The real problem of our time is how to pass from a quantitative civilization which fragments the human person to a qualitative civilization which makes whole persons.

Sadly, there are many in all walks of life and in all social groups and political parties who are coming to these conclusions. They realize that Western civilization has run off the verge and is heading for disaster, and they are looking for a new way.

The immediate need is a larger body of believers in a new creative era. As a nation we must stop wasting our thoughts and substance on inglorious Anti-Communism and get at work on escape to war.

All our major problems have a common source: the exhaustion of abundance. War, the hydrogen bomb, the Democratic-Communist conflict, markets and raw material shortages, all arise from unmeasured abundance. The greater the abundance the greater is the clamor for it and the more numerous and powerful become the terrors and antagonisms which poison international relations. But as war is the outcome of the triumph of material forces over spiritual, so peace is the outcome of the triumph of spirit over matter. The better triumph will come by way of a finer culture and a religion which gets down to the roots of spiritual being and human weakness in the daily labour of the

people. The revolution we seek will enable men to put their minds into their labour. Such labour will transform desire, thus a nation's economy, and make straight the road to peace.

So to return, our use of culture and religion are almost as negative as our politicians. They preach a gospel of salvation which hinders and betrays alternatives, bombing and even the hydrogen bomb. Faith is Truth, even in Christian Truth, in righteousness and justice, has to be modified by circumstances. When Gagarin's claims have all been met, there is little left to quarrel about. In other words, they offer no valid alternative to modern materialism, or none which carries spiritual values into every aspect of personal and social life. They thus foretell the Truth that is their only hope, and bring their claims into disrepute.

Our choice is between the hydrogen bomb and a new way of life (which is just skill), between the materialist principle of getting, and the spiritual principle of finding life by giving it. As always the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand, but to enter it we need the knowledge of Truth, also understanding and love, all of which come by revelation.

We must, therefore, combat the view that power will come through strength, through success fear all round and challenge the enemy to reply in kind. It also attempts its power to adopt a Christian attitude towards the latter, which inevitably has the opposite effect from that intended.

As between States, fear tends to run to power on both sides. It induces fear on each's enemy, and new efforts to increase power. Hence the vicious spiral of power, which attracts on nerves and tempers with incalculable results.

There is thus a limit to the amount of power which any nation should wield, especially as during a crisis power tends to reside in few hands. No nation and no person is big enough or good enough to decide the fate of many nations, let alone half the world.

In this age of perpetual political stress, the danger of war arising from human limitations is greater than is generally realized. The human brain is incapable of rational functioning in a situation where a decision involves the fate of a continent and even a hemisphere, especially when similar action might be taken at any moment by an enemy who is likewise distraught and afraid lest he should not get in the first blow.

This further fact must also be borne in mind, that when the quality of life falls below a point that is psychologically ascertainable, it becomes a matter of indifference whether life and civilization continue or end. When life loses its power deeply quickly sweeps across the spiritual barrenness of a spent civilization. Then time has a stop.

Fear runs with the power of weapons, and when the power reaches that of the H-Bomb, the whole world will be at the mercy of FEAR in the day of crisis.

## NOTES

## Missing Aspect of the Five-Year Plan

Shri B. K. Bose, writing on "The Harjan Aspect in Planning" in the April-June 4, 1954, notes that "it is in the Scheme of things that more attention is being paid to the Harjan factor in the Second Five Year Plan" That is to say, it must not be allowed to be a mere economist's or a statesman's plan but should touch our national life at its very base, which is the village life. Otherwise we might be misled to believe with Prof. Mahalanobis where he says that prohibition is impossible, minimum wages duty must be extracted from drug and drink; salt and such other essential goods should also be taxed, even by amending the Constitution, if necessary, etc. etc. Now it is obvious that these are opinions which are born of the idea that the F. Y. Plan is an economic matter mainly, if not exclusively. The new Plan must be moved from this lurking danger. Shri B. K. Bose in his above article points the danger in the following terms:

Although there is much to be said in the line of the of our rural and rural life which shows that in economic conditions or otherwise it is necessary if we want to get things done in the right way that we should not try to bypass these difficulties by an abundant use of money or by the exercise of authority from the top but try to solve the real problems which happened to be at the human level itself. (Quoted in the book) The idea can hardly be overdone that the present generation of Indians we live in the grips and a new generation must take being when childhood days have been left to pass. Bihar Valley Project. National Highways and Pradesh Industries. Changes can be brought about by authority but the seeds in the concentration of power and eventually to centralisation. Changes can also be brought about in a different way, through a decentralisation and encouragement of initiative and activity at the base. That does seem to be the way of democracy. Gandhiji's theory of decentralisation was not merely for application in relation to the production and distribution of goods which was needed, but its extension into the decentralisation of authority. And it is an economic plan towards ethical corresponding decentralisation of power. If people at the base are not spiritually conscious, who will it matter even if the standard of life is raised high? For it is not by level alone that man lives, this being as much true in the political sphere as it is concerned to be true in the spiritual sphere of man's life.

B. K.

## Gujarati Examinations for Non-Gujarathi

In response to a demand from non-Gujarathi residing in Gujarat for holding examination for the study of Gujarati language, the Gujarat Vidyapeeth has decided to hold two graded examinations in Gujarati language for non-Gujarathi. viz. Prathamik, Sabodh, Prastobh and Vidyapeeth in the first instance, it is proposed that the examinations to start with be held in four centres Bombay, Surat, Ahmedabad and Baroda. The opening of more centres, if required, will be considered later on.

A prospectus setting forth syllabus, rules and regulations etc. for the Gujarati examina-

tions can be had from the undersigned Office. A. 51. Further correspondence in the matter should be addressed to Pariksha Mastrai, Vidyapeeth, Gujarat Vidyapeeth, Ahmedabad-14.

Gujarat Vidyapeeth,

Majapada: Desai

Ahmedabad-14

Registrar

5-7-55

(From Gujarat)

## Gandhiji on Religion\*

God and therefore religion are fundamental necessities for normal healthy life—to the individual as well as to nations. Here in this book the reader will find Gandhiji speaking from his heart on various occasions in the course of thirty years of the matured period of his life. What a modern man who did very great things thought on the subject of God and religion cannot fail to be instructive to educated men and women in these difficult days.

"We the human family are not all polytheists. Somewhere or other we want something which we can touch, something which we can see something before which we can kneel down. It does not matter whether it is a book or an empty stone-building or a stone-building inhabited by numerous figures," so wrote Gandhiji, defending temple-worship in the background of other prevailing religions. "Hindu Dharma is like a boundless ocean teeming with priceless gems. The deeper you dive, the more treasures you find," said Gandhiji.

Any one who desires to understand what sort of a man the Father of the Nation was, must read this book. One may not want to learn anything about religion that is not in our Shastras or in other religious books. That there is a feast of the mind of a great man we love and to whom the nation is grateful. It has a value over and above a book of religious instruction.

Madras, 17-4-55

C. RAMASWALACHARI

\*From the foreword to the book Truth is God; compiled by B. K. Prasad from the writings of Mahatma Gandhi bearing on God, Deities, and the Godly Way. Ind. Narayana, Ahmedabad 14. Price Rs. 1-0-0 postage etc. Rs. 1-1

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## BHOODAN — THE MOVEMENT OF COMPASSION — I

(By C. Ranganathan)

After Rajaji pointed out the 100 Bhavadaya Institutes of Tamil Nadu on June 4, in Tirunelveli. The following is from the summary of his speech in Tamil on the first day. His concluding remarks in the second day will be given in the next issue. The summary is copied from the report of the Bhavadaya of July 1955.

We have achieved freedom. We have now to build up our strength. For 150 years we lived as slaves under British rule and for about 1000 years we enjoyed no freedom. Today we are a free land liberated from its cage. It will take long before we could establish ourselves.

### Bhavadaya — Happiness for All

The next step is to strive for our prosperity and happiness. Bhavadaya is the way. Bhavadaya is not a Fattal Dharma (one by competition and conflict). It is the means through which all can become happy. Purify of mind and heart is the fundamental basis of Bhavadaya. It is the absolute rule. Every one and all should try and become pure at heart. No Government can achieve this by its law and regulations.

### Bhavadaya — Not an Institution

We should always bear in mind that Bhavadaya is not an institution of organisation. There can be no president or secretary or a committee for it. It is not a Trust or a Club. Is there any institution for the development of such rules of conduct as the mutual affection between father and children, love between the master and servant, to offer food for the hungry who comes to your door, not to offer falsehood etc. etc. etc. Similarly there can be no organisation for Bhavadaya.

### Bhavadaya is a Way of Life

Bhavadaya is a way of life. Welcome addresses, reading of messages, loud-speakers etc. which I see before me now in this gathering, make me doubt whether Bhavadaya has become an institution. If it takes the form of an institution, with president, secretary etc., it means it becomes dead. For Huxley's sake don't make it an institution. Let it remain always a movement to guide the people to follow Dharma.

## Bhavadaya and Land Problem

Bhavadaya includes all that is good. Gandhiji was anxious to see that every one became good and for that he placed this ideal of Bhavadaya. Bhavadaya takes within itself all constructive activities. Any such activity, if left out or omitted by others, the Bhavadaya workers have to take up and fill.

Land problem is a tough one. Landowners will not easily agree to willingly surrender their rights for others. Hence Bhoodan work is not an easy task. People may easily part with cloth or money for the sake of others. But when it comes to the question of land, they will certainly hesitate.

## Bhoodan — Not a Struggle

Bhoodan movement is not a fight in the sense of a struggle. Sun and light are contradictions in terms. In this there is no place for force or violence which are in fight. This basic difference the workers should well grasp and remember. Such words of intimidation as "the Government will bring in land legislation which will certainly take away land from you, so you better leave it off now as donation to Bhoodan" amount to compulsion. The workers may well understand that such methods spoil the cause and will let the work.

## Land — The Basic Need of Life

Every one should have the basic needs of life. It is against Dharma that some should suffer and others may enjoy. Can it be ever imagined for any one to claim ownership over air and water and to demand money to part the same for others use? Like air and water, land also is a basic need for human existence. It is on land that food is grown. Any one keeping it as owner, excluding others and saying that he will part with it on payment of money value, is wrong. This wrong has crept in somewhere or other and the poor had to suffer so much. To undo this wrong is Bhoodan movement. The tiller must get the land, just like a

thirty men reserved water to drink. Land problem is not a new one. It is a very old one and requires a cautious approach for its solution.

### A Hard Case

Many, through righteous means and by their hard work and suffering, have acquired possession of property. Many are now in possession of the more through their predecessors who earned them through similar means. Imagine the case of the wife and children of an elementary school teacher in possession of an acre or two of land. The teacher who worked for 35 years, saved a thousand rupees—one or two rupees every month—and bought this land with the hope of maintaining the family in his old age, and he died leaving the same to the family. Suppose a Bhodan worker goes to them and says, "To keep land with you as which you do not till, is exploitation. Don't lead a life of exploitation." They will certainly retort by saying, "I am very devoted to give up the property which is earned by our hard suffering throughout our life is itself exploitation. Now you are the real exploiter." Hence the problem is a long standing complicated one. On the Government and others also are bestowing their attention. Some want legislation. Others advise nationalisation first. "The landlords won't give up possession of their own would. So take it from them by force by creating conflicts," so say yet others.

### Bhodan — A Marxist Approach

Our country has an ancient culture and tradition. We have got our own ways to solve our problems. The harvardya method is that way. A man who sees others suffering, feeds the poor. He feels compassion. It is our ancient Dharma that makes us feel it is our duty to help one suffering and feed the hungry. Bhodan movement is that same Dharma approach to solve the land problem.

Kamandam was abolished through legislation and the Kamandars are angry against the Government. The Raps voluntarily relinquished their States. So the Government is sympathetic towards them. Gift is a free and voluntary act. The socialists are for land legislation. And the communists demand not only legislation but more than that and say that in case it is not done, they will use force. The ends for both are the same but Barodhya Gaurav to reach it through the means of des. (gift). This is what is known as Bhodan movement. It requires compassion in the hearts of people. The feeling

of compassion for each other is personified in Bhodan.

Don't be in a hurry to get things done. Government can hurry up things. At certain times they may happen all of a sudden. For instance, if in a village a certain person freely and voluntarily gives land, that act may immediately influence others to come forward and offer lands. Bhodan is a movement of the world.

### Land Owners Irresponsible Owners

There are many poor peasants in our villages with good experience in agriculture, who really desire to engage themselves in it. If they are given lands, production will increase. It is reported that in the North in some places whole villages were being offered for Bhodan. In some places such things may not happen. Conditions vary from place to place. Hence it becomes our duty to act according to the particular conditions of each place and also in a way which will make the people happier. Able young men inspired with the feelings of compassion and love should come forward to join the work and persuade the landlords to give away the extra lands with them. They who possess lands know the difficulty to maintain them. They who have more than what they need find it still more difficult to manage. It is said in Tirukkural that land, if not properly cared for and maintained well, will repel its lord as the neglected wife behaves to her husband who proves irresponsible.

### Caution and Care Needed

With caution and care the movement has to be carried on. There is the danger of violence creeping in if quick and easy results are expected. Enlightened good men with bhakti in their hearts should come forward and do the work.

### Land Distribution

Distribution is indeed a difficult job. I would suggest that it may be done at the place as and when the gifts are received. Care must be taken that the new owners do not develop in them also the same kind of attachment that is found among the present landowners. Government's help may also become necessary for distribution work. Land should be distributed among the deserving, experienced and enthusiastic persons. It should also be given to those who have already built etc. with them for agricultural work.

(To be continued)

## NON-VIOLENCE THE ONLY TRUE STRENGTH

(By Pracha)

(Given the speech delivered before workers at Raj-nandhala on 28-1-67)

Shrikanth Tanna, village industries and basic education, the Union Minister gave us a complete plan of work. But if the latter two do not have their foundation in the solid base of land reform and village industries, neither these sectors nor will the Tanna progress. Landless people for good living have to establish village industries and even over the present two years to give attention to them. Till the present limiting the breaking-up of village industries which has created centuries the same way this establishment is still being hampered and the traditional industries are breaking up.

I have recently received a certificate from Rajasthan in the effect that a terrible cold has been set up there which again creates famine. This has led to the breaking of the indigenous cloth which used to produce the same means of yarn. I believe Government should look into this matter and afford protection to village industries. These village industries were started so we could not have to remove unemployment, Government, too, is devoting its attention to them with that purpose in view. Its government wishes unemployment to be a permanent feature of the nation's economy (Dr. Bhabha). If unemployment is not removed not only does government itself break but the strength of the nation in the support Government therefore will give to itself in this problem of course.

But all these traditional village industries could not be and to work upon till an uniform distribution of land could come. Union Minister was reestablished village industries could not take root in the life of the people. Landlessness will have to be reestablished. And along with it traditional industries will have to be reestablished. The people in the villages should stand up and declare that they will manufacture the goods and articles they need in the villages themselves and will not buy goods and articles, though cheaper, from outside.

We seek to establish Swarajya (in an spiritual and moral sense). To that end land will have to be redistributed, discrimination between one class of laborers and another will have to be given up, equal value will have to be assigned to mental and physical labor and the notion of having grades in services on the basis of supposed responsibility will have to be given the go-by. This notion should not confidence and courage to bring about all these things of our progression in actual practice in our national life even if the whole world was against your doing so. There is no idea based on force and we will give no force for its fulfillment. Even if the whole world was against our villages can escape the doom by putting this idea in actual practice. Not violence but the capacity to set up a single individual on his feet and to save him from the surrounding danger. Our Puranas tell us the story of the Sage Narayana who was able to enter through and save himself when the whole earth was submerged under the danger. This wisdom has the strength to save a man from destruction who in his heart can save the world also.

All of you have therefore to realize that you have found a new mission in the world. You will therefore not be inspired by a new religious fervor. We have to carry on our mission with this psychological attitude in the background. There is not merely an discipline, a few acres of land, taking the pain to give them some relief. From what we will do, the good will not only get relief but they will strengthen also. The Narayana in the Dashavatara was the

strongest and the darkest in the series of his incarnations. He was inspiring the warriors in the Mahabharata. It is inspiring that even now earth is full of darkness. It is we who go along with our work instead of working for the sake of the man of knowledge. He darkness can last for a moment before his light. Are we not standing about among the people like darkness along with the lighting that is in us who are continuously going on who through thought either takes place than more might be eventually getting strength for the time being? We do not care and are not discouraged just if we received only a few acres of land in Rajasthan. We understood that the content of land have not yet been able to see the truth. And we are sure that they will give land when they see it. But remain it is that they will not regenerate themselves till they accept the truth of the Hindu idea.

The struggle of indivisible land in India is small as compared to the vast population. Before or yesterday too, has not sufficiently progressed here. Therefore let us take up the task we have and set our villages on their feet. We can surely absorb the old lands when the new ones will be available.

Looking at the history and condition of India one feels that we can never build her through an outside aid unless such assistance was strictly restricted. Even even India's history or tradition will not be able to make her stand. Billions of rupees will have to be spent for building the strength of villages in India. This can never afford the expenditure. And suppose India was able to do so the expenditure would be a great danger for the world. If nations like India and China wanted America to build up their strength of movements the world will be facing a danger much greater than it faces from Russia and America today. But in the process of that it will not be.

Therefore India either has to build up her own strength or choose to go back to slavery. But the people of India show evidence of a faith in something which they do not have to violate. The people of India are weak in their physique. Their bodies are weakened. We cannot hope to make them strong in the physical strength of the flesh. But they surely can develop the strength of the spirit. And that they will be as strong as any European physically weak and weakened they may appear, so power on earth will be able to match their strength of the spirit. I do of course believe that our physique should be better. It must be improved, our people should have proper nourishment and food and to that end we should increase our agricultural and other other produce. Our bodies should be truly healthy, beautiful and strong. But with all this it would be impossible for a nation like India to be the leader of the nation only on the strength of the physical power of her people. But it can certainly expect to lead on the strength of the spirit. All of you, workers, strongly therefore realize that the strength of India will be her non-violence. The keep this tenet of our position in mind when you plan your work and carry on your movement.

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# HARIJAN

July 28

1935

## WHY BHOODAN

(By Maganlal P. Desai)

Papers report Dr Mahatma Governor of Bombay having come out with a view that the Bhoodan movement of Shri Vinoba was merely 'distribution of poverty' in India. One does not know what made a Governor of a State speak so about a movement which is commonly recognised as good and beneficial on all hands except the Communists. Shri Mahatma says that the biggest and most acute problem facing India today is not land but poverty. To put a concrete thing like land alongside the abstract condition like poverty does not help clarity of thought. What Shri Mahatma wishes to convey seems to be that "the legal possession of land by a few was of little consequence so long as the actual cultivator got a fair deal and a fair share of the fruit of his labour." Therefore he holds that "the basic land problem would be solved if the right of the tiller were safeguarded and guaranteed," as far as nature, by Bombay Assembly laws.

Hence, he argues "As soon as the cultivator got his fair share of the fruits of his toil he did not care who owned the land," and observes that "for this reason, Bhoodan movement could make headway only where there was no tenancy legislation."

Therefore he would not mind landowners continuing ownership of their lands, provided they were fair to their tenants both in the matter of rent and occupancy rights, i.e. there should be no unjust or illegitimate exaction or semi-exaction.

We know how Gandhi argued with the Sravasthas in regard to the Priority order which, the latter held, should be abolished. He said that he rather wished to avoid their services, if the Priests became trustees of their people and lived and worked to serve them. Shri Mahatma appears to take a similar position regarding the landowners. "Comparing the methods and views of Mahatma Gandhi and Acharya Vinoba Bhave in the matter of solving the economic problem of poverty," Dr Mahatma says "Rajawade shows for removal of poverty while Vinoba is distributing it. Rajawade advocated the theory of trusteeship of the rich and wanted the rich to feel that they were holding their wealth as trustees for the common good. Vinoba, on the other hand, is asking even the comparatively poor people to part with their land for what he thinks is the common good."

Dr Mahatma is also critical of increased food production which, he feels, will result from Bhoodan. He also feels that the landlords may not be as intelligent and capable as the land-owning class, thus causing delay in agriculture. "Land should therefore be possessed by those who in addition to knowledge of tillage, had 'the power of organisation and development to get the best results economically out of land'." It follows that land should be possessed in economic units. The basic land problem would be solved if the rights of the tiller were safeguarded and guaranteed."

The line distinction drawn by Shri Mahatma in the approach of Gandhi and Vinoba is I think, academically true. The emphasis by Vinoba on the right of ownership and its dissemination is based on his belief that like air, water etc. land also belongs to all and therefore there should be no property right in it. The proposition is not as good logic as rhetoric. For all practical purposes we know, land is to belong to A, B or C. The only consideration should be that the possession must be just and economically the most productive and conductor of maximum social good. It is therefore any day a healthy rule of land economy that the tiller must be an undisputed possessor for use of the land he tills. It is a good thing if he legally owns it. It would not do to say against it that he is less capable or intelligent than the absentee landlord. The condition, if true, may very well be the result of lack of opportunities denied to him till now.

The charge of fostering fragmentation on the part of Bhoodan is also not tenable, for it is not a part of its programme to have fragmentation. As Vinoba put it at one time, the greater evil in India today is the fragmentation of the heart which he is out to remove. This is done by the heavy method of hers of whatever we may have to those who do not have anything. If we have poverty as abundance as our wealth, let us share that as it is my duty noble and life-giving to do so. It would be a wholly wrong thing to describe it as 'distributing poverty'. Bhoodan accepts that there must be a unit of five acres for every individual tiller. This is to be strengthened and reinforced by village industries, cattle-breeding etc. to make it a tolerable economic proposition.

It is any day good that we have as many village home- and hand- industries as we can require to our neglected village economy. Dr Mahatma agrees this. Let us not forget that the one largest and the most important industry in our country is agriculture, allied with Coopers and small-scale industries. They are our composite whole. To strengthen and rehabilitate it is the most urgent and immediate thing to do. It is in the most poor and neglected condition. There should be a direct attempt on our part to rehabilitate it. That will have solved more than half of our heavy task in the economic and social field.

\* In this article, I am quoting from the report in The Tribune of July 11, 1935.





plan is envisaged by the idea of Basic Education will be unworkable waste. It will be self-defeating in that way would require, as with the dead weight of obsolete of necessary finance apart from other considerations of its unavailability and such other deservings, well known to all by now. Our educational structures will be well advised to consider this aspect of the question when framing their plans for the next five years.

19-7-52

### GANDHIAN CONCEPT OF DECENTRALIZATION (By M. Prasad)

Gandhi's greatest contribution to the social thought of this century is perhaps his insistence on decentralization of the means of production (i.e. say economic power). There are many who are ready to give thoughtful consideration to his theory because it is the only way out of the problem of unemployment in this country. They argue that it is desirable to go in for decentralization because huge capital accumulation is needed to industrialize the country through large-scale industries. They also contend that because large-scale industrialization preposterous the existence of foreign markets which this country cannot have, decentralization is the only channelable goal. In other words large-scale industrialization will be preferable in case the problem of capital formation and foreign markets are solved.

Now that line of reasoning constitutes a danger to the whole theory of decentralization as put forward by Gandhi. It would be wrong to presume that Gandhi's propounded his theory only to suit Indian conditions. On the other hand Gandhi's theory of decentralization was the result of his keen and almost prophetic insight into the numerous political, social and cultural ills which the age of large-scale industrialization has brought in its wake.

Thus is what Bertrand Russell has to say in regard to Gandhi's concept of decentralization. "In those parts of the world in which industrialism is still young, the possibility of avoiding the horrors we have experienced still exists. India, for example is traditionally a land of village communities. It would be a tragedy if this traditional way of life with all its evils were to be suddenly and violently exchanged for the greater evils of industrialism and they would apply to people whose standard of living is already pitifully low."

Therefore one has only to understand the magnitude of these 'horrors,' of which Russell speaks, before one can truly appreciate Gandhi's idea of decentralization.

Large-scale industrialism is at the base of the centralization of political power in few hands. It is in the very nature of large-scale industries to concentrate economic power in the hands of a few individuals. Under capitalism, this power comes to be concentrated in the hands of industrial capitalists and under socialism it is

appropriated by managers, technocrats and bureaucrats.

Thus the centralisation of power in the State negates the very conception of democracy. This is why Gandhi did not favour the so-called democracy in the West. In his view, Western democracy was only formal. In reality it was totalitarian in so far as only a few could enjoy the political power in this system.

Apart from the political consequences, there are the evil effects of industrialism on the personality of man. Industrialism starts by stripping the moral chord of man which binds him with soil and nature. He finds himself lost in the corrosive and all-enveloping shadow of giant machinery. As a result he is reduced to a mere cog in the wheel.

Since industrialization is based on the division of labour, it limits man's self-expression. The famous illustration of Adam Smith that a pin has to pass through seventy hands before it is completely manufactured only reaffirms the above charge. Hence the work loses its variety, initiative and 'colour'. He finds such a division undermines the productivity. But it abstracts the full nature of man's natural skill.

Not only this industrialization does not cater to the biological needs of man. Man as a biological being requires 'a specific temperature, a specific quality of climate, air, light, humidity and food'. It is by working in such conditions that man maintains his 'bodily equilibrium'. Industrialization sweeps these 'organic needs' of man.

Moreover industrialization tends to gather man in the collective. This inevitably hampers the growth of individual impulse in man. Man becomes oblivious of his own sovereignty. He merges his personality in the collective with the result that ultimately he is accustomed to tolerate every form of tyranny and cruelty in the name of the collective wellbeing of the society.

There are some of the most eloquent ill which result from an unchecked pursuit of industrialism. As a matter of fact, many thinkers and social reformers, like, Henry Fourier and especially Marx tried to go into the causes of these ills. According to them, therefore, the root of the malady lay in the system of ownership; all social, political and cultural ills were due to private ownership of the means of production. Once this private system of ownership was removed and instruments of production nationalised, they thought, the malady would disappear, rather 'melt' as if 'into thin air'.

But experience gave a lie to the very picture which these reformers and especially Marx had painted. Even after nationalisation the ills needed to appear in diverse other forms. Liberty disappeared. And the mad pursuit after power tended to reduce man to the lowest denominator of best living, as George Orwell would like to call, on 'Animal Farm'.

Which, he says, "is the root of the disease, the failure in the whole approach." Undoubtedly many of the criticisms stem from the system of ownership Gandhi adopted. Marx, in this respect, has to wait a step further and deliver a deeper. Arrived at, from both the system of ownership<sup>1</sup> and the technique of production were the old roots of the malady. Marx attacked the system of ownership in his humanitarian and but in 1848 the technique of production altogether remained Gandhi focused his attention on the technique also. He suggested a large-scale technique should give way to small-scale techniques. This therefore forms the core of his decentralisation theory.

Does this mean that Gandhi was against the application of science to the instruments of production, the machinery? To this he replied, "What I object to is the craze for machinery, not machinery as such." (Young India, 1929). Indeed he favoured the application of science too while developing the small-scale technique. "I would welcome every improvement in the cottage machine," he wrote in Young India. Replying to a suggestion whether he was against all machinery he said, "My answer is emphatically No. But I am against its millionfold multiplication. I refuse to be dazzled by the seeming triumph of machinery. But simple tools and implements and such machinery as gives individual labour and lightens the burden of toilless of cottages, I should welcome." (Young India, 1930).

We see, therefore, that Gandhi was not against machinery as such. His whole approach to machinery and the use of science was radically different, deeply revolutionary and humanly conscious. A technique which tends to make man a robot, rob him of his personal life to freedom and make an all-out invasion on his political, economic and social liberties is not acceptable to Gandhi.

"Science is as far as it consists of knowledge, must be regarded as having value, but in so far as it consists of technique, the question whether it is to be praised or blamed depends

upon the use that is made of the technique. In itself it is neutral neither good nor bad and any ultimate value that we may have about what gives value to this or that must come from some other source than science." This is what Bertrand Russell has to say about the use of scientific technique.

According to Gandhi, the scientific technique, therefore, must be informed by a deep awareness of values which it is set to create. In other words, the advancement of technique and perfection must accord with the general sense. Large-scale technique strikes at the very root of the general sense. Gandhi, therefore, does not show any quarter to it.

## GOD IS THE MASTER

(By Firoz)

(From the prayer speech delivered on 26-4-35 at Jangpur Kumbh Camp in Orissa)

Just as because, air, water and the light of the sun have been created by God, all have an equal right to them, so as land also is His creation it is meant for all. Land is needed by everybody. We obtain our food from it. The grass on which our cows feed themselves comes from it. Our houses are also built on it. Thus, everything depends on land. So, everyone should have a right to it.

But the British who came here in 1600 made a law regarding land so that while had more of it than they needed and some others none. People then began buying and selling land. Now, do we sell water and air? Just as air and water are not things to be bought and sold, so too land is not something to be bought and sold. Land is our mother. The idea of determining her value in money is entirely wrong. But during the British regime such a shabby law was imposed on us that buying and selling of land started all over again. The law is still in existence. But we intend to remove that law. We are persuading the people from villages to village and if they are persuaded to see the truth law will be no more.

No one can be owner of land. Land is, as I said, our mother. Even as all children go to their mother to ask for something to eat, so too everyone will approach the soil to serve her and get his food. When the peasants need cash they go to the money-lender and mortgage their land to him and borrow money on it. Then interest on the loan goes on mounting so that in the end the land passes into the hands of the money-lender. But it is against religion to set a price on land in this manner. Land belongs to the whole village. The people of the village will together work on land and so will have their food in satisfaction. If there was more land in our village than we needed and the neighbouring one had less of it, people belonging to the latter can come to ours and live here with pleasure. Our hearts are open

<sup>1</sup> While agreeing with Marx on this point, Gandhi went further and said that what is necessary is that land goes to really trustworthy, and who own the means of production themselves and is entitled to do so, on condition that he holds himself in trust for society, for supplying them to their very best and put them to the largest extent use for the good of all. In other words, as soon as possible, land is given and sold, by such trusteeship on the part of the so-called owner. Therefore Gandhi emphasised more on every citizen growing to be an owner of land on his land ownership of personal means of production. The ownership of means must be just and the means of production be equitably distributed. The best way to do so was to use the old organic decentralised industrial and agricultural economy of a people living in village communities which will have decentralisation—direct control and better relationships.

to all and our best also is open to all. Labourers can labour on it and have his food.

Just as no one can be owner of land as we also wish to bring about conditions in which no one can own for himself factories and such other means of production. But we want to begin with land. If you, friends, set about your work firmly, we will build up strength and power enough to transfer the ownership of these factories to society.

The position about factories and mills today is that some therein are workers and others masters. But we want both to be masters and both to be workers. If someone has more of brains he will work more with his brains and if some one has a strong body he will work more with it. But both will be masters. Ultimately you cannot have two masters. You can have but one. So that will mean that the whole of society, that is, God will be the Master, and all of us will be workers and servants. God alone is the Master and whatever comes to us from Him, we will distribute equally among ourselves and work for the good of society. This is why in every meeting I repeat the words that land, the air, water and the light of the sun is a gift from God and so is for all. This means, friends is *The Ramanama*.

(From *Ward*)

## NOTES

### Condemn

The Town of Bombay carries a news-item that a meeting that has been started under the auspices of the Bombay University, the uniqueness of which lies in the fact that no other Indian University has been able to think of it till now. Its purpose is to give more knowledge of the life and habits in Western countries to students who intend to proceed to them for studies. Professors, government officials and others who have a good knowledge of how to use the knife and the fork how to intake liquid food without making noise which is so disagreeable in civilised ears, where to live in England, how to meet together, how to behave when dining on and such other various vital matters, will train the young hopefuls in them. The foreign legations in the city will help in the training.

This is not bad so far as it goes. A student who intends to go to a Western country would find it easy if he were to do so armed with the previous knowledge of such things. But the curious part of the business is something else. How did the wisdom of starting such a class strike the University now when the British have at long last wound up their regime from this country? Is it not really something very curious

that now under Bombay when Western new modes like a proper study and teaching of Hindi, organisation of labour camps, village service, teaching the students how to deal with their countrymen living in the villages etc. are waiting to be earnestly and seriously taken up, the importance of none of them strikes the University and a whole special class is catered to the petty needs of a mere insignificant handful who want to go to foreign countries? If anything it belittles what queer notions regarding the field of western educational institutions holds. It is true the city of Bombay has developed and thrived during the British regime, but the University seems to forget that the city is essentially Indian and mostly for the service of the people of India. The small western clergy dominates where the heart of the University administration is.

12-7-52

M. P.

(From *Gleanings*)

### Page and Goa

To

The Editor, *Manjree*

Sir

A correspondent says that he has written to the Pope to intervene on behalf of India in the dispute with Portugal about Goa.

But it is also said that the Pope cannot interfere in politics.

Surely, His Holiness can tell the Government of Portugal to act in this matter in the light of moral and ethical teaching of Christianity, which is common to all religions and which requires all men to abjure pride and greed of money and be upright, righteous, truthful, humble, honest and just in their daily dealings with fellow-men in common life, in business, in politics, in national and international affairs for peace, prosperity and happiness of all nations of the world.

If the Portuguese Government would act according to this noble moral teaching, it would give Goa to India, as an act of religious honesty and justice. "Religion is morality in practice."

54, Wadhwani Road  
Colaba, Bombay-6

Yours faithfully,  
Suresh D. Meheri

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# HARIJAN

(PUBLISHED BY MANDELA GANDHI)  
Editor, BHAGWANT P. BHAI



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TWO ANNAS

## SHODHAN — THE MOVEMENT OF COMPASSION — II

(By G. Kanyasulkashin)

(Continued from the last issue and being further  
continuing speech on the 2nd day of the Third Hari  
Jansamiti Conference.)

This Conference is held for the Sarvodaya movement, which includes the various constructive work programmes inspired and initiated by Gandhiji. Kshatriya workers and Harijan workers have joined on their programmes. In all these group meetings the main theme of discussion was Shodhan and here the constructive workers could spend up on progress.

### Shodhan and Other Activities

One feels a sort of monotony in any service that he is engaged in after some time and hence desires to join another. But one should concentrate all his attention on the one work he has taken on hand whatever it be. He should always have that one and half objective alone before him. He must focus all his attention on it. He should not allow his attention to be distracted from it whatever be the things that are happening around him in the world.

Gandhiji was insisting on this concentration and all constructive work was done in that way. He was telling Harijan workers not to court improvement. It does not appear quite proper if these workers leave these great activities and join Shodhan.

It is good to aspire to do good things. Shodhan is an important programme. It is true that workers desire to join it, because it is a Shodhan movement which will save the world. But such programmes of work which a great leader like Gandhiji thought so necessary for the good of the nation, should not be given up because they have become old. Even though old, these programmes have not lost their importance.

### Khadi and Harijan Movement

The objectives of Khadi work and Harijan movement have not been yet achieved. These movements will die if they are not efficiently carried out on right lines. It is impossible to start some any activity that is ruined. Therefore such kinds of constructive work as are accepted as important by the people should not be given up.

Such of the workers who are not needed to the particular work, so also the extra hands, can leave and join another. But persons who have worked true and hard and proved absolutely indispensable for the successful working of a movement should not leave it.

When a worker leaves one service, he should consider well why he should leave it and then only decide. He should examine within himself whether it is decent or hurry that prompts him to do so. If he feels that by his leaving it, that work in which he is already working, will not suffer in any way, then he can leave it. But those who function as pillars in big movements should not leave them with fear and hesitation. I place this suggestion before you. You may consider well and decide for yourselves.

In Shodhan movement it is not the number of workers that counts, it is the character and quality that is important. Not because too many people come to persuade, the landowners give. And the landowners in our country are able and clever. They are influenced also. Only those who have strong influence and good character can prevail upon them to voluntarily part with land. An ordinary Shodhi worker, because he has left that work to join that work, can hardly persuade one to give land.

Untouchability movement has now got the force of law behind it. We have to continue the work to convert the minds of the people and it will help the Government. The desire to get things done with speed and hurry will create situations which may require the help of the police. The police way is not the workers' way. They should approach the people and try to convert their minds by slow degrees.

### The Two Influences

Influences are of two types. One is that which the words of good men command and the other is the power of the people in protest. Good and well-balanced bricks are essentially needed to construct a good and strong house. In the same way non-violence is absolutely necessary for the success of this Shodhan movement. On deep analysis I find that the objective of this Shodhan movement is the revival of the sense of Dharma.

in men, which they have now forgotten. An individual can possess property, but he should hold it as a trustee for the benefit of the people. Gandhiji wanted this form of trusteeship.

### The Real Objective

It will be violence to distribute property through legislation. Those who have received land today will certainly produce more in the coming years. Increased production will make all people happy. The objective of Gandhiji is to achieve through non-violent means the rights for the poor, experienced agriculturist to cultivate and produce.

### Unity Consciousness in Villagers

Those who do agricultural work must get lands. This movement will succeed by field if all the people in the village are made to feel that they are all one. The major effort of the workers should be to achieve this unity consciousness in the villagers. Going round the villages with loud-speakers to give and broadcasting high slogans will not help things much. The elders should be asked to help to create the desired atmosphere. They should be slowly persuaded to donate lands moved by compassion and love. The whole world is watching the movement. The question is not merely receiving land from one and distributing it to others. The objective is the creation of the real world transformation in the people which will make such to do for Dharma. If her land problem is solved through love, India will show as a guide to the whole world.

(Continued from Sarvagata, July 1955)

## PIGMA'S PROGRESS DAY BY DAY—III

(By Devadatta Bhattacha)

Surrounded on all the sides by the green hills, even in the hot days of May, and presenting attractive and charming sight, the Pigma is marching ahead day in and day out, collecting land and whole villages in Gaudin.

### Hearty Welcome Everywhere

At several places on the way to Sunda Dharma, he was awarded a very hearty welcome by the Kumbha, the Advaita in this area. Their language is different from that of the Barua, another tribe amongst the Advaita. They welcomed Vashag with the usual slogans but had their mark of originality also. They played music on flutes about two and a half feet long. The sweet tunes of the melodious Danga flutes filled the atmosphere and also attracted the attention of Vashag.

On reaching Sunda Dharma, we were informed of the sufferings the people had there undergone during the famine four years ago. The village was then on the point of extinction. Almost a dozen did breathe their last. It must be said to the credit of the compassionate workers

that timely help was provided and the tragedy was averted.

### Spirit of Fraternity

The villagers who were addicted to wine and freely consumed beef have since been successfully persuaded to abandon these evils. They have accepted a new mode of life which is simple and unadorned. Instead of their bad habits of food and drink, however, their association was never a risk even to the lady workers who worked amongst them. They lived in their modest huts free from all fear and in the most healthy way. The villagers built for them a tidy shade in which we, the polytechnic, have camped. Vashag was much impressed by the way these Advaita had lived in the famine. He witnessed the spirit of fraternity in the atmosphere.

In his prayer meeting that evening Vashag expressed his deep sympathy for all the agencies of life they had undergone during the famine and congratulated them for the way in which they collectively faced the tragedy and got it over also successfully. He then said to them, "It is not in your interests that you give that government of Gaudin because the famine has already taught you what common group life can achieve."

### Gaudin — Its Fivefold Advantages

Vashag then explained in detail the fivefold advantages of Gaudin, viz., the economic, the cultural, the moral and the spiritual. Continuing he said, "If the people are properly educated regarding the advantages of Gaudin I have not the slightest doubt that there will be no village left in India that will not surrender its entire land to Gaudin."

### Resource Revolution

"The first advantage of liquidating ownership over land and converting the total land into one unit is that it will help to increase the village wealth. Crops will be properly planned by the villagers themselves who will also decide about the quantity of the produce to be deposited or otherwise loaned deliberately in the duration of agricultural improvements will be possible. Government assistance or any other external help, if and when necessary, will be easily procurable. Individuals will not be required to wear any debt. This is all a subject matter for an independent volume. In short, Gaudin will definite village planning and will help to make life contented and happy. To use the modern phrase, it will achieve economic revolution."

### The Cultural Aspect

"Next, when the village becomes one family, mutual affection would be deepened and life would be full of them. By sharing suffering and happiness increases. The village as a whole will be transformed into heaven when people will participate in each others' joys and sorrows or gratifications and afflictions. Today it

is the family which is supposed to be the centre and source of happiness. But it is not without the co-operation of all that happiness is derived. When everyone forgets his individual identity, the joy that is then derived is indeed boundless. Do we not see what happens in the games and sports? They will never draw the pleasure which they do in a team, when they are asked to run at random alone for the sake of exercise. It is so in the case of folk dances also. Pleasure, relief and taste—all will be greatly enhanced when the village will be thus transformed into one family. That may be called the second and the ultimate aspect of Gramdan."

### Moral Uplift

"The third and a very great advantage of villagehood is the raising of the moral standard of the people and the elimination of their quarrels, thefts and violence. Do we steal in our own house? No. So it will be in the village when it is turned into one family. The standard of morality has gone very low today because the people have, due to their selfish individual interests, established their separate households and property."

### Salvation

"The last, but not the least, advantage which the world may or may not be able to appreciate today lies within the people of India especially in the villages will surely do is the spiritual one. When we speak in terms of "me" and "mine," "my" farm etc., then "my" and "mine" makes man a slave to attachment. But when man will free himself from this feeling of "me" and "mine" and will realize that all that exists is for the use of all and that there is nothing that belongs solely to this "me" particularly, he will soon have transportation. The mind of everyone today is so burdened because he is unable to get rid of this "me" and "mine" spirit or feeling. People do not get salvation nor even happiness except at the remedies suggested by the sages because of the same reason. It is often said that one can free himself of this "me" and "mine" only when he runs away deserting everything including his house. But such suggestions would not bring him salvation. Let us refuse to think in terms of the conventional petty house as our real house. That was the key to salvation.

"It should be our conviction that the whole village is our house and the house which we dwell in and consider to be for our use only is also for all. Man cannot get realisation through the wrong notions of "I for none" and "None for me". Realisation comes through the feeling of "I belong to all" and "All belong to me".

"Most efforts in the past in the direction of redemption were based on the idea of "nothing mine" and losing the tendency to cherish everything and refuse to surrender. They thought

that was the short cut to salvation. But there is no short cut to salvation. Man abandons everything but he is attached to the small piece of cloth (Langoti) he wears round his waist. That is all he wants. Let us, therefore, realize that all that we have or possess, including our own self, belongs to the whole village, and the village belongs to us. It is through this faith that salvation comes readily. This indeed was a great boon," he concluded.

### Shedule Figures

Area	(Up to June 1954)	
	Collected land (acres)	Disfranchised land (acres)
Bihar	23,06,208	25,250
Bengal	10,556	1,281
Punjab & Pepsu	12,583	782
Hyderabad	1,87,228	23,468
Madras	6,680	—
Madhya Pradesh	6,680	775
Uttar Pradesh	5,47,483	26,378
Rajasthan	2,45,073	16,428
Gujarat	1,85,718	2,258
Madhya Pradesh	59,237	24,183
Madhya Bharat	51,587	311
Saurashtra	41,080	1,562
Gujarat	37,378	2,225
Tamilnad	37,382	380
Andhra	31,246	43
Kerala	25,113	315
Maharashtra	23,649	1,975
Delhi	2,245	90
Karnatak	2,500	—
Uttaranchal Pradesh	2,025	—
Assam	1,950	—
Bombay	153	—
Total	35,08,424	2,12,721

Orissa: Sarnamandan villages 225

Koraput Dist. (Orissa) where Shri Vinobha is touring these days alone has donated 163 villages out of these 225.

SHRI VINOBHA BHAUTA

Office Secretary

AMBI Bharti Narve Gera Sangli

### Correction

In the article "Education for All"—Harijan, July 28, 1952 p. 212, we have quoted from a Bombay paper, the name of which is "The Economic Weekly" and not "The Economic Review" as I have wrongly said. I regret the mistake and hope the paper will excuse me this slip.

B. P.

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# HARIJAN

August 8

1955

## EDUCATION FOR A NEW ORDER

(By Mahatma P. Sen)

The *Amrit Bhar* Patrika, Calcutta, in its issue of July 1, 1955, discussing 'Education in Second Plan' says, "The authors of the plan seem to have a decided preference for Basic Education. But will Basic Education be extended in areas, rural or urban, which have experienced a definite liking for the literary type of education?"

And the paper adds further that "speaking at Ranchi recently Dr. Ambedkar has pleaded currently for the principle of co-existence in education. What measures had the Planning Commission to decide to the country that hereafter only Basic Education should exist in the country?" — Dr. Jha indignantly asked.

In Basic Education an antithesis of what is described as 'literary type of education.' "Surely Basic Education does not rule out nor exclude from its scope what is called literary education; rather its aim is to give it a better and sounder base. And more" it wishes to bring all our people to fundamental education which includes what is meant by literary education. The latter as I believe, the name of the system of education that came in vogue in our country during British rule. In its effects on our people, it has been antiracialist in having more than 80 per cent literates in our land to a reverse state wherein more than 80 per cent have been rendered illiterate. So truly speaking, is not the educational system we have got as a legacy of our former rulers described as literary education by those who still wear it, really an "illiteracy education." Therefore, it is not at all a question of two good and independent or separate things co-existing here, but is a question of reforming 'literary sort of education', — a system which is out of date now under Swamy. It has been a more than activity of only the few and has been a closed affair in the sense that its effects on our people it did not permeate among the masses. This must be changed as soon as possible, if we want to set up a truly democratic order in our country.

The A. B. P. in its article, makes another observation which is apt and noteworthy. It says:

"In their statement, identifying the concept of Basic Education, Lord Krishna Menon and Lord K. B. Rajagopalakrishnan 'Basic Education as conceived and explained by Mahatma Gandhi is essentially an education for life and what is more an education through life. It aims at creating a social order free from exploitation and violence'."

Having observed this way, the paper very pertinently asks as follows:

"But the point at issue is whether the social order which Basic Education aims at creating and the social order which the Second Five Year Plan, with its emphasis on heavy industry envisages are one and the same or are as poles apart?"

And it avers that,

"Basic Education has laid a social order which is non-existent in the country. It aimed by itself to create a new social order irrespective of the social and economic policies pursued by the Union and State Governments."

The remark of the A. B. P. only spotlights a defect of the B. T. plan-frame which is often noted in these columns. The new plan does put undue emphasis on heavy industries, but it cannot be said that it ignores small-scale industries. These also are now acknowledged as forming an integral part of the scheme of modernising the country that the plan envisages. And if we note that the heavy industries employ only a few and the small-scale ones are really the people's industries, we cannot ignore their place in our economy.

Again, it will not be right to say that these industries are as if non-existent or negligible though called 'small-scale' in economic. The truth is that while the large-scale industries contribute only 550 crores to the nation's annual income, agriculture and small-scale industries do 800 and 900 crores respectively. This alone the real order in India, if one can say so to a state of things which nature order neglect and ignorance is the latter order viz. of agriculture and village industries which are still the main industries of our country. Basic Education envisages this big truth of our existence and aims to restore it as a living influence on the life of the nation. This should be a two-pronged effort. On one side our economic policies should be to see that these village industries with which more than 70 per cent of our people live and work are put on a sound, technical and economic basis. On the other hand, education in India must reorient itself on this basic fact of our existence and work for rural India, which is real India. The little needs of urban areas can easily fit in with this larger aspect of the scheme. They, — which are only a part — cannot compare to themselves the care and importance of the whole. The tragedy in India is that we allow that mistake to continue. We should now remove it. The efforts to do it must begin through a broad-based policy of Bas Utkar co-ordinating itself with the demands of the new order of an economy which has begun to realise that agriculture and small-scale industries are its integral part.

Dr. P. S.

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## B.C.G. X-RATED

(By Sigism E. Prodel)

The question of B.C.G. had been a matter of controversy ever since its introduction and the medical authorities are still divided<sup>4</sup> on the usefulness of it. Mr Loin Masdel, Minister of Health and while addressing the 1st Commonwealth Health and Tuberculosis Conference said, "It is not yet felt that the time has come to make the vaccine available for general and indiscriminate use among the population at large. This view, although it may be thought unduly restrictive by some, is based on responsible expert judgement, and it is not due to limitations of supply of the vaccine or the financial economy."

There is no scientific basis for it and the medical experts are still trying to find this. Before pronouncing the final judgement, it is desirable for every man and woman to decide for himself or herself whether or not he or she desires to be vaccinated.

### What is B.C.G.?

B.C.G. contains living tubercle bacilli, though in weakened form. Each injection contains millions of these bacilli. Many different vaccines have been tried, both with dead and living bacteria and research is going on all the time. For some time vaccine was administered by mouth, but it is now injected. B.C.G. is claimed to be sufficiently virulent to increase the human subject's resistance to tuberculosis, but not virulent enough to cause an attack of the disease. Guinea-pigs are highly susceptible to the disease, and are therefore, extensively used in tuberculous research. In many experiments it was found that the vaccinated guinea pigs developed tuberculosis to varying degrees of severity. It seems there is always a possibility of B.C.G. going instead of preventing tuberculosis and might sometimes ferment tuberculosis.

Vaccination involves the introduction of millions of tubercle bacilli into the human body. This obviously involves interference with the order of nature and there is no knowing where the results will end. When injecting a healthy individual with anything, we are always playing an ace.

### Dogma or Science

In spite of severe medical differences and concrete facts against B.C.G., the medical broadcasters and writers of leading articles still keep repeating like parrots about the wonders of B.C.G. During student days doctors are taught to regard vaccination as a closed question, not open to serious argument. Therefore, they are naturally conservative and defer to the leaders of their profession. They are committed to a belief in vaccination, not as a science but as dogma. When the medical students have passed their examinations it is virtually too late for them to change their views. The same course is to fall into line and keep step with the rank of their orthodox masters. It requires large amount

of courage for a doctor to decide himself to be opposed to B.C.G. vaccination. When a thing is popular, as all faddy tales of miracles are, it is impossible to overturn it once it gets a start. However often and authoritatively it may be disproved, ignorant people keep on repeating it.

### Causes of Tuberculosis

The only cause of tuberculosis is mal-nutrition and bad environment. Tuberculosis flourishes only when and where starvation and overcrowded conditions prevail. The Second World War and the partition of the country greatly increased the tuberculosis cases, because of the drastic deterioration in the economic well-being of the masses. As the standard of living rises, automatically the tuberculosis cases decrease. But the medical men deliberately underestimates this basic fact and interpret the decrease and increase in terms of the absence and prevalence of B.C.G. vaccination. The doctors argue that there was terrible mortality from the disease in pre-B.C.G. times. Thus the layman and laywoman is left to suppose that tuberculosis was a terrible foe before vaccination because of the absence of vaccination. The widespread use of B.C.G. may do infinite harm by diverting attention from the factors that really matter.

### Right Remedy for T.B.

The only rational way to eradicate tuberculosis is not to poison the blood with vaccine but to foster those things which build up the vigour of the constitution and promote the general health both of the individual and the community. Only true necessity is provided by natural vigour and a healthy life. Vaccination cannot add to these, but it can and does detract from them. The only cure of the disease lies simply in strengthening by rational modes of living, the remaining power of human organism.

### To Doctors

Nobody blames the doctors for tuberculosis and the motives behind the B.C.G. vaccination might be excellent. The B.C.G. supporters should understand, once for all, that the opponents of the B.C.G. have nothing to gain for themselves by their crusade. Keeping this in view the B.C.G. propagandists should reconsider their stand and like a sportsman acquiesce to the truth. Otherwise its widespread use will give a false security and make it less likely that the conditions that actually cause tuberculosis will be dealt with.

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## WITH AUGUST CELEBRATIONS — A SUGGESTION

(The following is reprinted from an article in a 1985 August issue challenge to the editors of India" as 48-49-50-51 from the Tribune (New Delhi) June 1985)

The Untouchability (Offence) Bill has become the law of the land in India on June 1, '55. This is undoubtedly a milestone in the efforts of social progress of India.

Now what exactly do we aspire to achieve in India by the sort of a legislation mentioned above? Social equality, of course. What does that mean? Does it mean that Harijans who are right now sweeping on the Badli Bazar street will walk to the Rashtrapati Bhawan, push aside Dr. Rajendra Prasad and begin to sign State papers? Nobody understands equality in that mad way. Even the Communist does not want that sort of an equality in the world. Then in what consists equality?

Equality is not in what one manifests but in what one stands for. That is to say, you have to philosophically accept the basic equality of man and behave accordingly. To quote Swami Vivekananda,

"I can perform the duty in social life and you neither. You still possess a country and I can reveal a part of old shoes. But that is the reason why you are greater than I for you must say shoes? Can I govern the country? I am closer to meeting shoes, you are closer to meeting the robes, but that is no reason why you should trample on my head."

What we require now is some positive social action and not a state of legislation. We do not so much require law as love and social irrigation of that love.

In India of today there are only two successful teachers. The first is the successful politician and the second is the successful film actor, whose pictures appear in the press daily. The only lesson that is read today in the daily newspaper is not Mohan or Yagnavalkya or Parashara or Taittiriya from whom people take lessons for social conduct but it is from the above two. Now the film actor moves in the world of speculated names where he is not easily approachable. Therefore in this age administrators cannot help becoming censorious teachers too. They have to set an example by life and conduct about in all things, which matter.

But what is happening with our Governments? They are forging new constitutions and perpetuating old ones. We do not seem to see that in the services and the Secretariats you can avoid classification. But why perpetuate it as social functions too and at the same time profess equality? Even in social functions you are going by the standard of what one manifests and not by what one stands for. And thus a new sort of official caste system is being introduced in the country, which when crystallised will be no less abusive and offensive than the old ones.

We seriously think a great national day, like the 15th August one and requires to be turned to better social account. We put across here an idea, which whilst is a challenge to the editors of this country in New Delhi and at capitals of the respective provinces.

From the 15th August 1981, let on the same day every year, VVIPs be invited to a special social function by the President of India and the Governors of the provinces to Rashtrapati Bhawan and Raj Bhawan respectively. By VVIPs we mean those very very important personages without whose unwitting services the wheels of the State cannot move for a day, those great benefactors of the people, those sweepers of our streets and drains of our latrines and those complicated systems of drainage which are hidden under our smooth streets and pleasant avenues.

Then let there be feeding. No exotic type of food in style of serving. But ascertain what items of food they usually like to take. Give them such a feast as they would wish. Let food be served on foot-plates on the ground in the right Indian fashion. No table-cloth business. They will feel very uncomfortable at that.

Some of those who voted for the Untouchability (Offence) Bill may take their seats in the pargal along with the VVIPs and take food along with them. They should sit in a seated manner all over the pargal and not make a separate caste of parliamentarians.

Now, who will serve them? Why, let Rajendra Prasad serve. Let Radhakrishnan serve. Let Jawaharlal serve, let all the Ministers, Deputy Ministers, MPs and high officials serve. Let everybody have the privilege to serve and an opportunity to feel blessed.

Some of you may go round and see who may like to take a little more of which item. Let there be some shouting or smiling among you; let there be a little lauging or temper. A little inevitable fun. Such affairs should not go on in the manner of air-conditioned official smoothness. There must be a sort of Indian over-easiness about it.

Now when the feeding is over who are going to remove the leaves and scrubbedness and clean the place? For heaven's sake do not go and order the VVIPs, whom you have just served with honour to enter and clean the place. This will be unhygienic what you have done. Then who will do it? Why, Rajendra Prasad will do it, Radhakrishnan will do it, Jawaharlal will do it. All the Ministers, MPs, and high-ups will do it.

Do you really want equality in India? Then do this and see how before the tidal waves of international social barriers of ages crumble down and how India is electrified.

The fundamental idea is that the highest-up should bend low and touch the lowest-down in due reverence. The head of the State was as it were to touch the feet of the State in a deep prayer.

Let all things be done with all meticulous accuracy and genuine sincerity. Let not the demons of superficialness and conventionalism creep anywhere near about the compound. Let there be a festive atmosphere about it. Let not too many ceremonies and bombasties move about. Let this be done on the 15th August 1985 in the Rashtrapati Bhawan and all the Raj Bhawans of India. And then let this be repeated every year.

## INVESTMENT AND EMPLOYMENT

A good deal of current discussion about the "plan frame" for the second five-year period has proceeded on the basis that a certain rate of investment is necessary to bring about a desired rate of increase in employment (and the national income). How speculative some of these discussions are is suggested by an analysis of figures published by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, summarizing the output data collected from the Census of Indian manufacturers since 1945.

The figures gathered from the censuses for the five years from 1946 to 1952 cast grave doubts on the accuracy of many assumptions regarding the relation between investment and employment.

While the number of registered factories increased from 6,344 to 7,155 between 1946 and 1952, the number which sent in returns increased from 4,690 to 4,470. (The percentage of registered factories from which returns were received, customarily enough, declined from 50 to 46.)

The fixed capital invested in the manufacturing concerns increased from Rs. 186.84 crores to Rs. 300.54 crores—a rise of nearly 54 per cent. The working capital employed also showed an increase; the total productive capital employed having gone up from Rs. 462.15 crores in 1946 to Rs. 730.77 crores in 1952, roughly 50 per cent.

Thus in spite of the increase in the number of factories and the striking increase in the amount of investment, the aggregate number of persons employed should have declined instead of showing an increase in a phenomenon which calls for study and explanation. The number of workers employed in factories declined from 25,45,655 in 1946 to 14,76,510 in 1952. The number of other employees fell from 1,58,535 to 1,32,627. The total number of persons employed dropped from 17,04,200 to 16,45,643.

Although the number of employed had declined, the total value of wages and other benefits provided to the employees increased from Rs. 185.81 crores to Rs. 280.71 crores. The aggregate ex-factory value of the output also increased from Rs. 555.58 crores to Rs. 1,183.97 crores. The increased value, however, was largely accounted for by the increased cost of raw materials, wages, etc., while the value added by manufacture actually showed a small decline from Rs. 317.84 crores to Rs. 310.03 crores. The value added by manufacture as a percentage of the productive capital naturally shows a steep fall from 53.5 in 1946 to 42.1 in 1952. On the other hand, the value added per person employed shows a sharp increase from Rs. 1, 418 in 1946 to Rs. 1,511 in 1952.

If a total additional investment of about Rs. 250 crores in manufacturing industries could take place and still leave the numbers employed in them fewer by 50,000 we shall have to re-exam-

ine, carefully our principles regarding the relation between investment and jobs.

(1) *From the summarizing article of The Statesman, 11th November 1954.* The curiously held proposition that investment in the industrial sector leads to desired employment though they seem to increase appears somewhat curious. The total Plan outlay increases it is with these exceptions. It is really surprising to see how in India's leading state on its total that it will mean a rise of 300 per cent more of jobs, what is more, because this will be achieved through the labour-intensive agriculture, air, road and other village industries. However, the plan envisages employment, but not a rise in output and therefore it where it is more probable, since, that of this kind of industrial.

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## SERVICE AND DEVOTION

(By Theodor)

[From the prayer speech delivered at Protestant Camp in Orissa on 26/1/55]

It has been often observed that the way of health or devotion to God which has been cultivated in India lacks the element of *service*. Till this day health has consisted in contemplation of some image of God. But now it is time it took the form *heavily* of service. There was when the plan had the following form: there used to be a temple of the Lord in some central place in the village, service in the temple was carried on in a manner so as to keep living before the village the ideal of service. It was as if a sort of a kindergarten school was opened in the place. For instance, in the early morning the drum was beaten to awaken the Lord and the people of the village were told, O Lord, wake up! Now, do you suppose the stone God ever sleeps or awakens? But this was a sort of drama presented every morning to awaken the men and women and children of the village. Later at midday when the time arrived to offer food to the Lord, the temple had art as the worshippers in charge paid homage to the Lord by offering him light in a lamp. And at the time of eve people from all over the village thronged to the temple to present their homage to the Lord and had their meals after returning home. This naturally induced the healthy practice of having a specified time for meals. Then late in the afternoon when the time for eve again arrived, all people in the village laid down their work and went to the temple so that all the males in the population came together. Then onwards in the evening when it was time for the Lord to go to bed, songs were sung in the temple to induce Him to sleep. All the people used to join in the singing and after the eve was over returned to their homes to sleep themselves. Thus naturally a life was lived for going to bed also. In this manner what should be the healthy daily routine of the village was controlled by the routine in the temple. People in the village were educated in healthy good habits through the temple of the Lord.

But what do we see today? The time for offering food to the Lord in the temple arrives. But there are men and women in the village who

have nothing to eat. What could they offer to the Lord who renders it, there." When the country is in the unhappy state wherein her children go hungry and naked and are afflicted with disease, the best programme for showing devotion to the Lord is to devote oneself to their service. I was really glad when one convert of the Vaishnava way of devotion to God realised that the way of devotees spread effectively among the people through work for the land-poor masses. We repeatedly bring home to the people that all beings who live should see our masters and that we have been born to serve them.

This sentiment of master and servant is the essence of the way of devotion for God. When we look upon everyone of God's creatures as Harijit, when we regard them as our masters and reckon ourselves as their servants, everyone of our eyes becomes one of devotion to God. That is why the devotees of the Lord have to be very humble. They must have love for one another and they should feel in all their acts that they are devoting themselves to the service of God. That is also why they should not give place to feelings of attachment or repulsion in their hearts in any manner whatsoever. People will tell us from the lives that we devotees of God live and will closely watch whether those of us who have devoted themselves to the Bhaktin mission have hatched their love and become accordingly. I have, therefore, not the least doubt that if we were ever united in one love, the Bhaktin cause will spread like wild-fire all over the land. (Pam. Pam.)

#### 'BUILDING FROM BELOW'—IV

(By Mahatma P. Desai)

(Continued from the issue of July 24, 55, p. 332)

It is possible to explain, to an appreciable extent, the self-employed sector of our economy and secure thereby a realistic programme of economic development. What is, shortly speaking, the scope and capacity of this sector?

The B.F.D. Plan admits that "it is no longer disputed that all industries essential to the continued, independent existence of the State, such as defence industries, atomic energy etc. or to the smooth operation of the economy, such as basic industries, transport and communications, must be either the exclusive monopoly of the State or subject to its control and regulation" (B.F.D., para 26).

On the other hand it is equally unargued that, "the self-employed sector can undertake only those lines of economic activity which can be effectively carried on in family workshops or as small decentralised producers' co-operatives" (Ibid., para 31).

What are these? To answer this question the B.F.D. Plan undertakes a detailed analysis of 79 groups of industries to show that "one-half of the existing industries in India are suitable for self-employment, but about 42 per cent of them are better suited for self-employment, inasmuch as independent workers in them, despite the various impediments to their successful

operation, contribute on an average one-fifth of the total number engaged in it." (Ibid., para 32)

And it concludes that "self-employment can undertake in progressive stages the manufacture of all articles of first necessity, such as food, cloth, machine tools, etc. Once the pattern of production has been initiated and enabled to operate to capacity, it may be possible to envisage other industries as well without either loss of efficiency or social interest." (Ibid., para 40)

But it is worth to note that "how far self-employment can succeed depends, however, upon appropriate policies of the Government, on the one hand, and their readiness to create the necessary executive, managerial organisations for its smooth operation. The most important point that needs to be stressed is that the ability or effectiveness of the self-employed sector ought not to be judged by its present operative efficiency but by the efficiency with which its potentialities can be explored and exploited in the interests of economic and social well-being of the nation." (Ibid. para 42)

When is necessary, therefore, in the present juncture, in the affairs of our country is to hasten our development plans on the rock-like foundations of our economy, viz., the self-employed sector. It will not only secure for our plans a truly democratic approach but also will immediately help them to raise our standard of living, as the new wealth created will be distributing itself in a decentralised manner. The plan must centre to these industries decentralised spheres of production so that there is no unfair competition from centralised or capital-intensive industries. The biggest question, therefore, which is before us at present is to decide once for all that mechanised industries cease to compete and gradually withdraw away in a planned manner in the spheres where home- and village-industries of our countryside, like cloth, oil seed etc., can flourish. Varied interests of India explainers that are entrenched in them at present will have to show enough patriotism by accepting this unavoidable proposition. Only then can we have full employment and equal distribution with maximum production secured in a democratic way.

#### 25-7-55

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# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)  
Editor: MAHATMA K. BHATT



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AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, AUGUST 12, 1933

TWO ANNAS

## HIGHER EDUCATION IN FREE INDIA

By M. K. Gandhi

I

Higher education should be left to private enterprise and for meeting national requirements whether in the various industries, technical arts, belles-lettres or fine arts.

The State Universities should be purely examining bodies, self-supporting through the fees charged for examinations.

Universities will look after the whole of the field of education and will prepare and approve courses of studies in the various departments of education. No private school should be run without the previous sanction of the respective universities.

University charters should be given liberally to any body of persons of proved worth and integrity. It being always understood that the universities will not cost the State anything except that it will bear the cost of running a Central Education Department.

The foregoing scheme does not shake the State from running such activities as may be required for supplying State needs.

It is claimed that if the whole scheme (i.e. the entire scheme of Basic Education—Ed.) is accepted, it will solve the question of the greatest concern to the State—drawing of its youth, its future makers.\*

Surgeon, 1-12-33

II

Though we are politically free, we are hardly free from the subtle domination of the West. I have nothing to say to that school of politicians who believe that knowledge can only come from the West. Nor do I subscribe to the belief that nothing good can come out of the West. I do fear, however, that we are unable as yet to come to a correct decision on the matter (not of establishing new universities—Ed.). It is to be hoped that no one contends that because we seem to be politically free from foreign domination the State did give us freedom from the more subtle influence of the

foreign language and foreign thought. Is it not wisdom, does not duty to the country dictate, that before we embark on new universities we should stop and fill our own heads first with the mores of our newly got freedom? A university never needs a pile of majestic buildings and treasures of gold and silver. What it does need most of all is the intelligent backing of public opinion. It should have a large reservoir of teachers to draw upon. Its teachers should be far-souled.

In my opinion it is not for a democratic State to find money for founding universities. If the people want them they will supply the funds. Universities so founded will adorn the country which they represent. Where administration is in foreign hands, whatever comes to the people comes from top and then they become more and more discontent. Where it is based on popular will, everything goes from bottom upward and hence is safe. It is good-looking and strengthens the people. In such a democratic scheme money invested in the promotion of learning gives a tenfold return to the people even as it is used even as good and returns a hundred-fold. Universities founded under foreign domination have run in the reverse direction. Any other result was perhaps impossible. Therefore, there is every reason for being cautious about founding new universities till India has digested the newly acquired freedom.\*

Surgeon, 1-11-33

\* 21-8, p. 1261

By Mahatma Gandhi

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\* From Basic Education (p. 126), by M. K. Gandhi, Pub. Surgeon, price Rs. 1-4, postage etc. As. 6.

## FOR MEMBERS OF LEGISLATURE (By Vishnu)

*An address spoken at the Indian Legislative Assembly at Government on 1935-36*

All of you are the most sincere of the people and are their dear, trusted and elected servants. To be elected and trusted by the people is a very big and heavy responsibility. You are elected and become those the people trust and are elected by, them as their representatives to elect their Government, to represent their opinion to the Government, where and when necessary they go to appear in and to plan and control the administration of the country.

Those who have been thus entrusted by the people as elected servants for the long years are considered gods in our society. A god means a person with authority. He those persons who hold authority on behalf of the people are called gods or gods.

You are regarded as gods and the most essential quality of gods is to be ever vigilant. To this purpose also our ancient scriptures have made a suggestion. They have described the gods as always giving brilliant light. In you can throw light on social problems and solve them in a satisfactory manner. You are supposed to hold such position. Thus to have and why you all should realize the people of the country that elect you as representatives and place you in position of power and conduct it.

But a constant danger exists the knowledge of the gods. There are always likely to slip into sensual enjoyment. That is why control of themselves and their mind is expected as their most important duty. Such control is also considered essential for the legislators. It is of course, important for the Government as also for the household and the General. It is a virtue essential for all people, for all time and for all places. This virtue means in the eternal benefit of all. But it has a special significance for the gods.

A history to begin the House recently follows in the role of power and wealth. The King Janaka through devoting in palace used to be absolutely interested by the industry. And Lord Vishnu though completely served by Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, is considered to be different in it and possessing superior treatment from the others. But to the rich perfect detachment from the behavior of power like Janaka and from the behavior of wealth like Vishnu is hard not an easy thing to attain.

I have often placed these illustrations before our people. I consider them to be the most to be followed by the gathered and elected servants of the people.

There are others who serve the society justly who are like the god and those in the others who have not been elected as representatives by the people's vote and who do not wish to be so elected, who have to but elected themselves at their own to serve the people and themselves to derive their mind to their good. They have undertaken the responsibility of service at their own free will and therefore derive their authority from their others. They are not entrusted by the people as such like the others. To this type of the servants of the people I would recommend the type of illustration. They should carry on their relation of service in the manner which does not be their good by.

It is to be possible that one type of servants of the people should have Janaka as their model and the other should have Vishnu as their model. But in Government the ideal of Lord Vishnu also comes specially to our minds for there who are untrusted servants of the people. It is the manner the untrusted representatives of the people should behave in their from the ideal of Lord Vishnu who is sustained by the maintenance of wealth.

Let us occasionally hear to mind that Vishnu is a poor man. The rich have not a very small household. And as the money used by the others, in poor his expenses, others should go about their work as truly representing him in the best they can.

Many of the people in the world to work as representatives of the people. Some of them are king or chief persons. Some have knowledge on behalf of the people to have ruling all matters and some of them used to demonstrating themselves of Government also. But the common people have as such a structure are not few. They have been taught in that they are well as the people whom they are. They would be busy in taking the best of the work and manner whom they are. The representatives of India I have very often observed the mass of people as a character. The character that is to be, however, however, and has no living experience but it character the best possibly given as the mass of common people, though supposed to be taking the maintenance of intelligence, but as their services in a very precise manner. They would not then clearly and judge as by that manner. We have to be extremely aware that the common people measure judge, and those of us who go out to other parts of the world go to the Parliament in the State legislatures as their representatives from the way we need our lives in our various capacities.

In the very first thing I wanted to bring to your notice was this that as you are elected representatives and servants of the people your hearts must be in your work. Those who have that their who to elect you in your position of authority and power. The role of both the people and you their representatives should be one and harmonious. Another point also I would greatly regard as being in your mind. You as representatives of the people are allowed considerable freedom to carry out your own responsibilities to good and avoid work to maintain the position of the people. You are allowed some freedom that also if several of them be said that the representation you receive is high that of others. It is high as compared to the average standard of the common man in India. This is offered the character as that you would be free of the normal worries of earning for your families and that you can discharge your duties as servants of the people with out having to worry on that account. It is in respect of you that while not more on at your ordinary for the people you have three milliards below your mind. This is to say that you will choose to lose the landings when the poor have their hardship in his poor dwelling and at your own loss will if you could achieve this much better with the to your height and you will observe the fact that has been placed in you for was simple poor folk.

To a poor should to his efforts to overcome the the proposition of the various proposals in the country in the other part I would to place before you. I believe that proposition of ideas should be as favorable to one of our mind as well as political life. There should not be any freedom the the proposition and evaluation of opinion. It is always good for the heart of society to have free interchange and expression of ideas.

One is a Indian country where even the material needs of an ordinary life are not available in every region. We can we hope that India will become the richest nation of the world, but it can surely be obtained for India that the heritage of thought we received in respect from ancient times is unimpairedly unique. And I am not putting forth the idea out of any pride or vanity. What after all is more important? It is a very important possession. Many countries in the world have shown immense progress thereby, but our heritage of spiritual thought, which we can call our fuel for our journey through life is as fundamental as it is unique.

We wish to raise our people from their fallen state. We wish to make the life of our people happy, rich and based on equality. It is to be understood what good it will be to any part of us as on creating differences and inequalities in our people by emphasizing this form ideology and also go on thinking India with each other. What is it that we ultimately want to do? All of us want to serve the common people, all of us wish to raise society to higher level and to establish equality in life. And if this



# HARIJAN

August 12

1933

## EDUCATION AND STATE CONTROL.

(By Kaganbhai P. Desai)

Dr. Malsank, Governor of Bombay, has well spoken out on the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee for the Universities Grants Commission Bill. The opinion was very apt for such a statement. He was addressing the Convention of the *Trilok Mahavidyalaya Vidyapeeth, Poona*. This was founded in 1920-1 on the wake of the great N.C.C. movement started in that year. It has been an independent institution carrying on its work without Government grant, much less a charter of incorporation usually associated with a university.

The recommendations of the Joint Select Committee lays down that no body other than one having a charter from the Government should be allowed to function. As far as I know, the Bill also provides for firms etc. as punishment for those who might contravene that provision. Dr. Malsank rightly warned that such a step, though aimed at checking means of freedom by name, would result in injustice to many good and well-meaning institutions.

One may also add that not even the British Government had needed such a law, and allowed freedom to its own institutions and conduct national universities like *The Gujarat Vidyapeeth, Ahmedabad, The Trilok Vidyapeeth, Poona, The Bhar Vidyapeeth, Patna, The Jnan Vigra, Delhi*, etc. These were severely against foreign rule, but they could function as long as they did not contravene the general law of the land.

There is still further objection, fundamental in nature, against such Government curb on education. It is of the essence of freedom and progress that conscience and religion, education and art, opinion and association should in no way be under political or Government administrative control. The idea of allowing no university to function except on having State sanction for it is too narrow and unprogressive for healthy democratic growth of a people. It is tragic that some of us cannot think of a university unless it is under State charter. Such control over education is bad under a free constitution.

In the name of equalisation of standards etc. the Bill also seeks to control universities creating a bar of registration and ruling out freedom to experiment. This is to be buttressed by the best financial help under the Grants Commission. We hope our people at the Center who are at the helm of affairs in our country at its most formative period will take a long-range view of matters educational.

At the end, it may be remarked that if it is felt that university institutions should have a charter in the manner of a license or a permit, as for instance, to ply a trade or commerce, then the advice of Gandhi which he gave to us when presenting to the country his idea of Basic Education in 1931, may be felt helpful. This as reproduced in this issue elsewhere under the heading 'Higher Education in Free India'.

We know that Gandhi did not pursue this part of his advice (regarding university reform) further, and restricted himself to the next few years of national education. However we may well remind ourselves of that part now when we are going further in our educational reconstruction. The universities, as they have come to be at present, are bad enough, regarding to be nationally reformed. This can be done by themselves only. The State can only help them in a suitable manner. Universities must have self-rule, then only can we be assured of their sound and abiding reform. Then only can they be expected to grow to be and function as the mind and the soul of a free people, which a university should really be.

-G.D.

## RIGHT OF PROPERTY AND THE STATE

(By Kaganbhai P. Desai)

Readers must have noticed the discussion, in the *Margin* of 26-3-33, of the idea which a correspondent from Bombay had conveyed to me under the caption—“*Land of Glamour and Pomp*”. The friend had also written about another subject which is equally serious. I pass it on to the readers in his own words. Others too are exercised over it. It would, therefore, be proper to probe deeper into it. Let us, to begin with, see what the friend has to say.

“A large part of the Indian people of our country is poor. To remove their poverty and to raise their standard of life in order to bring everyone to a level of economic equality is objective of our leaders here, whom I greet.

“One remedy to this end is to decentralise the means of production and the power of the State. Food, clothing and a gain to live in are the chief needs of human existence. It may not perhaps be realised as regards to the present condition of the country to take away from landlords who own hundreds and thousands of acres of land above fifty acres by depriving them some or less in money or by purchasing them to put with it or by a legal measure. Would it, however be fair to deprive old widows, old mothers who are pensioners and much other aged and disabled helpless persons, of only four or five acres of land belonging to them and which is their sole means of livelihood on the strength of the State? And to the other, without doing a mischief which a person can possess as property?”

“Land is a means of production. It is true, but it is not the sole kind of property which comes under the category *Means* because mines and even money itself are means of production. The constant demand from the people to subscribe money to the national



development soon proves that money is a means of production. Why is not the principle which applies to landed property also applied to those others? And should it not be applied?

Like land a place to live in is very necessary for human existence. Its value can be appreciated only by those who have to suffer themselves the pain in it even according to its size or only by those who helplessly pass their nights on the footpaths in the slum cities. On arrival, when even such services again is not available to them, on the other hand, the rich landless enjoy progressively more land, and crowded in more square feet of space in the individual.

\*This view of which does demand an improvement, it would be said, that it is impossible. Not true. There was large places are deprived of things they possess in order to supply those to those who have none or very little, and this is done with the former strength of things like food, space to live in etc. that would be needed by them. You cannot deprive a real owner of all such which belongs to him so that he will have to go outside. Nor can we think of depriving a house-owner of his building and those live on the foot-path to shift for himself. On the same principle as one should be made to pay with the payment of land to possessors. The minimum should be determined by the Government that in the future. And now the real issue, is land for everybody should not be introduced with in any manner whatsoever by any act of Government. Our new Constitution itself has recognised the right to own and have property. If found necessary a maximum as well as a minimum limit for holding property may be fixed by an enactment of the Constituent body so that those who own more than the maximum may not live in plenty without performing any sort of labour and those who own less than the minimum may not be forced to go outside for the food of their own."

The correspondent has in these words raised a fundamental issue about the scope of the right of ownership and the freedom to enjoy it. The Constitution of India recognises the right and the freedom.

Now, the position is that as a well-ordered society duty and self-control go hand in hand with rights and freedom. Only with the recognition of duty and self-control by the individual could rights and freedom be understood or recognised as virtues, because without the former two the latter two would together result in absolute lack of control or licence. Society could not maintain itself under such conditions. So the basic problem before society is how to inspire a sense of self-control as also a sense of duty in the citizen and how to bring them into actual operation. And what part has the State to play in the solution of the problem?

The correspondent is right when he says that since the minimum for owning land as property was fixed there should be no interference with it by acts of Government except under circumstances of a public catastrophe. For instance, let us suppose the minimum is fixed at ten acres. Suppose also I own eight and I have needed it to a tenant. Now if the tenancy law tells me that I cannot have my land back from the tenant even for tilling it personally myself,

does it not amount to improper interference? It would be quite another matter if there were laws regulating the manner of rent or transfer of the land to another tenant with the intention of earning more rent. But the plain meaning of a right to property can be nothing else but that that I must get back the property for personal cultivation and the meaning can in no way be avoided or ignored. I have heard a kind of the Bombay tenancy law that it limits the right of the landlord to have the land back from the tenant to the extent that the owner should be a farmer himself and the latter is defined as one whose income from sources other than farming is less than rupees hundred or some such amount per month.

The question which arises here is this: What if I wanted to turn a peasant? If realising the nature of the charging trust I intended to take to farming how is the point of my income relevant? The question asked by the correspondent as to how and on what principle could Government interfere with my keeping for me, to produce my own food the minimum of land fixed by law, is correct.

He goes on to draw a picture of what would actually happen if the principle was applied to other kinds of property. That is only to demonstrate the stringency of the position which would result as a consequence of the operation of the prohibition under the law. But if justice was sought to be done the question cannot be allowed to confine itself to property as land alone, but would have to be considered regarding other kinds of property as well. There is a difference, however, between property in land and property in other things. Land is a gift of nature and man can have food only through its means. So if man wanted to produce his own food the minimum of land necessary for the purpose should be made available to him to labour on; or he should have an opportunity to lead a life of self-respect by labouring in some other occupation.

Our Constitution has also recognised the universal human right of earning one's bread by one's own labour along with the right to hold property. We seek to establish our social order on the principles underlying these fundamental rights, with sympathy for and in co-operation with all. Even licence and indulgence should be taken in the venture. And to the extent that we show consciousness regarding a sense of duty and self-control in citizens we will be able to avoid the question of the law, or the rigour of the law will be tempered with understanding or it will be accepted willingly. Otherwise, revolution will have to be started by intense effort. The Bhooman movement seeks to find a natural, peaceful and religious solution of the problem.

8-8-55

(Bhai Jagannath)

## PILGRIMS' PROGRESS DAY BY DAY—IV

(By Samaradon Maradon)

We have reached Harazpang. The moon we get in the interior the greater is the density of the forests and the nobler is the man and simpler is his life.

### Their Glorious Past

Finding himself quite at home in their midst, Vinsabji mentioned those of their legend and glorious past, invited them to witness and when new ideas and new thoughts with the outside world and advised them to accept all that was good in them. But he never forgot to warn them at the same time to let ever on their guard and not discard their own beliefs and virtues which they have inherited from their bright past.

### Living Oneness with Nature

He did not want them to despise themselves of the delights they derived from their direct contact with Nature. Nature they would be seeing but comprehending if they were under any misapprehension or false impression that they remained either dumb animals or the wild beasts. He told them how much he appreciated their simple life which shielded the world and also their close harmony accorded to the rich abundance and the mild droughts of the wind. But that did not mean in the least, he remarked, that he could also justify their looking up themselves at night inside their huts with straight beams perpendicular to the winter. They should not hesitate to cover their bodies at night in order to protect themselves from severe cold. That would be false, he emphasized only, when they would take to spinning and twisting their cow dung.

### Butter Use of Women's Galls

Further than should learn to retain the delicacies of Nature's gifts provided to them in the form of mangoes, pineapples, oranges, papaya, etc. They should try to improve the yield of these fruits and other agricultural produce and also try to improve their quality as well but not for the sake of money. They should try to increase their yield and improve their quality solely with the view to aid in the market and raise the quality of what they consumed. As the harvest he pointed out, they should not waste or abuse the inevitable condition of the palm tree by preparing harmful and poisonous intoxicating drinks like toddy from which juice not should better rather be limited for smoking. Cattle etc. in the highest quantities possible.

### Already Higher Standard of Life

In the light of the mother earth under the benevolent rays of the sky and with the available history of abundant food and burgeoning rest of the sun, their standard of life according to Vinsabji was undoubtedly much higher than that of the urban people who have to pay both for light and free air. He pointed out further that they had only to restrain themselves by learning to read the signs from the Harazpang, the Samaradon—the sign which which were by themselves the basis of the forests. Lastly, the the city-dweller who have been and had out virtues of the inner economy and its inevitable evils, they should never hesitate even the slightest idea of evaluating their life in terms of money. He was not only associated but also much pained in that the use of the soil exploiting material culture of men and province of land. Did they ever do it in the past? He asked them then, when such really harmful ritual and evil practices in the past had taken of the city people? It was not the air, water and soil itself for the free use of all of us? They have to give up the pilgrims' life of leaders to other people. The only effective and lasting way or remedy for it was in the wilderness attitude, the Samaradon. They would then maintain their culture and traditions which were and are an indispensable asset.

### Give Up "Gony" Tobacco

Earlier on his way to the next camp during one of the many available occasions he saw about a dozen men smoking betelwood towards him from the dense at took hardly a few minutes for them to reach him. They all

stood when he came. Lowering courtesy made soft from behind him. He told him that he was Vinsabji asked him to stop if they knew what harm tobacco did to health. They did not. He explained it to them, and more than a do without them any more.

On the way that so many from the audience reminded him one of his prayer meetings had had their bills affected behind their ears and making a few even smoking. Vinsabji, however, pointed out how the men which were, in fact, women in front of the grace of God were being abused by having smoking pipes or daks. Referring them to the latest research findings of the scientific and medical experts he disclosed to them that smoking caused various diseases like cancer of the throat and the lungs and was also highly injurious to health and that either per cent of the country would be affected if this evil was given up.

It was well to noted here that at times we drive across villages which spend equal amount for tobacco as their food in a year. Vinsabji is aware that of making people and political education to them and other values of vital importance such as the evils of drink, tobacco, etc., which are now widely consumed all throughout the land including the villages particularly in recent years. The pleasure of Harazpang, being of the conception is never complete without drawing light on these vital problems.

### And Their "No Food" View

On another occasion Vinsabji referred to the deity, one to which these farmers are addicted and about which they carry some absolute or relative attitude. The soil in this part is based on this religious philosophy. "Our deity does it and that is why we offer it to them and accept it only as given. To this owner Vinsabji's reply: "In these few hours in this brief of years I have read the scriptures and you tell me anything. But there is not a single word such as this in the scriptures. This is all due to your ignorance. God does not need what He wants. He created the forest and what is forest? He then questioned them and also their false notions regarding offerings to the deities and thus taught them the real basis of the Samaradon as to what the Almighty needs and really expects of us. He made them repeat the longer *om namah shivaya*—meaning the last the flower, the fruit and water—which are what should be offered to God in that deity in the Samaradon. He taught them this "Vinsabji patiently made them repeat it several times and also explained the true significance of every word. In fact it was the basis and moral education given for the young and the old and explained it was equally well a pointer in the Samaradon way as in what should be their approach to the village people.

I must not close this without referring to our camp away from the Samaradon Maradon of the Tufed Tufed who was formerly in charge of the police station at Samaradon came to see Vinsabji in connection with Samaradon work. She has resigned her seat in the Harazpang Pradesh State Assembly for the sake of doing Samaradon work. During the morning walk one day she worked one of her talks with Vinsabji. According to her Samaradon thought that he may have to undertake Samaradon in the course of his commitments to his village and Samaradon. Samaradon believed that Samaradon had a definite contribution to make in the process of Samaradon construction, whether Samaradon or any other.

"If everyone recorded what special Samaradon gave to him or to her, we would produce what a great picture the world would stand to get," observed Vinsabji and continued: "I have had the slightest doubt that it is true that the Samaradon must make Samaradon. First, Samaradon throughout the length and breadth of the country and go to working at least for the next ten years to come. This will have its effects on the people as well as on the Government. It is alleged today that the Government is not Samaradon Samaradon. The Samaradon have to, however, do not do so. In my opinion, the

Government is clearly working towards it. And I think you said it all the Congressmen carry out demands for by coming here just throughout the course of business. I will have greater influence on both sides of the Congress and the better to discuss matters. After some more letters would be written to Congressmen. And then a common programme for the country is not impossible."

## LOKESANYA—MAKER OF MODERN INDIA

Swami's Chief Minister, Sri Muralidhar Das, broadcast from the Delhi Station of All India Radio on August 1 on the death anniversary of Lokesanya Das, and that no words could express better the unity of India to his memory and services than that of Gandhi who had said, "he was greater the spirit of leaving with the country and Indians of Lokesanya. His retirement, therefore, greatly believed in him. For as he will go down the generations as one of the modern India. They will never let his memory as a man who lived for them and died for them. It is impossible to talk of such a man as dead. The permanent shadow of his states will be for ever. Let us erect for the only Lokesanya of India an imperishable monument by raising him our lives his memory his simplicity his wonderful industry and his love of his country."

Sri Das said that Swami's Name Lokesanya Das and Gandhi constituted the two in whom the country's greatest gratitude is due. Swami had said that he had to give open expression to the ideal of Swami in 1921 as the pioneer of modern India. That day he said it as a birth-right in that and Gandhi with his efforts now doing his life that Swami had contributed to a part of life.

The name of Lokesanya, the Chief Minister said would remain for ever in the history of India as a Father of Indian Union who gave to his countrymen the three words "unity is my birth-right."

Referring to some of the misconceptions about Lokesanya which were still prevalent in certain circles Sri Das said that they were mainly due to ill-gotten information about him by British writers from questionable sources and maliciously propagated in some parts in certain books. Some of our own countrymen, he added, also contributed in this process.

Referring to the efforts that were made to shut up Lokesanya with the cut of the bonds in Maharashtra and through by the Police during the strike of the last years and the first decade of the current century, Sri Das said that all that had now clearly emerged after the court cases and even otherwise, was that Lokesanya was an altogether law-abiding and without revolutionary fighter for freedom, an exponent of the people's discipline in constructive channels and a believer in passive resistance when all other remedies were unavailing. That was his political philosophy. Unmistakable testimony to his faith in a passive resistance programme was to be found in the well-known pamphlet that he published in Poona City and Maharashtra Districts in 1921 soon after the Surat Congress. It consisted of the terms of language previous to stop the drain trade and industrial production, including reducing of liquor shops. That movement had become a movement of civil disobedience.

He had properly assumed, as a young under-graduate the worth of not only the spirit of 1921 but the objective spirit of Gandhi himself and seemed to have very calmly, come to the conclusion that popular awakening, building up the power of resistance of the people and constant application to the Government was not alone but to India's political culture at the appropriate time. But even when such opportunities now some people would be rash to take that advantage. He was clearly of the view that political rights would come not only because of the fairness or justice of those rights but also because of the pressure that people would be in a position to exercise. Therefore, his constant endeavour was to start

movements for the improvement of the country. A spirit of democracy and non-violence in government was made demonstrated by Lokesanya's philosophy.

## THE KANPUR STRIKE (By Magdalen P. Deved)

That the strike of mill workers at Kanpur has, since ended after about two months and more, is certainly good news. It had given occasion for a fairly good amount of controversy, agitation and anxiety in newspapers, Government Secretariats and the Cabinet itself. And it was natural it would have been a matter of surprise, on the contrary of that would not happen when cloth worth millions of rupees ceased being produced, when private profits and government revenue flowing out of it ceased doing so, and labour leaders are active and influential in politics.

The pertinent question in this connection, however, is what number of persons was thrown out of employment on account of the strike? I believe they would be a few thousands at the most. A power which can raise such controversy and agitation about the unemployment of such a small number must be wonderful indeed.

Let us now look at another side of the problem which depicts situation. How many are out of employment in the country today and suffer on that account? Could they not produce real wealth, worth scores of rupees? Persons, hundreds of times the number of the unemployed textile labourers at Kanpur, are unemployed in the country. And they were not out of employment for a mere short two months! They have had no employment for years now! How can we explain the fact that nothing seems to move on their account? Why should it be so in their case? And why should it be otherwise in the Kanpur instance?

Replies to these questions demand consideration as much from the people as the Government. The unhappy state of affairs prevailing today is that the problem of unemployment hardly strikes anyone as the matter. But if we are earnest about establishing democracy in the country, there is no escaping consideration of the problem and in good time.

One explanation of the question I have raised is plain. One set of unemployed is organised and works in factories. The Government, the rich as well as the educated class which holds power in the land, which is influential and considered indispensable—all have a smacking attraction for mechanised large-scale industries. And the other set of unemployed who live in their vast numbers in the rural areas are not organised, nor is anyone in particular concerned about their small industries some of which are yet living and most of which are dying, and no one pays attention to them.

This state of affairs is terribly dangerous for the nation. The biggest and the foremost problem facing India is removal of unemployment. It is indeed a great misfortune that even the second Five Year Plan does not seem to appreciate it as such.

When shall we reach the stage when the number of unemployed in the whole country

comes to be recognized as the 19th centuryism and capitalist tool of the bourgeoisie and its planning.<sup>1</sup> And all then could we claim that the State in India is the poor man's State.

27-7-56  
Chitra Chatterjee

## BHARJ BOARD'S SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN (By C. K. Narayanaswami)

Development programmes for small and village industries prepared by the All-India Small and Village Industries Board for the Second Five Year Plan period involve a total capital outlay of Rs. 37150 crores resulting in an output valued at Rs. 171110 crores at the end of the Five year period and employment to 55.45 lakhs of persons in terms of full employment.

These data were revealed today (24-7-1965) at the Board commenced its three-day session at Madras this afternoon. The Board's Plan divides the industries into two categories:

(i) those with a minimum production proposition,

and

(ii) exploratory development programmes.

The survey on development programmes falling in the first category is estimated at 24154 crores with a total output of commodities in common demand valued at Rs. 12159 crores. The survey on the second category of industries is 1299 crores with an output valued at Rs. 5135 crores in other words an outlay of Rs. 107 crores for the five years is expected to result in an output valued at Rs. 5135 crores.

### Capital Budget Ratio

An analysis of the data provided in the Board's Plan shows a capital output ratio of 1:3.11 for the entire group of village industries and 1:3.44 for the industries with minimum production programmes and 1:1.11 for the other industries. The development programmes as a whole, will give gain for an outlay of Rs. 65 per capita the value of output may be Rs. 1.75 and the net per capita income Rs. 55.

The economic and social significance of the programme administered by the Board revolves in the provision of employment and distribution of income, side by side with the improved operative conditions, credit, storage and marketing facilities all of which together lift the standards for general stages towards higher levels of production in the successive Five Year Plans.

At the capital outlay of Rs. 37150 crores, Rs. 3611 crores are developmental expenditure, Rs. 13830 crores have for 30-71 crores expenditure on establishment and fixed equipment for the industries and the expenditure on movable assets and equipments required for the intensive group training and research facilities.

Policy regulations and operative guidelines required for the successful implementation of the Board's programmes for the Second Five Year period are set out in an exploratory memorandum which says:

### Regulations

To implement the development programme in which the Board proposes to assign the responsibility of production in the State in accordance with their respective size the Government of a given industry in their respective areas and responsibilities and administrative machinery available in other words with the Board's main responsibility would be the coordination of effort and the provision of technical and financial assistance and guidance wherever necessary. Creative responsibility for the programme will largely rest in the State Boards. Besides the Board also proposes to co-ordinate with the Community Project Administration, to allot definite quotas of production in each area so that the Board's objectives which these development programmes seek to serve may be easier of attainment. In the same manner and for the same purpose the Board may also allocate on the basis of area satisfactory definite quotas of production to the

respective areas selected for integrated economic development. Thus the operational arrangements for the implementation of the various development programmes are the allocation of definite quotas of production in the State, Community Development Projects undertaking directly the responsibility for coordination of effort, and support through research and training and where necessary, linked programmes of production.

### Policy Requirements

The content of the development programme for the industries in charge of the Board very largely depends upon appropriate changes in policies governing the economic development in general and village industries in particular. The Planning Commission in their report recommended for the development of the village industries side by side with large-scale industries one or more of the following measures:

(i) expansion of the sphere of production;

(ii) augmentation of the capacity of the large-scale industries;

(iii) imposition of a levy on a large-scale industry;

(iv) arrangements for the supply of raw materials; and

(v) arrangements for research training etc.

While the policy requirements detailed, industry-wise in each of the development programmes presented by the Board are in accordance the same in the earlier report, members of the Planning Commission, they specify in the case of each industry with common production programmes definite allocations of production to the village sector and emphasize the need for a common price policy which in no sense shall a logical necessity of a common production programme.

### Common Price Policy

Although the Planning Commission recommended the development of common production programmes for the various large-scale and corresponding village industries, the measures indicated by it have neither really accepted nor vigorously implemented by the Government. In spite the right operative conditions for village industries, from the Government did not always prevent the expansion of the capacity of the corresponding large-scale industries and, except in the case of textiles, did not also remove any sphere of production in favour of the village industries, even and activities sustained by the Government failed to eliminate competition between the various sections of industry. Common production programmes have an integrated approach, assessment of the capacity of the different sectors in an industry and definite allocation of production to each of them. An integrated approach to planning of the productive effort and allocation of responsibility for definite quotas together a common or related price structure and the total elimination of competition between different sections in the same industry. To the list of policy requirements during the Second Five year period the Board has added two main recommendations which are already implied in the earlier recommendations of the Planning Commission:

(i) definite allocation in the village industries, and

(ii) a common or related price structure.<sup>2</sup>

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TWO ANNAS

## A NEW UNIVERSITY IN GUJARAT

(By Mahendran P. Desai)

The Government of Bombay have published a Bill to incorporate a new university in Gujarat at Vallabh Vajpa Nagar, in Kutch.

Bombay was the first university in the State established in 1858. With some changes it still functions. The changes are more quantitative than qualitative. The most noteworthy one is that its jurisdiction has been now confined to Bombay only. This change occurred about 50 years after its existence. The reason was the emergence of a new idea during the course of our march to freedom. This was to have, as far as possible, linguistic States and to have regional languages as media of entire instruction and administration. Bombay State implemented this new idea by establishing its three regional universities, carving out their areas from the mother university. The main principle of this change was to have regional languages as media of instruction.

During these 50 years, the British Government also had presented to us a new idea in university organisation, viz., the idea of a residential and teaching and study university on the lines of Oxford or Cambridge, as a reform in the London model of an affiliating one. In Gujarat we have the Gujarat Education University, Bhuj, on that model, created on the eve of that State's merging with Bombay State.

Now it is proposed to add a third university in Gujarat at Vallabh Vajpa Nagar, the objects and reasons for which are said to be (i) to have Hindi as the medium of instruction and examination, and (ii) to have a "university in a rural setting" so that the programme of rural education initiated by the University Education Commission may get under way, so that "the process of regeneration of villages by application of modern arts, sciences, and technology to rural requirements" may be accelerated.

And it is proposed that the Vallabh Vajpa Nagar University may be of the affiliating type, even though the apparent idea is to have it as of the other, viz., the residential and teaching type. Clause 144 of the Bill says that if any educational institution using Hindi as Devanagari script as the medium of instruction, students in any other university in the State of Bombay, is refused affiliation on the ground of the medium

of instruction in such institution, then the new University may, with the sanction of the State Government, affiliate it with itself.

Over and above these two things which are noteworthy in this move, there are a few others which are not to be looked in the Gujarat University Act. For example, among the aims for the university we find (i) training for competitive examinations for services under the Union and State Governments; (ii) to make provision for military training of students and make grants for the purposes of the M.C.C.

The merits and the demerits of this move for a rural university must be weighed in light of these as chief aims and objects. The idea of a rural university is welcome enough. Even though we as a people are predominantly a rural community, all our universities have been working for the cities only and particularly for training personnel for Government services and some urban professions. The Vallabh Vajpa Nagar universities have been functioning, by now, fairly for a decade, however, they also follow the same orthodox university tradition. Rather, the change in the new Bill noted above spotlight the fact that, among the professed aims of a rural university, the old ideas have held sway. The approach to the question of the medium simply bears this out.

The idea of a rural university is worth while implementation. The Government of India last year included a secondary order the chairmanship of Dr. Zakirulhaq to examine what should be done in this matter. It has by now reported its findings, which are published. I do not know whether the Government of Bombay saw them when preparing the Bill for a rural university.

To establish a university with Hindi as its medium is an entirely Gujarat-speaking area is also another great drawback. The proposed university is to be a rural one and to be named after late Kankar Patel, who stood for Gujarat as the medium of instruction. This renders the clause for the Hindi medium quite surprising and is detrimental to the main aim of rural higher education.

What is even more surprising is that there is a provision in the Bill enabling the new university to be affiliating. The Government of Bombay have already by now incorporated affiliating universities for the three linguistic regions, —Gujarat, Maharashtra and Kanastak. And it is contemplated therein that a deserving

plest in those days, if it is desired, can opt out to be a type 1958 type of a unitary and teaching type. But there can be no question of having another officially use in the same linguistic area.

Accordingly, it is good that Bharu university has been demonstrated to have an area within a radius of five miles as its jurisdiction. This is rendered even more necessary by the need of its becoming a rural university. But this is satisfied by providing for Hindi as its medium and by allowing, as that court any institution in the State to work with it. Thus the Bill makes the worthy object of rural higher education only confined and ineffective and integrates it to a position of insignificance and unimportance.

What is still more objectionable about it is that it totally interferes with the working of the regional universities, hindering their normal course of development and progress, without any advantage to Hindi. Therefore, this provision for affiliation must be deleted, thus giving deserved prominence to the aim and object of a rural university.

I have referred to the Hindi medium question above. The thing is so serious that a point or two need to be noted at the end. Only a few days back, speaking at Delhi, the President assured the people that Hindi is not to impose itself as nor usurp the legitimate and rightful place of our regional languages. Hindi will have certain well-defined spheres of activity only. The place of the regional language as the rightful medium of education is undisputed. The Radhakrishnan Commission has well laid it down, and recently a year ago the Congress Working Committee cleared the whole position about the language problem.

Moreover, the above principle has been accepted as the corner stone of the propagation of Hindi as the A 1 common language. If this is compromised in any way, it will create suspicion and fear about Hindi and its place in our educational and cultural life making the work of propagating Hindi itself difficult, if not impossible. There is therefore even greater reason to be very careful and circumspect about seeking the medium of instruction and administration. This should rather be left to the decision of the new university units.

The reason for such reservation for Hindi medium is the lure of Government services (competitive examinations). Now we can feel assured that it is the duty of the State to see that no candidate is put in any unjust or unfair conditions of competition. Therefore, it is increasingly being recognised now that the candidate will have the option to use his own regional language also and will also know Hindi as a language, thus removing any fear on this count.

Thus when certain ideas for the reconstruction and reorganisation of our national system of education are crystallising themselves, the nature of the move for the new university at Assam

should not disturb that welcome process. As the Bill stands at present, it creates a reasonable fear and doubt about the process and hampers development of our regional universities too. The latter and their vice-chancellors also should drive the attention of the Government to this aspect and it is necessary that the leaders of the people and the Government should consider to amend the Bill accordingly. It is as well the Legislature may send it for public opinion before finally considering it.

18-8-58

(From the original in Gujarati)

## BODDHA AND THE MODERN WORLD

(By Jeevati Kumbhar)

The world is richer today than ever before. Nor did it ever know such more pleasant means of life and comfort. All things can be had now in plenty.

Yet the life of man was never so miserable as today. The blessings of science foreman to be a curse. All material progress or scientific advancement is leading to come with the gravity of the situation and man's lower urge. The biggest mistakes and the manifold perils seem to be but show-hops unimportant to grapple with the fundamentals. The very existence of life and civilization is in jeopardy.

Man faces the question of to be or not to be. He wonders whether all this is worthwhile. And the pace of events impels him to arrive at the same conclusion which has been reached by the worst men of the world who were greater geniuses than Galileo or Newton, greater warriors than Alexander or Wellington.

The foremost among them was Buddha who declared the Eternal Law more than two and a half millennium ago.

म हिंसां कर्तुं न शक्यते युद्धं हिंसायाः ।

अहिंसा न शक्यते युद्धं हिंसायाः ॥

संस्कृत - ५

(Never in this world can hatred be killed by hatred, it will be killed only by non-hatred — this is the Law Eternal.)

In other words, never in this world can violence be overpowered by greater violence, it can be overpowered only by non-violence. Hatred and violence cannot but bring more hatred and violence. A process which will culminate in the vanquishment of both the hater and the hated.

Politicians and military experts endorse this truth. The British Labour leader Clement Attlee says, "War cannot be regulated like a football game. It cannot be harassed. It must be shocked. Delay increases the danger that some spark may set the world afire." Captain Lionel Hart, one of Britain's most eminent experts on war, holds, "Any war in the atomic age would lead to the destruction of all the nations concerned."

This had also been foreseen by Einstein, the scientist-son of the twentieth century. He was once asked, "The second world war was fought with atom bombs, the third will be fought with hydrogen bombs, what will the fourth world war

be fought with? "Thought came the answer, 'With love and arrows!'"

The faculty of war as an instrument of resolving peace is, therefore, unquestioned. But the credo of world peace will not be something airy. It must have a foundation to stand upon. There can be no peace in the world unless there is peace in every country of the world, in every province of every country, in every district of every province, and again, in every village of towns of every district. To expect peace in the world without peace in the village or town is like expecting a tree without sowing its seed.

This is the crux of the matter. How to preserve peace in the village? Obviously, by eliminating or hamstringing the sources which disturb that peace.

This is not something new or unprecedented. In fact man always practices it at home. Why does he feel happy and peaceful at home? Simply because

(1) There is no industrial ownership of things in the home;

(2) Everybody gets there according to his or her need and works according to his or her capacity;

(3) Disputes of the home are resolved in the home itself.

The same can very well be true in the village. That is to say

(1) All land and property in the village should belong to the village as a whole;

(2) Everybody—to be he,iterate or not, man or woman—must work according to his or her capacity and get according to his or her need;

(3) Disputes of the village should be resolved in the village itself.

World peace demands that it is also the will of science. Modern science says that there cannot be war here for the atom and another for the universe. It has now compressed the universe in the atom and the same law of war for both. Likewise, what is true for the individual should be true for the world as a whole. Buddha tells us

एवम हि जगत्तं पतते एवम हि जगत्तं नरि ।

एवम संन्यसमानं जगत्तं के व जगिस्सि ॥

(Jhul, 380)

Self is the lord of self. Self is the goal of self; therefore control thy self as a merchant controls a horse of noble breed.

This message of Buddha is not confined to one country, creed or sect. It endorses the entire mankind. Penetrating to the central truth, he makes for all time

अस्मिन्ने हि जगि जगत्तं एवम हि नरि ।

हिंसे जगिस्सि जगि जगिस्सि ॥

(Jhul, 383)

Let a man conquer anger by absence of anger, wickedness by absence of wickedness, miserliness by liberality and a liar by truth.

The Bhodan Yagna movement<sup>1</sup> provides us with a key to live this message and make it

<sup>1</sup> I shall rather prefer to use the more comprehensive and wider term, viz. the Bhodan Yagna movement here — M.P.

a vital reality. It is for the people to stand up and resolve to save the world by sowing a life, indefinitely and collectively, in Buddha or other prophets sowed upon us as an answer to existence as now. The matter cannot brook any delay. Buddha gave a warning.

अस्मिन्ने जगत्तं एवम हि नरि जगिस्सि ।

एव हि जगिस्सि जगि जगिस्सि जगिस्सि ॥

(Jhul, 385)

Let a man make haste to do good, let him keep his mind from sin. But if a man is slow to do good his mind delights in sin.

The responsibility of the maintenance of Buddha and Gandhiji is far greater. Let us set up new values and transform the social, economic, political and religious order in India. May we leave no stone unturned to deliver the message of love and peace — of truth and non-violence — to mankind? May we fulfil the great mission of our land?

#### A Suggestion for the Next Plan

In our country, the pressure of living population is greatest on land due to no village industries. It is 55 acres per capita, while in Canada and U.S.S.R. it is 4 to 5 acres. The only occupation of 80 per cent of the population is on land and as there is no sufficient water all the year round, everybody does not get full employment and the pressure reduces them to further poverty.

The essential and primary needs of human being are (1) Food (2) Cloth and (3) Shelter. Food is grown already in villages but as with above, it is not sufficient to give employment to all. It therefore goes without saying that the next primary need of cloth industry should be directed to villages. thereby most of the population will regain some occupation and there will be equal distribution of wealth. The purchasing power of the people in villages will be increased and thus they will be able to buy other consumer articles and thus help extending other industries.

The second Five Year Plan should therefore plan the cloth industry to be directed into villages and within five years, we should see that everybody is employed usefully and is earning something to stand on his own legs. This will create a spirit of self-reliance and there will be no pressure on others. Many educated people will have useful occupation in villages.

Along with the above, let there be adult education so that everybody reads and writes. No propaganda can serve the purpose unless people themselves read the periodicals and learn new things, creating all round.

There are many other ways to keep our villages swamped with useful employment. Thus the rice making, extraction of oil etc. etc., can be done by village labour which is done at present by machines.

During the English rule cloth industry of our villages which was spread and directed to England and thus enriched England should now be reversed to our villages to make them prosperous again.

C. D. BARIJAN

## HARIJAN

Aug. 20

1948

### B.C.G. VACCINATION — WHY I OPPOSE IT \*

(By C. Srinivasachari)

The more I consider this subject, the more firmly am I convinced that this B.C.G. vaccination campaign looks true scientific back and is no more than a form of quackery. It is of no use whatsoever in the vast majority of cases and harmful in quite a few. B.C.G. is based on a weak and un-demonstrated theory that artificially produced allergy is a defence which is not supported by that quantity of confirmation which the method of scientific induction demands before acceptance. It is sought to be proved and bolstered by admissions that most every case of proof against it. B.C.G. is of no potency, it is admitted where the re-infection is strong and this can be an explanation for every failure. In cases where it leads to harm, it is explained by 'low resistance' in the victim. Every circumstance of quackery attends this mass campaign that has been started in India, despite the caution observed in civilised countries abroad wherever it is tried. Indian children are being offered for mass experimentation on the same plan as was put to operation among the people in the war-torn areas and un-civilised dependent communities.

Not only is the basis of the B.C.G. scheme scientifically inadequate, but the propaganda employed for its rapid acceptance on a mass scale smacks of the methods of quackery. It has been often officially stated and repeated in the press that so many lakhs of children have been vaccinated this year against tuberculosis and so many millions will have been vaccinated by the end of the next two years and so on. Any one who remembers the nature of the very limited claims put forward on behalf of B.C.G. vaccination can discover that the public propaganda in this respect is misleading because the alleged immunity is not claimed to last more than a couple of years after the child is vaccinated and during even that period it is not potent enough against severe infection and because there is no scheme for re-vaccination for extending the period of immunity. In fact medical opinion is clear that repeated vaccination with B.C.G. would be dangerous.

This is an issue of general national importance and not a matter to be left for disposal according to the majority opinion among those

whose experts differ. In the advancement of science systems may vary. Where it is a matter that does not affect the bulk of the people, the difference of opinion may be left to be solved by the scientists. Not so, when on the basis of a theory, men's persons are touched for good or evil.

I am certain that one day in the future this B.C.G. will be declared as of no value and given up by the world of scientists and forgotten. As the Health Department of the Government of India is throwing its great weight on the side of this unscientific adventure, the reaction will take time. Meanwhile the children and the broad sections of them all over the land are being deliberately infected on a mass scale with a variety of one of the deadliest living bacilli known to man. Some among the most eminent men of science have expressed their grave doubts as to what the bacilli introduced in the human system may be capable of becoming and doing in the course of time if not at once. The risk is aggravated by the immense number of persons thus infected and by the unavoidable chances of contamination in a hasty mass campaign.

The stated object of the mass campaign is to prevent the occurrence of clinical tuberculosis among children. In the first place, the statistical data generally given for mortality among young people from tuberculosis in India are not real statistics but only intentionally distorted conclusions. In the next place, the disease never has occurred or will occur in an epidemic form so as to justify mass infection with a poison not by any means fully proved to be harmless. Again, the claim put forward for the vaccine is an admittedly un-demonstrable immunity and that too, only for a couple of years. Taking all these into account, one must come to the conclusion that the campaign is thoroughly unjustifiable.

One of the worst incidents of a mass campaign is the careless effort by men whose words carry weight, to cause a dread of the disease in the vast majority of people. Fear considerably reduces the power of resistance among those who have hitherto coped with dormant infection. Another general consequence of the campaign is the neglect of other measures such as would go far towards real control of tuberculosis.

I am not against modern 'western' therapy or modern science. B.C.G. has nothing to do with modern western medicine. In fact, it is more akin to the principle of homeopathy than to what is generally known as modern medicine. It proceeds on a creed very similar to that of homeopathy, namely, that diseases are to be dealt with by the administration in mild forms of the very things that produce the disease. The difference is that the homeopath does not introduce what multiplies in the human body, but the B.C.G. man introduces a large body of living multiplying organisms, which never leave but are intended to remain for ever in the body of the person vaccinated.

\* Being an introductory note to a collection of a few important statements of eminent medical men, which is issued in a pamphlet, printed at the Indian Express West End Station.



Informed readers have to forgive me for devoting even a little space to this, namely to point out that the BCG vaccine is not a cure for anything. The claim is that it may serve as a preventive in some cases and for a brief period of time. I need not have had to say this but for the fact that I have met quite a few respectably educated men who ask why I oppose something that is proposed to relieve sickness? BCG does not relieve any sickness. It is not intended for it.

Quackery is bad whether it be modern or of the time honored variety. It is easy to deal with the latter type but modern quackery is difficult to cope with as it cloaks for its purposes modern medical terminology and methods of procedure.

A lie which is all a lie  
may be met and fought with outright  
But a lie which is part a truth  
is a harder matter to fight.

A principle is discovered which is not universal but it is sought to apply it to cases where it cannot be applied and exposure of error is resisted. BCG is an extension of the principle of immunity underlying the artificial introduction of the very same virus or toxin that cause the disease with the object that the human body may be stimulated to produce a defense as it is observed to do when catching the infection in the normal way. The extension of this principle to tuberculosis is wrong because it is known that tuberculous infection does not lead to the creation of any defensive antibody in the system. But struggling against this hard fact and incurable objection to the application of the pasteurized method of producing immunity, the BCG-protegment proceeds to depend on the mass allergy or hypersensitivity created by the introduction of the poison as a substantial defense against infection and asks us to accept all the unknown risks of the infection for the sake of the allergy, even when ultimately lasts only for a couple of years. The ultimate argument is merely statistical which, according to the best appraisers, as will be seen, is inconclusive. These figures of vaccination done, without any well-confirmed observation of results as regards immunity do not form a valid statistical argument beyond proving the energy and resources at the back of the spreading organization.

This is what I respectfully say, is the quackery involved in BCG. I am not a medical expert. But my conclusions are not based merely on my a priori fears and doubts, but on the definite promissuaries of most eminent and illustrious medical men of the civilized world. The Indian medical men that have been recruited by the Health Ministry to conduct and speak for this campaign, the biggest among them, are not so eminent as any of the medical men, on the basis of whose observations and opinions, I have come to the conclusion that this mass campaign

of inoculation with BCG *(Bacillus Calmette Guérin)* is wrong and must be given up.

Newspapers are not all of them very willing to oblige one who opposes a Government-sponsored campaign with facts again, even though the subject be of utmost general importance and though the object be to teach truth and not the furtherance of a particular administrative or political policy. Even when they are generous and willing to publish written criticisms or the reports of speeches dealing with the subject, they are necessarily unable to find space for publishing all the authorities that may be quoted or referred to. This hospital is intended to make up for this. I have here collected and present to readers a few important statements of eminent medical men. I have reduced my own remarks to the minimum that is necessary to explain the relevance of the extracts.

## KHAND AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

(By Ganesha)

[The importance of these industries in being recognized is a matter not to be denied at present. Though it is not satisfactory one may not content at this stage of our economic thought that it is only that shall we begin to realize and appreciate their true value and hence importance in our national economy. Their importance was shown to us in Gandhiji. It is well known that we realized ourselves of what he said about them. The following is from his stated statement, the Constructive Programme which has been adopted by the Congress and stands as its declared policy till now.

19-34

—M. P. I.

"The Khadi mentality means decentralization of the production and distribution of the necessities of life. Therefore the formula so far evolved is, every village to produce and use all its necessities and, in addition, produce a certain percentage as its contribution to the requirements of the cities.

"Heavy industries will necessarily be centralized and nationalized. But they will occupy the least part of the vast national activity in the villages."

"Other village industries stand on a different footing from Khadi. There is not much scope for voluntary labour in them. Each industry will take the labour of only a certain number of hands. These industries come as to a handloom to Khadi. They cannot exist without Khadi, and Khadi will be robbed of its dignity without them. Village economy cannot be complete without the essential village industries such as hand-grinding, hand-pounding, soap-making, paper-making, match-making, weaving, carpentering etc."

## Real Planning

[And Gandhi has repeatedly stressed on this real planning, not in heavy industries but in these small-scale ones. The following is his answer to a direct question on the matter put to him in 1947.]

Q. The Government has been introducing schemes of industrializing the country for the

"Constructive Programme. Its Planning and Finance—P. 35, Feb. Newspaper paper in 2 paragraphs 22-23-24-25, 1944, P. 10.

maximum utilization of her raw materials, not of her abundant and untamed man power which is left to rot in idleness. Can such schemes be considered realistic?"

A: "The question has been well put. I do not exactly know what the Government plan is but I heartily endorse the proposition that any plan which exploits the raw materials of a country and neglects the potentially more powerful man-power is doomed and can never lead to establish human equality."

Real planning consists in the best utilization of the whole man-power of India and the distribution of the raw products of India in her numerous villages instead of sending them outside and debasing Indian articles at fabulous profit.

*Harjain, 200-07*

### CASE OF LARGE-SCALE CORRUPTION

*(By Kephaleen P. Desai)*

The Railway Corruption Inquiry Committee has reported to the Railway Minister on July 11. From the short press summaries that are available it is easy to see that the document is a study not only in railway administration but also reveals a cross-section of our social and human morality and sense of good citizenship.

Examining the background of railway corruption the Report says that "corruption on the railways was nothing new. During the early periods, under company management, the wages of the station staff were very low and what they collected as kickbacks from the public was considered a. This form of corruption was almost universal."

"The system of practices introduced during war-time and the extreme shortage of transport resulted in new forms of corruption which continued even after the termination of the war as the transport position remained unsatisfactory."

It should not also be forgotten, says the committee, that the first essential condition for eliminating corruption in any Government department is an efficient and honest police force trained in the latest and most scientific methods of detecting and apprehending crime.

"It is difficult for a department to discharge its special functions and also effectively tackle the anti-social elements working in its ranks. It has not the necessary machinery to do this," the committee remarks.

It is also true, the committee says, that the lack of adequate civic sense and bourgeois morality is to some extent responsible for the encouragement of corruption amongst the railway staff.

"Unless this deep-rooted attitude of indifference to public good and one's duty as a good citizen is changed, it would be difficult to eradicate corruption from Government employees," says the committee.

Using a psychological approach, the committee says that the problem of corruption is not

confined to the railways. "It is common to all Government departments and a deep-seated change of outlook on the part of all concerned is therefore essential for grappling with this evil." Since the attainment of freedom the role of the railways has completely changed, and "there should be a corresponding change in the attitude of those who run this huge machinery as also of the using public." While there has been a growing consciousness of this problem, the committee says, the steps taken so far have not borne satisfactory results.

After making a general survey of the problem of corruption on the railways against the larger background, the committee has proceeded to make a number of suggestions and recommendations on specific points. Implementation of these recommendations, the committee says, would create an atmosphere congenial for honest and efficient discharge of duties by railway employees.

Shortage of transport, according to the committee, is one of the main reasons which encourage corrupt practices. It is, therefore, necessary that adequate provision be made in the second Five Year Plan not only to make up for the arrears but also to build up sufficient assets to enable the railways to cope with the present transport demands and the further demands that would be made by an expanding economy during the period.

While a major part of corruption exists in the handling of goods traffic, the committee observes that the handling of passengers and baggage is not free from it. Here too the law was circumvented as evil steadily in existence. There had been some improvement of late but the prevalence of corruption was still extensive.

The committee deals in some detail with the forms of corruption prevalent in the handling of passengers and baggage, reservation of berths, fraudulent use of tickets, harassment of distant passengers and ticketless traveling.

Such action in cases of harassment of poor and distant villagers by railway staff has been recommended.

A separate chapter in the report deals with the internal working of the railways, as in the committee's view, corruption amongst the railway staff in their dealing with the public is closely interlinked with corruption later on. Such corruption is usually in respect of appointments, training, promotions, gratifications, leave, pension, PTOs, postings, selection boards, railway medical departments, and misuse of railway materials and railway labour.

Often the Government railway police officials themselves indulge in corrupt practices, says the committee.

Several paragraphs in the report are devoted to ways in which the railway commission committee can play a positive role in eradicating corruption. It is recommended that the scope of

these bodies should be extended to cover all matters of public interest having industrial consequences of railway employees.

The committee has emphasised that legislators should avoid creating overcompensations to the ministers or Government officials regarding individual cases of railway employees for postulations, transfers, demarcation or reduction of postulations etc. In cases of postulation where legislators feel that injustice has been done, these may be forwarded to the Railway Minister for review. Questions relating to appointments, transfers and promotions should be left to the administrative. Order no overcompensations should a legislative approach officials for favours.

From this short summary readers will see that this is a case of a chronic disease rampant on a large scale requiring therefore, a long and careful treatment from all sides, not only the police and the railway departments, but also commerce and industry, railwaymen's unions, and the large number of the people who use the railway in diverse ways. Only a total effort on the part of all of them can eradicate the evil, though deep-rooted in our social order.

12-2-39

#### EDUCATION AND PLANNED DEVELOPMENT

(By Mageshban P. Desai)

Mr T. T. Bingle, a British economist examined the 2nd P. T. Plan and the result of his findings is published in *The Indian Press*, Delhi 26-7-39. It is interesting in various ways. I will here only cite of them which appear to me to be the most striking and really noteworthy.

"It is perhaps altogether surprising to most of us that the authors being distinguished members of the academic profession none of the documents has pointed out that their proposals would demand taxation and increasing returns to the source of education and investment in the civil service. The whole cost and weight on education must be changed now in order to get the result years hence. It is in this point that, in my opinion, the genius of all depends lies."

The criticism is true and well-earned, for we know, to our cost, the peculiar perversity of educational thought in India about the vital link between national education and social and economic reconstruction.

The British economist, in the course of another observation, usually reverts to this subject and makes further observations which is equally important.

"One cannot help feeling that the treatment of education, sports, social security and welfare, the implementation of the vast increase of expenditure on health are indicative of the feeling that the author has not even currently considered the enormous additional burden that would be entailed if a really earnest start is made with raising the standard of life in all these fields of intensive consumption. When, e.g., in treating educational subject the Plan body states that on the basis of work every student at all levels and in leading countries must be provided with complete living and educational expenses on a scale 50 to 75 per cent above the present standard. One can only wonder where these great sums are to have been

derived in India in any form. One does not understand exactly what is an internal expenditure which is paid in for too much expenditure towards non-productive and non-productive industry in the Indian Government not even to balance the accounts in which the war will be to be strengthened? The results however achieved to 20% of the total support the government spent as they do not support it in British values, that what is needed is more effective expenditure used by the state of course thought to be capable of handling anything at a national scale.

Will our planners realise even now that the basic reform for any development worth the name is educational and that the way laid down by Gandhi to redirect education through the medium of productive labour or industry and through direct social contact with the people by means of the service of the neighbourhood,—this has the vital and far-reaching effect of changing the whole of our people and preparing them for a total effort to rebuild not only our shattered basic national economy—the economy of our villages, but also social and political life and morals of our people."

1-2-39

#### TRIBE FORCES WORKING FOR THE LAND REVOLUTION

(By Prasad)

[From prayer speech at Tiruchennai in Telugu on 11-4-39]

Tribe forces are working with us in whose strength we build and the power that they should get used and that they will surely have it.

Tribe

The first among them is the force of truth. There cannot be democracy if truth is a plain truth. Land is for everyone. Therefore it should be available to any person who wants to work in it. We cannot say that the strength of the tribe and because it is not really human, but truth is our truth. But everyone has to recognise it. I have not yet seen a tribe which is not really human. During the past four years believers of all religions persecuted whether Hindu, Mohammedan, Christian or the others have all subscribed to the idea that the people belong to God. God we are all the children. And we have the same moral rights and that is the basis of the Land reform which is more rights and privileges for some and less for others, as children of the Father. Who is in Heaven all of us have the same right to the wealth. He has created but not to us. We should all recognize the force of our truth and there are great hopes in the creation of 100 or less right. This is God's new truth.

Advantages

The other force working for and with us is the strength of our tribes. People who believe in the land but who do not have any idea in this world. We have our own truth in the mountains they practice. These men and women will be the tribe and right. There is no end to their land. But they do not receive the fruits of their labour. The tribe that they practice are the tribes. They practice. And the mountains cannot be their fruits. The tribes practice to get the fruits of their labour. Their mountains cannot be in and they are not we will get our fruits. But the whole nation needs on their labour and that is the reason why the wealth of the nation is not in justice receive the fruits thereof, their labour will be worth and so that the whole nation will get the fruit of the tree support on which it stands. These people who do not do all work on their. This is to say that they have to work in the tribe even on labour. But all of you surely know that the old political order has

good and we have people's own rule now is the inability of many who possess the right to vote under the new order. The Indians have not obtained the right for them (they are supposed to do so). The British will, therefore, have always to be at our mercy. But the Indians will tell that it is the members of the Indian Assembly who have the right to vote will now surely have lost. We cannot now hope to put them under slavery for long. If those who were would by the wheel of their fate do not receive the full share of the fruits of their rule on one hand and if on the other they have secured the full right to cast a vote to elect the people who are to govern for them, their contention is merely going to bring down their legitimate share of the wealth they create. This is the second time working for and with us and for them in the form of taxation.

#### Love

The third is the force of love. All people in India have always had their connection from love. They consider fully understood what love is and what it means. You have seen, with your own eyes, what has recently happened in this land. When the British power withdrew hand from the country, it left behind hundreds of kings and princes, knights and gentlemen. They could do things as they could create enough trouble here. Of course, in the end they could not make good and would have gone under. But they could surely have made themselves a source of trouble for some days. But they did not do so. They saw the reality and gave up their kingdoms, lands and wealth. This phenomenon is a peculiar contribution of the culture and civilisation that is Indian. I feel so it is in our faith that those who own wealth and land will certainly understand and recognise the demand of love. On this very faith we started the midnight walk. Depending solely on it, that faith on the first day on the eighteenth of April four years ago we made the demand for land and a genuine good was given to us in response to it. I have been faith and absolutely no doubt that those in India who possess land and who possess wealth though they may appear to go with the current, though as a consequence they may have been responsible for various kinds of injuries and tyrannies, their hearts within have remained whole and have not been tainted. Love exists in their hearts generously possible in these hearts. We have our trust in that love and that positively India has been familiar with an uninterrupted tradition and constant flow of this and from ancient times people in India have recognised giving due to a duty. This was in such an extent that liberation of those who ruled over kingdoms having given their wholly in gift to society have not been uncommon. We have in India a good number of stories of such steps. This is the third time working for and with us.

Thus we have three forces working on our side. The force of God's own love, the force of the possession of the poor and the force of the love and generosity in the hearts of the wealthy. We are moving on our mission on the strength of these three forces. And we are going to build up a great power on their basis. In the land where the three great forces are working in this manner the problem of land is surely not going to remain where it is. Indeed, it is going to solve itself very soon.

#### Endorsement for the Realisation of Liberty

We are thus witnessing a miracle in this ancient country. If our workers were not just to envision themselves they will see that the problem is going to be solved in truth out of our villages and that the people in every one of them are together going to do so completely by themselves. If all of you who have been here are Indians, please try to think and find out what your duty is and if you were landless please rise up. Let both Hindu and Muslim, British and Indian, and all who wish to solve the problem, it is the duty of the Indians to shed their laziness and give up their laziness. Let them prepare

themselves to work with enthusiasm on the land they will get. Let them rise give up all their evil habits. Let them give up all laziness. And it is for those who were told to give to the landless who labour in the fields their right share share of land, that is, the right of it and also along with it, all other necessary things like food and seeds. Let the landless set up the landless on their feet even as they do their own. It is also the duty of the landless to prepare themselves to face by their own hands the land that would remain to them after parting with the share which should go to the landless. And if they have not the courage and strength to do so, if they are too old to do it, let them leave their own for the land. The landless will come to work on your lands for two years more at best. But then certainly the labour of today will have to prepare and train their sons for the job. Hence my friends are changing, are changing. You will have to prepare and train your sons and Indian for the coming change. The who always prepare themselves for the coming consequences with forethought.

This, then, is how we propose to effect the difference between the owners of land and the landless. There are words all will work on the land on its own and not masters. Land in the village will belong to the whole village and all in the village will do it together. This way will also have to be applied in towns and in America. The landless must not have to learn and prepare themselves to have love and co-operation between them since and their men and to work the together together. All the work carried on in the factories will be with the good of the whole of society in view and the benefit of the labourer will go to the whole of society. This is how we want to distribute land and wealth and to strengthen as well as harmonise society.

(From Hind)

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# HARIJAN

(PUBLISHED BY BHAGANATH GANDHI)  
Editor: MAHATMA P. GANDHI



Vol. 1, No. 24

AMRITSAR—SATURDAY, AUGUST 27, 1932

THE ANNALS

## HYDEL DAMS AND ELECTRIC POWER

By Mahatma P. Gandhi

A correspondent from Dehra has written to me a long letter after reading the article "Unemployed Men and Idle Machines" in the Harijan of 25-8-32. He complains therein that the estimates for large dams constantly go on increasing. But, he says:

"I wanted to know that our massive schemes and their export efforts are for constantly falling a prey to inflation in forcing the estimates over a period of so many years."

After making the statement the correspondent goes on to describe how the estimated expenditure on the Damodar Valley Scheme shot up from ten crores to a hundred and ten crores of rupees and says:

"A gentleman associated with works connected with these dams had informed me long ago that the estimate for the scheme will surely reach the huge amount of a hundred and ten crores of rupees."

He further writes to say:

"I also remember the same gentleman telling me that all these big schemes were not going to serve any purpose. According to him every river should have a dam at every 500 or 1,000 miles distance along its course. Thus, there can be dams on all our rivers without supplying water and power."

When asked why he did not openly say so, the gentleman complained in reply:

"Who is there to listen to our advice? Everything is carried on according to the advice of American experts. And as we are, naturally, concerned with carrying on our production, we have to agree to the conditions of employing foreign experts laid down by Government in order to secure contracts. We employ foreign experts who are really fit to be in jail."

The gentleman also told the correspondent:

"The main object of constructing the big dams is to produce electric power profusely. But it will not be used to power either the industries, these power houses to be produced you will see how enormous of thousands running hundreds of crores of rupees coming up to cost in million Rs."

After making these various statements the correspondent finally says:

"Thus while the Congress and Government will go on passing resolutions in favour of village and cottage industries, central Government are paying their own share for dragging the nation into centralisation and heavy industries."

Thus the correspondent has written to me about something which demands serious consideration. Referring to the same topic he wrote to me in another letter:

"It is not likely that the gentleman who gave me the information is a set-up capitalist, is he? I therefore, I think, in view that I have never heard from the Harijan since I left it in 1930."

After the introduction the correspondent goes on to discuss the subject further in the following manner:

Construction of big dams involves big expenditure. Many big dams of the kind in America have broken down. And when big dams break down the expenditure is so big that you can never get the money. You get a very small amount. Another thing, thousands of acres of land are submerged under water behind such big dams. While we are busy we complain of water shortage of land, on the other we allow, thus, thousands of acres to be submerged under water!

Two propositions are presented when making the expenditure on the big dams is sought from Parliament, one is increase in our production of food through extensive irrigated lands to be derived from the dams and the other is of production of millions of kilowatts of electric power. People, naturally, consider increase of production of food as important, but the conclusion is that the pressure of the enormous expenditure electric power of greater importance. Now, is expenditure by big dams from central scheme possible all over the country? Is it possible to spread a network of big dams all over the vast expanse of a country like India? And, supposing it is possible, how much land useful for agriculture will have to be lost for the purpose? If there is another water and cheaper alternative which can serve the purpose, it deserves consideration.

Now that construction of dams is every finished or nearly finished of a psychological atmosphere for centralisation and for working various new types of factories is developing in the country. We have of course being started for more people make more capital factories, more distant factories start plants, chemical works, plants and others of the kind.

"There are other dangers involved in the schemes for big dams. (1) whenever found necessary Government expenditure the big dams and other schemes concentrated in the hands of the progress and prosperity of the agricultural population may turn themselves merely into means for revenue for Government. (2) If in the case where the money gets under the brightening his commission made big industries are established—for instance, a sugar factory—to do not think as independent agriculturalists and is related to a more business than to the independent class. Usually as is directly he will be forced to use and grow crops used as for his own business or for export by big



If the people in large groups (Jains, Brahmins, etc.) are in the same position as the ordinary common people, and village industries, which require small capital, could give them an opportunity to earn money, Five Year Plans cannot be the backbone of the limited extent of income that would be realized; also, a large number of people in the way to advancement are prevented by the caste-bar.

From the paper:

### FOUNDATION OF NEW SOCIAL ORDER — VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

(By J. S. Keshavnani)

It is a speech of Swami Prasad on 20th of November 1934.

Let us not run away with the idea that once two acres of land are given in gift to a family the problem stands solved. People had land even before. But due to lack of good administration, to their bad habits and customs, and as a consequence of depending entirely on the state for the supply of these necessities they became as poor as before. Two square miles a day itself has become a wilderness for them. Gandhiji had told us that every family in a village should constitute a factory, the production of articles and goods so that all things needed by a village are produced in it, and every family in a village can be self-reliant and self-sufficient in this age of scientific and technological advances our educational classes are strongly emphasizing the need of rapidly industrializing the whole country. But they do not show any scope for village industries in their plan of industrialization. These advocates of industrialization who lack real understanding have not the sense to see that village industries do not obstruct but help industrialization. There is no doubt, however a difference. When we seek to industrialize every house in a village by means of village industries and to make it self-sufficient as well as self-sufficient we surely attempt to destroy the villages from the life of the state, which destroys the wilderness of the village civilization at which India is proud. In truth this is the high and great ideal of Gandhiji which we have recovered from legacy from Gandhiji and in the name of the new social order we want to establish.

(From the Bombay Times (1934) 24-1-35)

By D. C. Fadhlee

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### PROHIBITION IN KUTCH

(By P. L. Keshavnani)

Kutch is a small Province of 15,000 sq. miles, population 1,00,000, of whom 8 lakhs are Hindus. Bhuj—about 100 miles from the northern border of India and surrounded by desert and salt sea—is hardly an ideal city for prohibition.

Prohibition in India and its progress, into prohibition because of its own administrative weakness. He pushed the idea of making prohibition of drink, then a measure of state. It would only have been a first step, and gave up. The Government of India was much then, and had to be developed. It was then as it is called today, and to develop Kutch, what was a first class port. This has become a wonderful idea. Kutch is also perhaps the ideal source of getting work in Kutch was much better. Our present National Government is more confident, more towards the development of Kutch in all respects. Not one great thing which runs the progress in the absence of prohibition in the state.

It appears that in former times the rulers of Kutch had encouraged opening of shops for selling country liquor in 4 or 5 towns of Kutch. As the means of commerce then during those days were very meagre, it appears, only local people in towns were affected and as the standard of living of the people was comparatively low, it did not attract anybody's notice. But the recent marvellous growth of Gandhism and Kutch port has changed the situation.

Recently I had a chance to visit the area which is under development and I saw about 10,000 labourers mostly coming from backward classes doing unskilled work. The Hindus began to complain that the existence of liquor shops was raising their prices. To my great sorrow I was told that because of all regulations in the country liquor could be sold only in other shops, such as hotels, etc., and the place which it named after the Father of the Nation, who was the greatest promoter of prohibition, is almost famous for the illicit drug. I was informed that the workers of Kutch and the present advocates of the fight against are all trying their best to introduce prohibition as soon as possible and they have asked the Central Government for the same. I request the public to use their influence to see that complete prohibition is introduced in this State as soon as possible, so that the fair name of new progressive State of Kutch may not be spoiled. I contacted the organizers of the Gandhism and the workers, who were all agreeable that liquor traffic was spoiling the fair name of the area, which is named after the great Father of the Nation. I trust, this important question will receive due consideration and over the area from the evil and demoralizing effect of liquor.

26-7-35

## HARIJAN

Aug. 27

1955

### A TRAGIC ERROR IN ECONOMIC THOUGHT

(By Nagendran P. Das)

In the course of a talk about small-scale village industries and their place in the new Five Year Plan, an economist friend of high repute said that it must not be forgotten that these industries were to find their place in a plan which has heavy industries as its chief objective. The point under discussion was in what sense are the village industries described as an integral part of the Second Five Year Plan? The philosopher puts down this point in the following terms:

"The basic strategy in the second plan must, therefore, be to invest high sums in the development of basic industries, transport and mining at one end and to concentrate its means to greater in the capital requirements for other sectors without overlooking the supply of consumer goods. This strategy requires all-out efforts for the maximum utilisation of capacity in meeting consumer need for the development of additional production in the expenditure on small-scale units of industries. Since a large part of the additional demand for consumer goods would be directed against food staples, most to paid in the shape of salaries which would increase productivity in agriculture quickly and at low capital cost.

Thus the planners have recognised the chief and unique merit of small-scale village industries viz., that they are capital light and can give the nation a huge amount of consumer goods simultaneously, here and now.

However the most material point about them that the planners happen to note is that these industries possess also a huge employment-potential and a very welcome virtue of ensuring equitable distribution of purchasing power. Further they emphasise that part of our people who need to be first attended to:

This attribute of small-scale industries is very important. We wish to plan for a socialist pattern of society. The first essential to do it is to make the whole of our people work, and work immediately, here and now. Not only the idle and the one or under-employed want work, but also those who live on unearned income which it is possible to have in a capitalist or property related economy,—all must be made to work.

In our country poor and backward as it is in terms of western economic standards the evil of unearned income is comparatively smaller than the colossal amount of idleness, forced unemployment and underemployment. To remove the latter therefore has to be made the immediate target for any planning, more so if the aim is to have a socialist pattern of society with social justice as its chief objective.

Therefore to attempt that the real nature of the Indian-type Plan is to have heavy industries and consequent industrialism in India would not be right, though it might be conceded that the plan provides for some so-called heavy industries in its programme. But if we look at the larger and broader aims and objects of a plan for India, we must admit that these heavy industries—though directed to themselves as disproportionately large and substantial amount of our capital resources and attention,—do not serve these aims, they can be and are served by the basic national industries of our people, viz., the small-scale village industries that can produce a very huge amount of consumer goods. I now explain my point in another way.

The graph of real prosperity in India, speaking in mathematical terms, has two co-ordinates, the axis of x being agriculture and cattle breeding and the axis of y being the small-scale village industries together with a sprinkling of a few so-called heavy or key industries which, by their very nature require a different economic technique. Our industrialists during the last few centuries has been that the role of y which gives real height and ascends to the curve of the nation's prosperity is almost forgotten and an attempt is in vain being made to put a few capital-intensive and experimental gear industries in the place of our massive village industries. We must beware of persisting in this role in Five India.

This mistake again leads our economic thought to a tragic error of looking upon agriculture and industry as two separate compartmental economic pursuits, thus violating both of them from the point of view of the real social objective of justice and equity. As we saw above, they are integral parts of a common economic system. Agriculture alone becomes a poor economy, unless it is also industrialised by making the holding very large which is probable and impossible in our land.

Industry alone, allied with capital and the machine, becomes a parasitic agent of unemployment-creating and exploiting economy, driving the unemployed burden of the nation to land which grows still more scarce and overburdened with such pressure and in thus rendered the poorer as it grows.

Thus untold debility of industrialism and agriculture brought about by western industrial revolution and its dire results in a people who are not rational nor ungrateful—which we in India are—require to be fully noted by us if we wish to industrialise in India a truly free happy and equitable social order. The school of thought speaking under the slogan of a socialist pattern of society does not seem to note this important point, which is born to the Barbedwire school of economic thought. The economists also,





1) The second, more general, case is when the  
function  $f$  is not linear. In this case, the  
approximation is not exact. The error is  
proportional to the square of the step size.  
The error is also proportional to the  
curvature of the function  $f$ . The error is  
smaller for functions that are closer to  
linear.

the company is currently paid. Total in-  
surance cost is \$1 million. The cost per  
employee is:

[illegible]

100

The authors have collected data from a very recent survey from the United Kingdom Health

1. The two boys gradually awakened and looked at each other. The Russian looked at GAGNE and saw a man. He was French, French he thought, to him he felt the same, he smiled - and the Russian repeat say, "GAGNE" and he said "GAGNE" and still have no idea of what he was saying. He said "GAGNE" and still have no idea of what he was saying. He said "GAGNE" and still have no idea of what he was saying.

100

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[illegible]

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## PLANTING PROGRESS DAY BY DAY — 7

11/10/2010 11:58:23 AM

Age Group	Percentage
18-24	15%
25-34	25%
35-44	30%
45-54	20%
55-64	10%

"Fisher" also once attended his old university in a bid to join the political parties in the economy and politics, but the class was open to all without any exceptions, so after the course he and his friends through the means of discussion for the most distant reached the idea of creating a new political party. The Communist Party, the Party of workers and appeared political party, so the name which they selected indicated and also from the PEP motto, he indicated the socialist path, as part of the word "pro" most seen in each discipline, where there had some definition.

His police and Tasered resistance is just as clear and straight. He resists the man in blue, he never lets go of his gun, he takes them

[illegible]

It says the problem was that the German Minister-Legation, Vienna, on the 1st of June 1944, advised the staff that British soldiers and five German officers had been captured and were being held in the German prison camp at Mauthausen. The British officers were held in the camp and the German soldiers were being held in the camp at Mauthausen. The British officers were held in the camp and the German soldiers were being held in the camp at Mauthausen.

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Fluoride is a naturally occurring mineral found in rocks, soil, and water. It is essential for the development and maintenance of strong teeth and bones. Fluoride is found in many foods and beverages, including water, tea, and certain fruits and vegetables. Fluoride is also added to toothpaste, mouthwash, and some foods and beverages to help prevent tooth decay. Fluoride is a safe and effective way to protect your teeth and bones.

Lid tax is the issue to be sold along the 1981 part of the P&H members. The Congress will also be able to work substantially for the State, entirely the gap between the two parties would be bridged than in the language programme to reach at that difficulty. The P&H must know each other and work together in many ways to reach each other.

With his characteristic politeness, Flinkey seemed to find the cause of the differences between the Congress and the PEP to be clear. Clearly, he never will reach such a high level of responsibility while the place is run and taken care of by a few boys in tall topcoats!

1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

Can we say that Mr. Robertson was would like to work with other parties to work for immediate? I am thinking for the sake of clarification. He really was laid out pretty far ahead but not yet reached the point that we can open this corporation I have no doubt however that the work will be done certainly not in a way that is not in the interest of the people.

10

On the positive side, the company's "Pursuing" strategy has increased the company's sales from 1995 to 1999.

the country. The Government must be made aware of the fact that the people are not only interested in the economic sphere but also in the cultural sphere.

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1955

#### BUILDING FROM BELOW — V

(By Mykola Sh. P. Ivan)

(Continued from the issue of August 6, 1955, p. 194)

The next Five Year Plan frame envisages an increase of about 15 to 20 per cent in the national income during the plan period. The rate of this increase would not be uniform in different sectors of the economy. The increase in capital intensive heavy industries will be higher than that in any lightweights or small-scale enterprises. The plan-frame estimates that net output per occupied person for 1952-53 prices level in agriculture and allied pursuits will be Rs. 571, while in mining and factory establishments it will be Rs. 7632 when the total average is only Rs. 560. As we well know, averages in such matters do not give a true or real picture. The bulk of the population will not have a really efficient rate of income, thus having less opportunities for a higher standard of living. Social justice requires that those who are the lowest in this standard must be made the special target for securing to them first a suitable measure, thus assisting in the people's march towards a socialist pattern of society.

The second plan, being capital-intensive either through State capital in the public sector or through private use in the private sector, cannot do this in an extent strictly necessary for our poor people at the present conditions.

Capital, whether in the private or the public sector will generally behave in a capitalist manner, thus making the rich richer and the poor poorer.

The "Building from Below" plan, in its programme of development, therefore, takes a line quite different from this, and directly aims to subsidise the lowest income groups first and then takes the way of Keresdarya, which makes the claims of 'also then last' first and foremost.

The approach may be shortly pointed out here.

The principal objective of a socially significant approach about is to reduce employment, because without the systematic distribution of the benefits of increased production it is not possible. Growth, this and therefore it is necessary to consider not only the production efficiency or economic activity of a nation but also the social layout and the operations of its system.

In other words, it is already a generally accepted principle that economic or productive development is by no means more efficient, especially economic capacity with social significance.

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1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26






ANNAPOLIS—SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1962

**Abstract**

### SENATOR WOULD YOUTH LIFE AT ALL COSTS

1882

[The *Paragon Model* was shown in Gales in 1940 for the service of the *Admiral* area. Since 1940 constructive work is needed on many major sea systems and leader ship of that *Admiral* Channel. On 200 25 a meeting of the members of the *Admiral* was held at 100000 in the *Comptrol* Division of the *Ocean* State, where the *Comptrol* was present. The following is a list of the speech delivered by him on the occasion.]

Wherever Ili has been recorded in the literature has been undertaken, it has been carried on with a spirit also Ili was as a consequence it has developed a special technique as well as a variety of ligaments. It has been used in various other methods.

The new service was rendered to systems of our people like the Marikans and the Alameda. It was perhaps inevitable in the beginning that new underlings, the children of service, we ourselves should not be separate our service of service should be one whole.

Our work of service started in a certain way. What we began as persons or national societies which had the object of freeing the nation from slavery was the first step to take up. Then the blood movement was started with a view to establish contact with the common people and to stir them out of indifference to their hardships. First in blood work we began with working in those days working was done with all your I was then advised that this people had to depend on an outside agency - it was not within the means that lived in. So the necessity of educating them by hand on the other side was born. And the spiritual blood came in the beginning first that the others were supplied by the people made that time on. I was found that others also should be made by hand. Then strength it was that that we should begin at the beginning in human our own nature and character.

This land is required for growing cotton plants. In the case of Shreehari, this reduced the ability of workers to farm.

There was no question of starting the Shanghai Tاجر mission then, because the word of the Chinese was just empty! But the movement just started was just empty! So when I had a magazine distributed that was why it did not start with moving the word, but began at the top. Now, people are always interested in the fruit, they want to know it or want to try it. And we had no interest in moving the seed. However, now that we have achieved success and beginning will have to work in Shanghai and in other cities in a village where said to the Shanghai Tاجر Industries started directly from above would not be able to include themselves for long. The third stage, that of our country to agriculture and we can drive people to set up the other village industries if we were to begin to be helped. We said not by village industries and said we had a plan for ourselves. There is a village where we have moved and all said to us, yes, yes.

I have seen the work of Charles's assistants, W. Knoll, They have been doing it continuously for the last hundred or hundred and fifty years. The whole subject continues to be discussed in the book.

When I thought over the issue of this personal criticism I came to the conclusion that criticism of this nature for the service of medical social work is the duty of everyone. In discussing a larger life in the world

The singer emphasizes, I mean we were that we were, give a look to the people. The entire African population here is without a link. The Christian churches here give us a look and when I say African there singing hymns, from the other day my father visited the project I felt for them. I could see that those people were not ordinary, because they have some kind of content.

I believe giving a book to the [redacted] is very important. I have seen that on Yahu January 1968, the issue of great conflict in the U.S. French [redacted] was reported but succeeded in keeping the people out, but as it has done in the days when the Hindu religion was started from all sides the people feel they had something to fall back upon in order to stand up against them. The Tibet issue was advised the book of writing off the situation in Bhagal I said there were many books, but there was not one single book like the Tibet manuscript which could give the ordinary American people as well as to the staff and of knowledge what they had wanted to take from it. There should be the same country, but one book is better held in all, as much in the book of letters as in the spiritual world. I did not find a book of that character in Bhagal that was the reason why the U.S. French did not understand in many studies from various religions in Bhagal and there were no book to get pictures of and raised people who had failed. Before this one I did not realize as while time was being lost all of you have the right, go to the meeting and read the book.

I have seen that not only the Africans but people from Europe as well tend to have no faith in the

By a book I do not mean a particular single work. Instead we must go to the name of Karvayev it is a duty to present its philosophy to the people. We should have a finished view while presenting it. We should deal with its facts, then present the finished shape. I suppose its actual practice, then its technique as how it should work in the routine life of life and lastly about the ultimate aim or the ideal to be achieved. We have to carry all these aspects of the Karvayev's view of life to the people and then convince them that it is proper to them.

I could name up a few words about the method of work after membership at Wards I was that more moving about for propaganda did get over the purpose Ward unity work should also be carried on along with it, this when steady work went on elsewhere were reinforced and expressions were set up life in them was strengthened while certain kinds "People did not feel the need of having contact with the people living around them nor had they the time or the energy to do so. An inevitable result from this was the emergence of some





the Hari J. C. Kumbhappa are already paid down on the first — including all power-driven, to motors, and the common, system motorised 5 horses (the so-called motor) — a condition they set, under the deal being played on the poor people. Will Kumbhappa reply to this point, raised by Hari J. C. Kumbhappa who is one of them, though not setting eye to eye with their collecting?

20-8-35

M. P. I.

## HARIJAN

Sat. 8

1935

### LANGUAGES AND PUBLIC SERVICES

(By Jagannath P. Das)

A friend from Madras draws my attention to a notification of the Government of India which says that for probationers in Indian Administrative Service the qualifying tests will be in the following subjects—1 Hindi, 2 a Regional Language and 3 Hindi, except for candidates who are examined in Hindi as a regional language under Item 2 above.

It says further that "every probationer shall be examined in the regional language or one of the regional languages shown in column (3) of the Schedule against the State to which he is allotted."

#### The Schedule is as follows

State	Regional Languages
(1)	(2)
Andhra	Urdu or Hindi
Assam	Assamese or Bengali
Bihar	Hindi, Bengali, Bhojpuri or Urdu
Bombay	Marathi, Gujarati or Kannada
Madhya Pradesh	Hindi or Marathi
Madras	Tamil, Telugu, Kannada or Malayalam
Orissa	Oriya, Telugu or Bengali
Punjab	Hindi or Punjabi or Gujurati or Urdu
Uttar Pradesh	Hindi
West Bengal	Bengali or Hindi
Hyderabad	Marathi, Telugu, Kannada or Urdu
Madhya Bharat	Hindi
Myana	Kannada
Pithoragarh and Dehra	Punjabi or Gujurati or Hindi or Urdu
Punjab	Hindi
Gujarat	Gujarati or Hindi
Tripura-Cooch Behar	Assamese or Tamil
Madhya Pradesh	Hindi

The notification raises many questions. One of them is noted by the Madras correspondent as follows:

The following States are mentioned as Hindi regions—Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Hyderabad, and Vidhar. The candidates from these regions will take only Hindi as their language whereas the candidates from Andhra, Assam, Bombay, Madras, Orissa, West Bengal

will have to take two languages—Hindi and one of the regional languages. This notification is somewhat in part as it is in the Hyderabad region, where Urdu is compulsory, and in the Madras region, where Tamil is compulsory. It is not clear that the notification is for the purpose of making Hindi compulsory in the regions where it is not already compulsory.

It is further noted that the notification is not in force in the regions where it is not compulsory. It is further noted that the notification is not in force in the regions where it is not compulsory. It is further noted that the notification is not in force in the regions where it is not compulsory.

There is another point worthy of notice in the above Schedule. We have noted already that Hindi and Sanskrit are selected to form part of a regional language. Urdu is mentioned under Hyderabad only even though it is one of the regional languages more or less, all over the areas where Hindi is mentioned as a regional language for example U.P., Punjab, Bihar, Rajasthan etc. It is worth while to know the basis on which the regional languages are provided in the Schedule for it raises important questions as regard to future administrative set-up.

Coming to the question raised by the Madras correspondent, I may just ask whether it would not be a better plan of qualifying tests if we say that there will be—1 Hindi, 2 a Regional language other than the probationer's own, and 3 Hindi (the official Language of the Union). A probationer whose regional language is Hindi may be asked to undergo under item 3, a test in Urdu, so that his Hindi will be stretched to meet and will meet some of the requirements of the official Language of the Union under Art. 341 of the Constitution of India.

I do not quite share the philosophy of the North and the South in this connection, and desire that we think out the question in a broad and objective manner keeping in view, of course, the unity of our people and desiring to introduce mutual love and regard for all our great national languages.

20-8-35

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## PILGRIMS' PROGRESS DAY BY DAY — VI

(By Damsadharma Bhambhani)

A. Vithalji arrived at one of his design classes to find a student had squandered time with the difficulties he encountered in his work. "It is more about a hundred miles," he said, "that we are reaching the Government Hospital to-day. There is a train station close here, which is not being accepted. The Indians for the last fifty years have not got any respect for last year when they have also started a Muslim Hospital, which is now closed for the Muslims too small. We are rendering the service while they are changing our ropes for bananas."

Vithalji's charges inspired why the people were so much in need of a system that brought together. "Giving is a religious duty, medical where needed, but how the Muslim came to be propaganda with the help of their people, our medical and medical medicine very cheap from their main thing is, added."

Vithalji observed that along medicine was not the only material but was propaganda the only cause behind the movement. As for the hospitals, they are supported by the Government Hospital by the Government. The main motive for establishment was not the medical cause but the one which represented the medical service given to the medical service for the last few years supplied. "We had ourselves the other side — You have seen a train while they have a station — corrected Vithalji."

"But we they are used to carrying all their religious propaganda" — was the next question.

"How can we stop them from doing that I am they carrying on day and Government or any individual and others." They are delivering only the message of Jesus and Christ. They have been doing so," replied Vithalji. He was talking not only the Christian Missionaries at Calcutta. "People for I mentioned the Indians against their constitution by the missionaries. They have been able to organize, these folks of the Indians who are common in Christianity."

In the postscript speaks that Vithalji showed up upon the need of providing a Book of Faith to Indians and others. "Now he stated that this Bhambhani and Bhambhani were extremely read and studied by the end of the day." The last by the articles written on the part of the response to the Indians of for their service to anyone else must become a thing of the past. "I think it is a thing of the past must be created by the minds of these people for the response. The last step that Bhambhani came in the conclusion that a Book of Faith must be provided to those people of the society, which are devoid of any such spiritual base."

In this connection Vithalji pointed out here in his opinion there was no book today which in the present time was worth presenting to the people. "We will have to make education and supplement them by new and new books to add. It was also very clear that there was no need of any agency because God and his servants." Dr. Bhambhani's response was such as to say: "But they were disciples who were eager to bring in their own in between, and it were those disciples who added that that could not be reached without the help of a Christ or a Mahatma. Let us, therefore, collect the service of all the religious and present it directly to the people," he said.

In this connection Vithalji pointed out the great and great connection that was evident in their studies and future by a single book the Bhambhani's Book of Faith. According to Vithalji, it was this book alone which saved those progress from the clutches of the missionaries. It was the book of such a book that made one of the parts of the service, service of such a book.

The words of Vithalji, regarding the book of such a book, were light on the mind of the main study connection in his study, try whether they be to bring it to Christianity. It was

expected that some of the Bhambhani's progress in this matter.

Vithalji's charges inspired why the people were so much in need of a system that brought together. "Giving is a religious duty, medical where needed, but how the Muslim came to be propaganda with the help of their people, our medical and medical medicine very cheap from their main thing is, added."

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22-22

## ROLE OF FILMS IN PUBLIC LIFE

(By Jagan, Ranchi)

The 1943 has been a very interesting controversy has been going on in the press especially in the film papers. It mainly lies in a representation submitted by the film industry to Government at Parliament, to the Congress Working Committee. They are reported to have reported that most of the films exhibited in the country are not providing any proper ideas on our young men and girls and pleaded for a special order to end the cinema. Consequently the Congress Working Committee is asked to have asked the Union Ministry for Information and Broadcasting to look into the matter and do the needful in other words the Congress MP is expected to take down to a place by a special committee of the film industry has been highly criticised by the film magazines.

The most serious thing in the President of the Film Association of India has been naturally more forward with a film highlighted protest. He has called upon the Government to take steps and order restrictions to stop these "cinemas of industry" against national problems. Regarding the Congress Working Committee, it is asked to stop film in this country. In addition to have observed that the Government had been less than due to the film industry, it is reported to have without leaving the industry, the point and that the action of the MP's of the Information Ministry and of the Congress Working Committee was a great picture of the protected effects to hinder the cinema industry and to attempt to bring the cinema industry under official control. Now, he is reported to have characterized the charges made by the MP's against film as a condemnation of the industry against the film industry. He argued, rightly or wrongly, indisputable. How had on earth been passed by the minister and if the India had carried these the minister reported as reports on the administrative level rather than a technical maladministration of the industry and legislative maladministration.

The public has no hesitation whether any action has been taken by the Ministry to be taken on the Congress Working Committee. And one knows whether the Government propose to meet the open challenge thrown by the public. However, the line passed between the Film Industry and the MP's industry is more or less of a domestic nature.



### CONCEPT OF BASIC EDUCATION

[Being a statement about the concept of Basic Education issued by Shri Bhabhai Jivandas Chaudhari of the Planning Commission on Basic Education and Shri K. V. Kalyanasulathi Additional Secretary, Ministry of Education.]

The term 'Basic Education' has been interpreted and sometimes misinterpreted in a variety of ways. That is to some extent understandable because it is a comparatively recent development and its concept and technique are still in the making. It seems necessary, therefore, to state clearly what we mean by Basic Education.

Broadly speaking, we would like to point out that the concept of Basic Education is the same as defined in the Report of the Basic National Education Committee (The Zaker Hussain Committee) and elucidated by the Central Advisory Board of Education. We are clear that the basic principles and techniques we made out in that Report, should guide and shape educational reconstruction in India. As far as the provision of eight years of compulsory universal schooling and the use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction are concerned, there is no difference of opinion about them. They have now come to be universally accepted and need no further elucidation except so far as it may be necessary to stress the intrinsic wholeness of the entire period of Basic Education covering the junior as well as senior basic grades. The other implications and features of Basic Education that need to be clarified and stressed are the following:

1. Basic Education, as conceived and explained by Mahatma Gandhi, is essentially an education for life and, what is more, an education through life. It aims at creating eventually a social order free from exploitation and violence. That is why production, creative and socially useful work is what all boys and girls may participate, irrespective of any distinction of caste or class, is placed at the very centre of Basic Education.

2. The effective teaching of a basic craft thus becomes an essential part of education at this stage of productive work, done under proper conditions, not only makes the acquisition of much related knowledge more concrete and reliable but also adds a powerful contribution to the development of personality and character, and instils respect and love for all socially useful work. It is also to be clearly understood that the sale of products of craft-work will meet some part of the expenditure incurred on running the school or that the products will be used by the school children for getting a mid-day meal or a school uniform or help to provide some of the school furniture and equipment.

3. As there has been controversy and difference of opinion regarding the position of craft-work in basic schools, it is necessary to state clearly that the fundamental objective of Basic

Education is creating, through the development of the child's consciousness, habits and capacity of productive efficiency. This does not mean that the training of the child must be in isolation and go against the traditional teacher's methods. We must in no manner avoid any kind of use of good qualities of our traditional methods of their development and their gradual use of useful and of necessary things. The acquisition of skills and the development of character have deeper educational significance than merely playing with the material and mechanical which is usually encountered in all modern primary schools. This productive work, which in a case be relegated to the background as has been usually the case at the moment directly as well as indirectly, effected in the most proper and undisturbed contrivance to the utmost development of the child. It will lay before children high standards of achievement and gives them the right kind of training in useful habits and attitudes like purposeful application, concentration, persistence and thoughtful planning. While it may not be possible to lay down specific targets for productivity at this stage, it should be the teacher's endeavour to explore the economic possibilities fully with the emphasis stipulation that this does not in any way conflict with the educational aims and objectives already defined. However, it has to be stated that, in the upper classes of junior basic schools and in the senior basic schools it should not be difficult for States to lay down certain minimum targets of productivity in the light of carefully assessed experiences.

4. In the choice of basic crafts which are to be integrated into school work, we should adopt a liberal approach and make use of such crafts as have significance from the point of view of intellectual content, provide scope for progressive development of knowledge and practical efficiency. The basic craft must be such as will fit into the natural and social environment of the school and hold within it the maximum of educational possibilities. The idea that has been wrongly created in the minds of some people that the mere introduction of a craft in a school e.g. spinning can make it a basic school does give impetus to the concept of Basic Education.

5. In Basic Education as, indeed, in any good scheme of education—knowledge must be related to activity, practical experience and observation. To ensure this, Basic Education rightly postulates that the study of the curricular content should be intelligently related to three main centres of correlation viz. craft-work, the social environment and the social environment. The well-trained and understanding teacher should be able to integrate most of the knowledge that he wishes to impart to one or the other of these centres of correlation which form important and natural foci of interest for



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TWO ANNAS

## WE SHALL NOT RESORT TO WAR

(By Jawaharlal Nehru)

[The following is adapted from the press report of the speech at the Prime Minister at New Delhi, Aug. 12, to the Yearly Festival Congress Convention.]

"I am not a pacifist nor is our Government. If India is attacked or any aggression takes place in India, we shall defend her with all our might and we shall use our defence forces also for that purpose. But apart from this, we shall not resort to war."

The Prime Minister said: "Ever since independence we have tried our utmost according to our declared policy to come to a peaceful settlement with the Portuguese Government. They have ignored us and refused even to discuss the question. We established a Legion for that purpose, but had to withdraw it because it served no purpose. In spite of insults offered to us by the Portuguese Government and the establishment of their rule in Goa, we adhered to our peaceful approach."

He said that the first question is to be clear about war: "whether we should continue to function peacefully in this matter or should have recourse to military measures or what is called police action."

"We are convinced that a peaceful approach is the right one, not only from the point of view of Goa and India, but also because of larger issues in the world and the foreign policy that we have pursued with so much success. It was this peaceful approach that yielded results in Pondicherry and today we are friends with the Republic of France. It is easy enough for us to take possession of Goa by using military force, but that would not only be betrayal of all that we have stood for but would also not be fair to the people of Goa. We have set our face against the solution of problems by warlike methods and we intend to adhere to that decision," he said.

He added: "If that is so, then let us not talk loosely about police action and the like. That is not in consonance with the policy, the principles or the dignity of India. If some people think that we cannot solve this problem by peaceful methods, then they have to admit also the necessity of war in some situations. And, if that is so, who is to define the occasion? Every country will decide for itself, and the food-price would

be opened. Let no man think that a little war is justifiable though a big war will not be so. If once the principle is given up, then we are authoritarian and cannot work for peace in the world, which is so essential for the future of humanity."

## GOA'S FREEDOM BATTLE AND GANDHI

[Two representatives of the Goa Study League interviewed Mahatma Gandhi on July 24th and received from him the following replies for Goa's freedom as well as for freedom in the context of the present campaign for Goa's freedom, this would be found interesting. This is reproduced from the JJCPC News Bulletin dated Aug. 12, 1965.]

Q. Our fight against Portuguese imperialism is for the present to obtain Civil Liberties. Does what is the type of Satyagraha that we should adopt?

A. You have to move through civil disobedience every step on Civil Liberties. But you should define beforehand what the Civil Liberties are for which you are fighting. You cannot ask for anything to which you have no moral right. Moreover, your movement should be strictly non-violent.

Q. The Colonial Administration of the Portuguese Government demands previous permission for meetings, but we want the right of holding meetings even without giving notice.

A. You should have every right to call meetings without notice. No self-respecting person can tolerate any hindrance on his doing what is morally just. We are free men and we want to hold meetings peacefully. For this we cannot give any previous notice. Hence you should hold meetings without giving any notice.

Q. In case we call a meeting and address the people and are arrested, and police allows us to go away saying we should come back on any fixed day, are we to agree to it? Or should we refuse to quit the police premises, or should we come out and defy their ban again?

A. The police who have the right to arrest you have the right to let you go. Hence you should go out if you are allowed to do so. You should not insist on being kept under arrest. But once you go out you can defy the ban again. In case any day is fixed for your reappearance before the police, you are bound to go there to do so.

Q. How should people act when a Satyagrahi is arrested?

4. There should be no demonstration or disturbance of any kind if a Satyagrahi is arrested. The people should be peaceful and offer themselves either individually or collectively to be arrested. I am not for arrests and such other things if anyone is arrested. After all, you should know that the Satyagrahi courts arrest of his own accord and if the people wish to do anything at all, it should be to follow his example. As for demonstrations, etc. they will come at a later stage.

Q. How is duty the pre-occupation of prison?

A. That is really difficult but there are two solutions which I can offer.

The first one is the way followed by me in South Africa. It is to issue hand-written bulletins which volunteers should sell openly. These bulletins should contain definite news exposing the Government. It is better if the people who write out, sign their full names at the bottom of each bulletin. If many of you join together, it won't be difficult to take out several copies. Let the Government arrest the people concerned, others can continue the work.

The other way open to you is to get printed matter from outside and distribute it openly.

Q. How to defy the ban on organisations?

A. Start by making organisations as you like and begin working in their name.

Q. How should people react in case the Government takes recourse to shooting, etc.?

A. It is better to die bravely than cower under such repugnant conditions. Let the people say "All right, shoot us."

Q. How should a Satyagrahi keep up his morale when subjected to torture?

A. A Satyagrahi must not waver. He should submit to every form of torture.

Q. What should be the attitude of the Satyagrahi towards the Catholic Church in Goa when it becomes an active agency of oppression in the hands of the Portuguese rulers?

A. It is better to leave religion alone. But if it really plays in the hands of oppressors, then it is your duty to oppose it in the same way as you would oppose any oppressive regime. But be aware it may be the nature to which it handles your cause.

After answering all the questions put to him, Mahatma Gandhi said: "Now I have answered all your questions, and I want that you should show your courage and should not allow the movement to fade out. Even if no one is prepared for sacrifice it is the duty of any one who feels the wrong to oppose it without waiting for others to follow. You are in prison, the eyes of the others will be opened some time or other."

"As for myself I would not have remained for a moment in Goa without breaking such inhuman laws."

Before we left him we asked for his blessings. He said: "You have all my blessings and I promise you I will exert all my influence to see that the Indian National Congress is interested in Goa and that Goa comes on the map of India. Only show courage, I advise it."

## W.H.O. DOCTORS AND B.C.G.

To

The Editor, *Services*.

Sir,

Bombay newspapers published last week news an B.C.G. of Shan A. B. Shetty, Minister for Public Health, Madras.

He says that although Karl Popperopolchert describes B.C.G. vaccination for tuberculosis as useless and dangerous, still he (Shetty) will continue the B.C.G. vaccination campaign in Madras because doubts connected with the World Health Organization are an illusion of it.

But Mr. Yous who is a member of the British Parliament in England says in a public speech in London about W.H.O. doctors:

"It is a shocking thing that the World Health Organization which represents itself as put to work for the benefit of the people of the world are busy doing the work and are devoting their time and activities to pushing the fraudulent practice of vaccination and inoculation."

"The World Health Organization's doctors have given the medical authorities of some countries which have followed during recent years its measures where vaccination is being now compulsory in in England and the United States of America and elsewhere the real threat of serious epidemics to countries where vaccination does and vaccination are respectively unadvised or extremely produced (in Mexico, Italy, Portugal, Japan, which we have been told and participation countries)."

Shan Shetty, Health Minister of Madras will see from the above quotation of a member of parliament of England that statements of W.H.O. doctors are not trustworthy.

Thus being so the Madras Health Minister, for public good, should abandon his intention to continue B.C.G. vaccination and combat tuberculosis which is a disease caused by B.H. and not, by measures of cleanliness and good sanitation. As a German professor, Dr. Koch says:

"It is the conventional teachings of the past that we have to regard as the real breeding place of tuberculosis. It is out of these that the disease always comes up, and it is in the children of these conditions that we must first and foremost direct our attention if we wish to combat the evil in the most and most war against it with effective success."

One doctor (Gubarevskiy) is dying a natural death with improved conditions of the working places and it is to further developments on such lines and not otherwise, that the tuberculosis will be reduced. (Dr. Laine, Director of Tuberculosis, Helsinki.)

54, Wadsworth Road,  
Colaba, Bombay 5

Yours faithfully,  
Sankar B. Mirdi

## THE MESSAGE OF THE FLOODS

(By Jaswant Narasimhan)

Floods like the rich Indo-Gangetic valley are a gift of the nature (Himachals). The residents of this fertile plain, specially in parts of eastern Uttar Pradesh, northern Bihar and Bengal, and north-eastern Assam bear age-old affinity with these floods which are a regular feature. With their characteristic fortitude, insight and commonsense, our people—dubbed as illiterate, backward, rustic or what not by the so-called 'educated' and 'intellectuals'—have been bravely facing them, with the even tenor of their life undisturbed. But for some time past the fury of these floods is reported to have increased. No doubt the floods that devastated north Bihar last year were rather unprecedented. Likewise are the floods that have ravaged eastern Uttar Pradesh this year. Some very old dams—such as those near Ghazipur and at Azamgarh—have given way, to add horror to horror. Fortunately the number of human lives lost has not been much. And sorrowful about the loss of animal and food wealth are habitually made by political speculators after set of fights.

That the floods are a positive curse cannot be unarguably formulated. Had there been no floods both geography and history of northern India, and, therefore, of entire India, too, would have been different. The mountainous rivers more often than not return to their normal course after depositing an alluvial layer of soil. Last year I had a very pleasant experience of it when a scoundrel who had donated his 'waste' land in Bhadohi reported to the local Bhadohi office that the destruction of his former gold-mine (which the floods had converted into veritable gold) be postponed and that he would be offering another piece instead!

Nevertheless it cannot be denied that the disaster wrought by the floods continues to be aggravating year after year. This is a truth which merits serious thought and careful attention. The various State Governments have been spending money every year to alleviate the misery of the suffering folk. Official organisations to control the floods have also been established, and big projects like that of the Kosi are also afoot. But who does not know that these relief measures are exploited by the more vocal or the richer sections of the countryside? The real sufferer often goes unheard. But I must confess none can be exactly blamed for the same. It goes without saying that it is impossible for an ordinary mortal, much less for an official or a sophisticated legislator, to reach the most burning areas.

To return to the growing calamity of the floods. True that engineering skill can tame some of our rivers and ameliorate their wrath. But we must never forget that floods, mild or furious as the case may be, shall continue to be a part of our life. Now then are we going to meet

them? By squandering the tax-payer's money in the form of dikes or government relief? I am afraid that the condition will then only have been led to worse. And here I come to the crux of the matter. It can be posed as a question: What strikes most in a flooded area? The inevitable answer is that people, particularly the vast population are suffering. With their land covered by water, they have absolutely nothing to do. They have no work to earn their living with. The planned reorganisation of their handicrafts and village industries—started by the British and continued right up to now—has deprived them of any means to support themselves. It can be safely stated that the flood has increased in proportion to the destruction of the village set. The more they are dispossessed of their craft the heavier the blow of the floods.

It is this basic reality that made Vinoba reach the following conclusion:

Our real problem lies not in floods or famine, but in the rule of village-industrialism. The terrible reality is that people in the flooded areas are sitting idle. And village-industrialism has got less power. They don't have paddy for the dharika and distilled cereals to exchange. In a vast country like ours the primary means whereby by solving an agricultural area, village industries are indispensable for the peasant's survival.

The need of work to do is keenly felt by the people. At one place they presented Vinoba with a memorandum that they were completely idle; they did not want free aid or free ration; what they required was work and they were prepared to pay the dharika. Further it may be recalled that two prominent constructive work Ashrams of Uttar Pradesh—the Narayan Gurukul at Dehriwala (in Azamgarh district) founded by the late Swami Sanyasand and the Paramhansa Ashram at Barh (in Teerth district) established by Baba Jagadgur—had their headquarters in dharika orders to help the flood-torn people.

One need not be dogmatic about dharika. What matters is some better industry with which the masses in these areas may effectively carry on. Let the fraternity of the learned and experts go into the problem and discover the rightest solution. If they find the dharika to be the most handy, practicable and profitable they must shed all fear or fanaticism and give it a worthy trial.

Hind Bhawan, 556, Newmarket,  
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# HARIJAN

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1953

## THE GON ISSUE

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru addressing members of the Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee (Gangpur, August 21, 1953) and that peaceful methods appeared to take more time, but he was sure that they were the most practical in the end and they represented a higher standard of international relations.

Shri Nehru said: "It is open to us to take economic measures against Gon and we have taken many and we may have more of them. It is open to us also to take other steps which have to be carefully considered." All these, he said, were peaceful weapons. They were powerful weapons, although they did not produce sudden results.

He said that there had been much confused thinking even in India over the Gon issue and in some foreign countries confusion or perhaps deliberate misunderstanding was even greater. "I have been surprised to read some of these foreign comments because they indicate a continuance of the old colonial mind which has done so much harm to Asia and Africa." And he added: "Let us try to get rid of this confusion and see facts clearly."

"What do we mean at all Gon? Gon is geographically part of India. Opposed to us are not only in India, everywhere, it is impossible for us to tolerate continuance of colonial rule in a small part of India. It is not that we want Gon. That little bit of territory makes no difference to this great country. But even a small enclave under foreign colonial rule does make a difference and it is a constant wound both to the self-respect and the national interest of India. It may be a source of danger more especially if a hostile and reactionary country like Portugal holds on to it."

The Prime Minister said: "Who are the people of Gon? They are the same as our people. Less than five per cent of them, according to Portuguese census have Portuguese as their mother tongue. The rest are Indians by descent, by race by language and in other ways. About two-thirds of them are Hindus. About one-third are Catholic Christians. There are many millions of Roman Catholics in the rest of India, who are as much Indians as any others. The economic life of Gon is inevitably connected with India's. Thus it is natural for us to have a sense of unity with the people of Gon and to feel for their oppression under foreign colonial rule."

"But," Shri Nehru said, "we have no desire to impose ourselves on the people of Gon against their wishes. It is for them ultimately to choose.

We are convinced that 80 to 90 per cent of them desire freedom from Portuguese rule and closer union with India, and so the main thing is freedom from Portuguese rule and removal of that last trace of colonialism from India. We have assured Gonans that it is for them to determine their future and have given further assurances about their religion, languages and customs."

The minister was to add that the people of Gon were not even allowed to express their opinions. The Portuguese had built up a Police State there and even the slightest expression of opinion against them had been punished by long terms of imprisonment. Not even religious gatherings could be held without police permission. If there had been freedom of expression and a measure of civil liberty among Gonans, there would be no difficulty, he added.

The Prime Minister said that it should be remembered that the question was not of India imposing herself on Gon, but of the freedom of the Goanese people and the removal of Portuguese colonial rule. He said the problem of Gon had been with us for many years and recently certain occurrences had filled our people with anger and resentment. That anger and resentment were understandable, but they were apt to confuse their minds and out of confusion no correct decision could be made. They must, therefore, consider the problem in all circumstances and calmly keeping in view all its aspects, he said.

Shri Nehru said: "Our first thought must be to pay our homage to those who have given their lives or have suffered in the cause of freedom in Gon. These include both Goans and Indians. It must be remembered that the inhabitants of Gon have been suffering for many years past in their attempts to free themselves from the oppression of Portuguese colonial rule."

"It was natural for our people to be greatly moved by the recent examples of great courage, which did not weaken even before momentary death. It is natural for us to mourn the deaths of these brave Gargayables and yet I would say that this is an occasion also for joy and pride because many of our countrymen and countrywomen set this great example. Let us lay stress on the aspect rather than on the other alone. Death comes to all at some time or other, but it makes all the difference how we face death. The courage that conquers death makes and sets an example which makes us better than we were," the Prime Minister added.

Shri Nehru said that in the long history of India, there had been many vicissitudes and ups and downs, but always successfully meted within India. It was for the first time that with the establishment of British, French and Portuguese territories in India, freedom of others in India was conditioned from abroad. It was the colonisation that, for the first time, made India a country dependent on another country. The British became dominant and the French and Portuguese territories in India were reduced to



small pockets. These pockets continued benefit of the protection of the British power. They continued to be called French India and Portuguese India.

The primary object of the Nationalist movement, he said, was to remove external authority, that is, a distant colonial power ruling a dependent territory. This was achieved so far as British India was concerned, peacefully. It was subsequently and inevitably achieved so far as French India was concerned also peacefully and by negotiation. The only remaining part of India that was under external authority was the Portuguese pockets. It was patent that sovereignty and authority there were exercised by distant Portugal. This was against the whole conception of nationalism and the spirit of the times.

He added: "I cannot indicate here how the situation will develop in Goa or what successive steps we may take but I wish to make it clear that so far as our Government is concerned it will adhere to the basic policy that we have laid down and we shall aim at the liberation of Goa from Portuguese rule. I have no doubt that we shall achieve our objective."

Shri Nehru referred to the Goa Satyagraha on August 13 and said the Government obviously could not have Satyagraha against another Government. But it was the right of individuals or groups to perform Satyagraha provided it did not bring about results which led to military conflict. It was undoubtedly the right of Goans, whether living in Goa or outside Goa, to perform Satyagraha for the liberation of Goa. Non-Goans also were not precluded from this Satyagraha. But if this Satyagraha was considered to be a prelude to military action, then it was not Satyagraha, whatever else it might be. Also, we had discouraged mass Satyagraha by Indians, because that might not only produce an undesirable situation and new complications but might also give wrong impressions of our approach to this problem.

"While we must admire the courage of many of these Goans and Indians who have performed Satyagraha in this connection, we have to remember that many of the advocates of this Satyagraha apparently have no conception of what Satyagraha means. They speak of Satyagraha and police action at the same time as if they were connected," he declared.

Shri Nehru continued: "The two differ completely both in the mental and the physical approach. The one aims up to produce confusion and indecision. I can understand the people of other countries, taught in this peaceful method of direct action, not being able to understand what Satyagraha is, but there should be no excuse for the people of India who have been trained for the last 35 years to allow themselves to take up these countries. If we considered it right or desirable to have military

or police action our soldiers are without the pretence of the bonded *ghilmitas*."

"After the first occurrence, of August 12 in Goa, there was naturally an upsurge of public sentiment in India. All the world could see the depth and intensity of Indian feeling in this matter. And yet these great demonstrations often took different lines and instead of an exhibition of disciplined strength and feeling we saw unruly crowds, sometimes misbehaving and committing offences. That was as far from Satyagraha as possible and, most unfortunately, this lowered the great effect produced by the courage of those who have given their lives in peaceful protest against Portuguese rule," he added.

"We must beware, therefore, of this wrong direction that some people wish to give to this movement. That would have been bad at any time. It is much worse in dealing with international issues. Satyagraha is peaceful and non-violent, disciplined and serious. Indiscipline and offensive behaviour have nothing to do with Satyagraha. The misbehaviour is that some people, who only believe in violence wish to exploit Satyagraha for wrong ends. It is the duty of the Congress to adhere to its principles and not be swept away by the excitement or passion of the moment. We have to give the right lead, even though it might be unpopular. We must hold to our principles. It is this that has made the Congress great in the past, and it is this which will make it greater in the future."

(Extract from *Par Bhaskar*, August 13, 1952.)

#### RESPECT FOR THE NATIONAL FLAG (By Mogenlal P. Desai)

A correspondent from Bombay writes the following which describes everyone's attitude:

"Every year we observe two national holidays, January 26 and August 15. Our people use the national flag freely on these occasions. The flag usually used on these days are paper flags. The paper flags are used and mostly displayed in decorating shops and residential and other buildings. These paper national flags are also used to make public places for displaying portraits erected for particular occasions. After the celebration is over these paper flags are thrown away as rubbish on the roads. As a consequence they are scattered, or indiscriminately trampled upon by vehicles. As many of our people have to know the value of what when and how to use the national flag these occasions are very common. It is indeed our shame that the national flag is thrown away anywhere on the roads of random and is being treated with contempt by the ignorant people. For this reason manufacture of paper flags should be totally prohibited so that the national flag does not suffer indignity by our people carelessly or carelessly and the honour is preserved."

What the correspondent describes becomes possible because some of us cannot control their temptations to make some money by taking advantage of the national feeling of the people on occasions of national celebrations. Neither the mechanics who trade in these paper flags nor those who believe they are showing their devotion to the country by using them in the manner described above have possibly any idea of the

consequence of this thing we doing is indicates lack of proper education of our national sentiment. We have now to make a strenuous effort to cultivate it. This happens in the case of our national song also. People do not know how to sing it in tune, nor do they properly know its words, nor do they stand in attention when it is sung. We have the sad experience of witnessing all these breaches of the proper etiquette regarding the national song.

It would not be proper to expect Government to come out with orders in these matters and correcting our manners in these cases as a consequence. The people themselves should do it of their own free will and out of their love for the nation.

Schools can do much in this connection. If the sentiment and habit of respect for these occasions is cultivated among school children it would definitely make a difference for the better very soon indeed.

25-5-55

(From Capital)

## THE WORLD—A FAMILY

(By Yasuda)

(From the prayer speech at Aizu camp on 25-5-55)  
Narokawa vs. Unificationism

During the past hundred years and more an ethical code has developed in Europe which says that our love is toward the good of the larger number of people. This ethical ideal is described as the greatest good of the greatest number in the English language. It means that an individual should be made to give the largest amount of happiness to the largest number of people. Now, the Narokawa theory does not subscribe to this ethical ideal. It seeks to give the fullest happiness to all people and not merely the greatest happiness to the largest number. This is why the Narokawa ideal is very much closer with the Christianistic spirit, has become more during the past thousands of years. It says that the duty of being **selfish** **one** — of devoting ourselves wholly to the interests of all beings.

The Narokawa philosophy believes that the interest of one being cannot be opposed that of another. The interests of all must be by mutually compatible. The happiness of one wife is Narokawa's wife's knowledge that would be no gain of happiness to another. By the contrary it would hurtful the other to an equal extent. If one's health improves it cannot be a cause of injury to another either. A world where every gain to the other also. About the broken of the heart, it is true that the good of one requires the good of another. That is because one lives by feeding itself on the other. The tiger will feed himself on the hare. Therefore the interests of the tiger and that of the hare are opposed to each other. Human society can be so ordered that the interests of one person or class could be mutually associated with that of another person or class. Thereby the interests of one need not clash with that of another.

In the social order prevailing today the interests of one person or class clash with those of the others. Thus, that is the possibility of the world order standing today, the best lies with the individual in a social order based on Narokawa. Every single individual's interest will be consequently, to that of the others. But however an ethical order that there is no harm in rejecting the interests of a few in order to serve the greatest good of the greatest number has developed in and spread from the West, the world is suffering from a permanent state of strife and tension whether in peace or war.

## Rule of Majority

How many there were in French society in those days by then. There were classes in society in order to appear the widest who were noblemen. But there were more called. The nobles and sons of the present age, however, are not due to the teachings of men, but to a modern social philosophy of 18th, 19th days. But the idea approved at by Narokawa and a hundred will be held collectively as well as that and that contradicted by the fact also will be so regarded, and it is also held that if for the interest of the Japanese that of the European was to be discarded. If the latter had to be discarded there was no harm since it.

The very basis of this idea which has remained little the West and spread over the rest of the world is wrong because Narokawa says that merely numbers have account. They do not seem to realize that there will always be more members in favor of one opinion and less against. But the important thing to see is not where larger numbers are but where justice lies. Justice is an independent matter. It has nothing to do with numbers one way or the other. It is independent. Therefore, we should have a moral order where the good of everyone is looked after where the interests of all temper the interests of all where the opinion of all counts and where the good of all is safeguarded.

This can happen only when we shall give up holding members to interest. We cannot achieve the Narokawa aim unless we discarded violence altogether. And still we shall believe those who possess the largest majority of perpetrating violence will have the world under their hands. Therefore, in the world order we seek to establish the final mission, the ultimate destiny of man will not be one of violence but that of justice, truth and love.

## Family and Society

It is not, however, to be supposed that I am pleading for something quite original or new or that the world has had no experience of it in the past. It is not to be supposed that the idea has never been experienced with. The world has experienced with it, the important difference today had is confined only to the family unit. In the vision of the family we take for granted that the interests and good of all the different members is one single whole. We do not believe that the interests of each one is opposed to that of the other. We also believe that the interests of all the various members of the family are compatible with each other. We do not believe that the principle of a member of a family looking to his own. We believe the teachings of all religions and agree them together. Every member must from out of the good according to his words. It does not happen that if the food produced by the labor of the family this year is not as much as the projected the year before then members of the family will be angry and the wife will turn to start on a fast strike. All members will be not equally in a family and if the total to be shared is not enough it will be distributed among all.

In the social order prevailing today if the food produced was not enough for all or there was a shortage of a particular article of general use their prices would immediately go up. This state of affairs means that those who possess more of money will be able to buy them and those who possess less will not be able to do so. That is to say that those who have the money will be able to ensure the themselves as much of the food of the others as they want to before while those in need of money will have to go with less than before under the present socio-economic order. We might, however, to have an order whereby we could place in distribution fairly and on a basis of common sense even to a state of shortage. The plan which Narokawa takes in all such a nature that a few would secure for themselves as much as they could to before and the others will be forced to go with less. But we have to find a way of ensuring an even share a state of shortage. The way devised before is which wrong in society too, we should have an arrangement of maintaining everyone under state of shortage as we have in the family.

I am often asked why government is necessary. My reply has been that it is necessary in order that it may apply the law which prevails in the family to society also. Law, particularly today being democratic, are based on majority opinion. As a consequence the work of making government is in a. Governments are made in stage 2. That is why governments cannot be standards and values which obtain in society and they are detached also. Private property is believed to be so valuable that the individual is told they need, as a consequence society is divided into two distinct parts. One side obtains in the same old outdated society, the state of law is recognized and referred to in the family while another is the values of the market place told every. As we now seek to establish a social order which will be a larger and extended form of the family (early work of the present day

#### The Village Community

In this endeavor we wish to begin with the village and to set its extension to the whole world at the end. To that end we propose that land in a village should be owned by it as a whole and that its total wealth also be its property to the very person.

As an initial step is begun with we propose that every person in a village given in gift a sixth of the land for the whole of it. If this sixth is in return to the whole of the village community it will have to be parcel with the understanding that it is to be given to the representative of the community, the land in the form of the gift. This procedure will help breaking of marriage. Later on the whole of the village community will convert itself into a family unit. This is why we are asking now for whole villages to be given as gifts. And I am glad to declare that we have obtained gifts of hundred and 800 whole villages and more. And this is not a small step. The best of all people living in a village together giving in gift of their own free will all the land in it will be considered as a remarkable event in the history of the world.

#### Village Land Distribution

As it stands the land land in the village will belong to it as a whole and it will be distributed to the members living in it according to the number of their members. Land held owned that the distribution will be based on responsibility by the whole population. And later on even as it happens in the family—there being a large number of members and another owner—land will be redistributed over and over again. Thus in villages which have converted themselves into single family units land will be distributed again and again. But this is new land to a village only and it is a law in the procedure because there would be sharing in a community of some village having more land and some less. Therefore, this method of owning property together will have to be passed gradually. Only in the initial step in the march to the end is that the village will convert itself into a family. It will have one major unit wherein young and old as well as the children and as well as women will live in co-operation. It is not presenting to pass a piece of the pie to ourselves. The plan will have to be devised and executed by the people in the village themselves. For instance it is they who will decide among others what kind of goods and articles will be required in the village family and what should be prohibited. We wish that every village convert its own members into family units. Just as the village be dependent on the members themselves delivery of the village be organized by them and the education of the children be organized by the people themselves. This is how we wish have social order in village family units. Later on this process will progress from step to step and the whole world will convert itself into one family social entity. At the present moment we propose to commence with the village community and to bring home to the people in the various villages their religious duty to convert every village into a family unit. Just as men and women were educated into an education

of their day, so education for the child in the new day is to work in education, service and religion living in one unit and in the observance of their religious duty in the village. We want to bring home to the people the step to convert all the men and all the children into single human family. The modern scientific age is not only destructive in this ideal but we will not be able to live and people ourselves in a world not believed the ideal.

#### The Village—a Big Family

Believe it or not, this is a more imagination, friend, of the imaginary heaven. It can be achieved by working on the very earth. In fact I have seen in many places families consisting of a hundred members. So, it is not difficult to convert a village into a family in a like manner. Truly speaking the difficult thing to face, which you are doing today, has five or six times more in your villages. The members of these various families will be required to not only work with one another. And think how difficult will it be? You do not want one another in the village. As a result you have to keep an eye tight right to prevent your neighbor's husband, making away your crop. Think now difficult it is to be not too together with one's law and neighbor's house usually? I am pointing out to you a truly way of living whereby you as well as your neighbor can go to sleep every night in peace. If we are not able to solve way or another to prevent the looking from doing harm to our crops we are sure to make our husband. Therefore, friends, I am placing before you the ideal which because your day in the present age if you do not recognize and accept the duty technology and science are inventing on us that they will not be able to stand against. Their living in separate families as we are doing now.

(From Hindi)

#### MILITARY TRAINING EQUIVALENT FOR EDUCATION \*

(By Maseehuddin P. Saad)

The Government of India have set up a new organization under the name of Rashtriya Swayamsamak Dal (R.S.D.). A thirty days' camp has been proposed where adult males between the ages of eighteen and forty would be given preliminary martial training. The object proposed is described as follows that it is to be an experiment as part of the social and economic revolution going on in the country, that it is intended to induce a spirit of national service through the experiment, and that it is intended to inculcate a sense of discipline and self-reliance in the people through military training. It is further explained that the experiment has no military aim in view, nor universal compulsory military service, though the training camp will be in charge of officers of the army.

Now, truly viewed the object proposed falls under social education. And if the experiment is to be made on adult males between the ages of eighteen and forty would it not be like trying to form something new out of earth which has been already baked into a definite form? The current system of education, as is the universal experience, does not induce a spirit of discipline and service. If that experiment of the R.S.D. is intended to be a better substitute for it, it had better be left alone for it is futile. The reason is simple. Even so in the case of religion, education has no other equivalent. Education itself should be basically oriented to give the desired social effect.

What actually demands consideration here is the question: Can the virtues of discipline and

self-restraint control be cultivated only through military training? What is that, relating actually to? For cultivating the virtues or for training men for war? All nations have been known to have set up their own systems of religious and educational activities outside the social qualities in man. One does not know of the institution of war having been set up for that purpose anywhere at any time.

Moreover, in the present age of a new human ideal of putting a stop to war altogether and creating conditions for perpetual peace, giving prestige to the institution of war in this manner is destined, to say the least, a task of intelligence and prudence. It is true, the two virtues are essential for success in war. Even so in the case of achieving definite aims in social life, lack of the two virtues would prove failure in war as well. Why? Because we feel that it is impossible to do without them even in achieving aims of ordered civil life, we are therefore making such efforts to cultivate discipline and control in our people. In fact, the virtues are the foundations on which an efficient army system can be built up. Because however, they are not willingly cultivated from within but imposed from outside on the men, the training for the army results in a training for a profession; they lack the spontaneity which has its essential education value for the average citizen. And surely, we cannot take our whole people as our professional army, though there are some amongst us who would like to do so. For instance, such sentiment was expressed by a responsible person on the occasion of opening a class of the new organization of Akhmedovsk. A clear statement to this effect that it is not the object of the Rashtriya Swyamsevak Dal is fortunate.

What then should be done to induce these virtues in the people? For one thing the system of education should cultivate the virtues in the students. This happens to be the chief aim of Basic Education. For another thing an active training in the qualities should be made available to the people through the ordinary activities essential to an ordered social life. That is to say that all functions in society should be informed by willing obedience to discipline and ordered self-control. The most effective way of cultivating the two virtues in the people therefore, is for Government and popular organizations to show these virtues in their various undertakings. This is the very thing they lack today and a remedy should be found for it.

Persons recruiting themselves into the Rashtriya Swyamsevak Dal will be receiving certain criticisms. It will not be a matter of surprise if some of them serve the purpose of assuming some white collar jobs to these persons, because that has been the normal duty of all such activities in our country till now.

17-5-58

(From Sujanti)

## THE ARMY IN WAR AND PEACE

(By Shajishan P. Sreeni)

A few days ago Lieut.-Gen. K. S. Thangappa of the Korean Peace negotiations have referred to the work of the army in peace-time, in course of a speech before the Progressive Group, Bombay. One point he made in it was to say that the army obviously fights when there is war, but when there is peace it keeps itself fit to fight. Therefore, he thought, it would impair the efficiency of our fighting forces, maximum as they are today from the point of view of our defence needs, if they were required to do activities which might interfere with their normal training and drilling etc. Surely this was not to deny that the army might be asked to help meet any national emergency like flood or famine etc. What then were the activities the gallant General had in mind which, he said, should not normally engage the army in peace-time, is not clear. For example, the Government has undertaken huge irrigation and bunding works. People in great numbers are expected to put in thousands. Can the army, disciplined and trained as it is to do works of this nature in an ordered and expeditious manner,—can it be asked to take up positions of direction and control and to undertake the job of conducting the operations of shram-dan? There is much talk of employing idle or unemployed labour to important national work, but a better organizational and disciplined approach, resulting in much waste and wastage. Surely we have here a job worth the men in our army, provided they can work with our common men and women in a simple and gentle manner. If ever we hope to live war, we will have surely to understand that even if we may not turn all our guns and swords into ploughshares, we will have to see that the army has also to do with the employment of peace and production like the spade and the plough and be our standing head army also when it is peace-time, consistently with their normal routine of training etc.

19-5-58

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TWO ANNAS

## HINDI MEDIUM AND GANDHI

(By Bhaskarlah P. Desai)

A respected friend and co-worker at the Gujarat University once posed a serious question to me. He said "Bhagabhai, can you assure me that Bapu (i.e. Gandhi) never said that Hindi (the Hindustani dialect), can be a medium in our Hindustani areas? If I have time I would myself go through his writings to find out from them if I could have anything to combat the view that one's own language should be the medium and not the all-India common language even." The question was posed to me at the time when the medium question was being discussed in the University.

I replied to the friend, "Surely, I have not till now come across anything of the sort you say in any of Bapu's writings. However, I would very much like you to try to find out if there is any to be had."

He used to reply, "I cannot do it, as I have no time at my mind because I have confidence that you will not mislead me by making a false statement."

Thinking him for the confidence I need, I surely so far as I know, there is no evidence to show that Bapu would ever agree to herald Hindi even in place of Gujarati."

The question of this nature arose in some minds perhaps because whenever the medium question was discussed in the British rule days, it was done vis-à-vis English. The idea of having Hindi was not perhaps envisaged nor so clearly mentioned as at present though it was always said that the mother tongue should be the medium. Now some feel that Hindi is one of our languages unlike English which is a foreign one, it is to be the all-India medium; hence, they say, it might be acceptable.

Now this is a wrong conjecture to make regarding Gandhi's position, which was extremely simple and directly positive. He stood for the entire growth and full development of our languages. That was because he held that this only could ensure the progress of the common man. Denying the full use of his language would inevitably result in stultifying and obstructing his full growth. Therefore he held that the entire

work of education and advancement of a region should be carried on through the language of the people of respective regions.

And for those like my friend above who fell like him about Gandhi, I quote the following clear statement of his on the point, which he made only a few days before his passing away.

"The redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis was necessary if political independence was to give us full height. Hindustani was to be the lingua franca"—*Madhusudan Malviya*—of India, but it could not take the place of the provincial language. It could not be the medium of instruction in the provinces—much less English. Its function was to enable them realize their organic relationship with India. The world outside did not know them as Gujarati, Maharashtri, Tamluque etc. but only as Indians. We must, therefore, resolutely discourage all linguistic tendencies and feel and behave as Indians. Subject to this paramount consideration, a linguistic redistribution of provinces should give an impetus to education and trade." (From *India Today*, p. 176 dated 11-1-47)

2-2-48

"I may only have an observation of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru which is very apt and pertinent in this connection. He said that all our Indian languages are our national languages. Hindi is defined in Article 341 of the Constitution of India with the exception of being used for Government and all India correspondence. It is known to be the largest bulk of our people. Therefore I feel that it could help clarity of thought to say that Hindi is our lingua franca, in our 4800, 4900 sister States."

By Mahatma Gandhi

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## RANDOM JOTTINGS

(By Mogamboo P. Datta)

There will be pictures of marriages everywhere this year, there was no end of them by hand, no end of divorce and no end of hostile School-going children, derived a lot of their social education from all this. People spent lakhs of rupees at the gladdening events. Newspapers mentioned the thousands of marriages and sacred thread ceremonies celebrated in Poona during a day or two as 'marriage-fever'. It is said Japan will reside in Leo for the whole of the coming year and hence this hurry and spend.

Even the Parliamentary being its other jobs gave preference to a consideration of laws regarding Hindu marriage, divorce, inheritance etc. matters, all pertaining to marriage one way or the other. The august assembly too was in a hurry to pass the bill, perhaps on account of the influence of Jupiter.<sup>1</sup>

While these reforms were being discussed on the floor of the House, members of Parliament being mostly of the upper or middle classes had to be reminded that among eighty per cent of the Hindus, divorce and such other customs had their roots far ages past, by the sanction of the people's will and not of the law. Now people who believe they belong to the higher castes have come out demanding the same reforms for themselves but they are supposed to be 'civilised', therefore they must give a law for it. It is all too good, however, for it indicates a motion in the direction of equality with the eighty per cent. And could it not also be said that we are undergoing a reformation in our old notion of casteless? We can now declare with truth that we have rubbed out by law at least one big distinction which constantly persisted between the upper and the lower caste.

The law has now ordained a one-man-one-wife and one-woman-one-man marriage system. This is not to mean that you will now have to be content with marriage only once in your life and *hiss-hiss*. You can have as many marriages as you like even under the law, but now not two wives or more in the same time. Formerly, the Hindus could have as many wives at the same time as they could stand. The Mussalmans can have as even now without any sense of religious wrong about it and the law does not apply to them. The difference for the Hindus was only so that they can have more than one marriage even now, but they will have to follow one with the other. Remember clearly this caveat: be careful polygamy and women also will now enjoy the same advantage.

And in order to have another marriage you have not to depend helplessly on the God of Death to break up your home by taking one of you away from it, you have now the choice under law to break up your home of your free will. And do not miss the point that you are now

'civilised' or have now advanced by adopting the procedure. And indeed, many there are of our young men and women who prefer the scheme of marriage which allows a breaking up of the home by choice.<sup>2</sup> At the same time one harnesses oneself to marriage the provision for unharnessing is also taken into account. No principle can be truer and more substantial in this age of machines than the one of the safety valve, the principle of providing for an anti-stress escape before one gets into a scrape. Marriage, it seems, is helping these days the progress of the Vedantic philosophy of viewing with equanimity birth as well as death.<sup>3</sup>

And novel ways are cropping up in modes of marriage also. We are fortunate enough to witness again samples of the ancient modes of matrimony named the *gandharva*, the *satishda*, the *paiksha* and various others of the kind. But that is another big chapter which had better be looked into some other time.

In short, a new spirit or the law is being forged before your very eyes, but the wonder of it is that it is being done without having any very classical words like 'law-giver'. Like the experiments with truth 'experiments of new life' are also conducted these days. They are, however, confined to those fifteen or twenty per cent of the people who reckon themselves high-born. And God only knows what mentality or thought world these men and women of this small class possess.

## Ideal of Married State

The debate in Parliament on the marriage bill gave occasion for a discussion of the ideal of Hindu married life. Marriage is a sacrament, not a contract, it was asserted. A sacrament has elevation in view—the development of the understanding of life in view. A contract means trading, bartering. One, therefore, presupposes a religious view of life, the other the practical and the merely clerical and practical.

For the Hindus the ideal of married couple is *Satishda*. It is so even today. When homes are broken up by choice by taking recourse to the law of divorce that fact should not be lost sight of. The ideal lays down marriage for the as a religious duty. This ideal marriage is the flower of the various experiments of schemes of marriage tried by the Hindus. If it is lost sight of, Hindu society would cease to look up and ahead. Hindu society is an ancient and aged society. But it is not an old society—it is ancient, eternal. This is because during the various changes due to circumstances it has never forgotten its Root—God. Let us have any sort of marriage law we like, but let its essence lie in the ideal devotion of the ideal couple. The devotion must be had by law—it could be achieved only by a social life devoted to true religion.

## Essentials of the New Age

Our Minister of Finance seems to have developed a hunger for capital. As it is, the whole

defined world is shouting 'capital, capital'! Why, every thing has gone capitalist! The farmer produces food, but hearkens after cash and is not satisfied with his products of food. It looks as if capital is the bad master man has invented for himself. Some have begun to call it 'Florida M. Money'!

The Finance Minister feels the hunger for capital on behalf of the whole nation. Could he not find some way to get something out of the huge expenses undergone by the people on occasions of marriages? Registration of marriages has begun under the law. It must have begun to yield a regular flow of tax to Government. But could not the yield be augmented? It is necessary for the marriage scenes of expensive plans and schemes of development set going by Government and it also is not a small affair. And do we not witness the blind and loud extravagance here also which is usually associated with celebration of marriages?

As the restrictions on number of persons and articles of food for dinners in marriages are lifted, those who enjoy dinners had the best of it. But how alone dinners, what huge amounts are spent after lighting and other glamorous items? Why the marriage parties resemble in many details the dinners of Japan and Manchuria made so fearful by the cinema screen and the men and women who grace them are like so many stars male and female of the silver world. The screen seems to set the fashion in dress and ornaments!

But does not all this provide many new and revived occupations? The middle class is growing under the hardships of unemployment. Does it not find easy ways of getting money in this manner?

Some doubting Thomas is sure to say 'But there is surely a limit to extending the field of these occupations.' True, no doubt, but if the unemployed went on creating such pseudo-employment for themselves in this fashion would it not pay like the play of cards to have a huge number of jobs without work? And what after all is missing in the new civilization of the cities?

But where are you going to get the money to maintain these jobs? Now this question shoves nothing but ignorance of modern economics. Government made wealth by printing currency notes, people collect money by cleverness and adulteration, they plan creation of taxes by the help of the lawyers who are eager to give their intelligence in gift, of course, for consideration; the taxes and the income tax are to be paid under law, it is not something in the way giving aim to earn merit! Opportunity for black marketing has also not been away. ~~even~~ ~~about~~ ~~affluence~~ (—) pick each other's pockets and help themselves to make fat money.

Let me however give up notice. We must realize that the ultimate burden of the nation

will have to be borne by the labor of man and his moral behavior. This is the only true and eternal science of economics. On that solid ground only could the wings of the distorted world have its play, on that ground alone could all the pseudo jobs flourish. If the nation were not vigilant enough to see that this burden does not exceed the limit of its real capacity to carry it, the earth will be shaken to the foundation as our Parliament would say. In modern parlance we will be facing a revolution. That too is the eternal law governing human society, for as it has been said of old, *well built stone* — *Overruled* posterity only when it is itself takes care of it. It is the eternal principle safeguarding man and his civilization.

13-7-55

(From Calcutta)

### Wine & Milk

Reader in their gross earnings of August 11 from London gives the following noteworthy news:

"British soldiers famous for the quantities of beer they can swallow, are now changing their drink to milk."

British Army and R.A.F. personnel are looking to the nation and immediate abroad that a drinking post. There "irresponsible changes" in military drinking habits are revealed in a new survey conducted by the organization which runs about 40,000 canteens.

Beer in service canteens 40 years ago were 40 per cent alcohol. Now alcohol is only 10 per cent of the beverage, the survey said.

For the Navy there was an astonishing increase in sales of milk, a survey spokesman said. "It is now our coffee and not drinks for the other two services."

We learn that in France also enormous efforts by provincial men in her public life are being made to encourage people to resort to milk bars rather than liquor bars.

If these lands which may be well described as the shade of alcoholism begin to change, surely India should hasten to take courage and ban drink and do it immediately. And Governments after stopping to manufacture and sell liquor are to the people, should make further and more intensive efforts to protect the cow and ensure larger milk-supply. This will secure not only wealth but health and happiness also. Then shall we realize how true it is that the cow is really the mother of prosperity for us in India.

31-8-55

M. P.

By Mahatma Gandhi

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# HARIJAN

Sept. 17

1955

## DOUBTS AND DISINCENTIVES

(By Kageshkar P. Desai)

A press message of August 30 '55 from Minister, D.P. says that the U.P.C.C. passed a resolution on the Second Five Year Plan, drawing the attention of the Union Government and the Planning Commission to poverty, growing unemployment and industrial backwardness of U.P. and urged that heavy industries should be established in the State.

The resolution further stressed the need to promote power projects to electrify the State and provide for growth of heavy industries.

The press report further adds that the resolution also emphasised the role of small-scale industries in the context of unemployment.

On reading this news I felt that there was a patent illustration of the kind of confused thinking that is prevalent at present in our economic thought and planning. It affects nation's economic machinery.

Allied with such resolutions are usually tagged at the end—words calling upon the people to graduate no sacrifices for the success of the Five Year Plan programme. But all that avails not for the people across that the people set on foot from the verities of such mass resolutions. If at all, these mean only one thing and that is that the Union Government should award medals of virtues in the State for establishing some heavy industries. But the latter tells the poor people neither this nor that. They drain away our mental resources without giving visible employment in return. But the most noticeable result is that self-reliance is not cultivated as people do not know what they should do and could achieve with their own initiative and due help from Government. This only can really electrify the people and move them to exert themselves for the success of the plan and not the so-called power projects or similar other things, however big or productive they may be.

This confusion in our economic thinking has stratified itself in our current plans in the following way. Our thinking and planning is proceed into a pattern of economic called mixed. It consists of two sectors—the State-owned public and the private. The latter and huge part of our economy viz. agriculture and small-scale village industries is ignored here. Or to put it as it is said by some, this is taken to be included in the private sector although that is essentially understood to consist of the large-scale mechanized industries only.

What is called the private sector is glad in one way and sorry in another. That planning will

give place to capital-intensive, i.e. heavy and controlled industries is a good thing as it assures them a place in the new economy. But the capitalists would feel sorry if they are all to be State enterprise. Now, thanks to repeated assertions of responsible ministers of State, they feel assured that it will be a mixed economy. Then they cry for incentives, i.e. in plain words, they desire more scope for profit and higher taxation etc. A patent illustration of this kind of feeling about the matter is given by a recent statement of Shri J. R. D. Tata, wherein he told of two things mainly—double and disincentives,—Double about the common people and their capacity to deliver the goods as we need it at present, and disincentives to the capitalist in his free enterprise.

And he quoted the economic theories to show that like a socialist pattern there is an equally welcome capitalist pattern also different from the outmoded old capitalism. As he said, "Modern capitalism has changed beyond recognition from what it was a century ago. It has shown a remarkable capacity to fit into the most modern concepts of the Welfare State."

And he said further, "The 18th and early 19th century type of capitalism is indeed past as day of duty as the 19th and early 20th type of socialism."

Thank God he did not say that both were almost meeting in a common endeavour to secure a "Welfare world." Only the meeting place unfortunately is the battleground as typified in the two world blocs.

The Indian plan is neither capitalist nor socialist, it is Sardarovia. Therefore, the real industrial sector for plenty and prosperity, is neither the public or the State sector, nor the private or the Capitalistic sector, but is the third—the massive national sector of the peasant and his small-scale industries. It is these that make for the major production of our needs. If at all any incentive is necessary it is needed by these and not by the capitalist who entrenched as he is in power and influence can easily find for himself. To cut double on these and their capacities is the most pitiable part of some recent pronouncements of economists and industrialists. That bespeaks a danger for the balanced growth of our peaceful and happy economy the co-existence of which are as I said in a previous issue, agriculture and cattle-breeding buttressed by innumerable household and small-scale industries. What are called heavy industries are just coated in the broad picture. Well may they have their place in it, but not such as to blur the main lines of the picture which is the village economy of an industrious and self-reliant peasantry working in their farms and their homes and hamlets through handicrafts and village industries. The second Five Year Plan, if it is to be a truly people's plan, must have itself on these lines.

3-9-55



## VILLAGES v. CITIES

(By Mogamboo P. Doshi)

Newspapers inform us that prices of certain commodities which had gone down to the bottom have again risen twenty-five to fifty per cent. The cause, it is said, is the export policy of the Central Government and non-availability of wagons for transport.

It is good the prices have improved. But it cannot be said to be an unmitigated good. The markets of the day and their prices are a confusing jumble. Those who produce produce raw material do not know much about it, their share of the transaction is only taken and others, who carry it from one place to another derive the profits.

What happened in this? The prices went down when traders purchased the raw material from the producer—that is, at the time when the crops were ready to be or were taken. The producer had no financial capacity to resist selling his produce at the time. For centuries, in the state of affairs in India, capitalists who have cash at their disposal have been taking advantage of the helpless position of the producer. The process continues even today.

Is it a constant constant aspect feature of the situation that now that purchasing of raw materials by traders at higher prices is over prices are taking a turn for the better? It would not be a matter of surprise if this is found to be true on study and research by an economic expert.

The producer himself as also other consumers will now be compelled to buy the former's product at higher prices. The difference will go to the pockets of the trader who has cash at his command. He will buy shares, start new concerns of trade and factory plants, and undertake all sorts of ventures from the gain he has made. As a consequence, in short, the process will lead to a destruction further of the already tottering village industries, but to some few it would show large profits and formation of new capital.

Happiness and freedom from misery will not come to the poor man in India till he rubs out of existence the wretched picture that will be understood. He seems to invite death by running after the mirage of the apparently cheap products of the industrial factories.

Since the above was written I happened to see an article on page one of the *Indian Affairs Record* of June 1935. It is about the problem of lending and credit in Indian villages. While discussing the co-operative movement the author of the article writes that though many causes are shown for the failure of the movement the real one is different. It is to be found recorded in the report of the All India Village Credit Enquiry. The cause applies, not only, to the state of the co-operative movement, but is so deep and

all-pervading as to affect the entire field of the under-lying conditions of our economic structure. The report states the cause in the following terms:

In fact, as is fully distinguished from other countries there has been the application of the following features: (1) a well-planned structure largely based on cash within the village itself; (2) the linking up of the upper parts of the structure to a cash economy and an unbalanced orientation to the urban sector; and (3) the fact that the linking up took place as the outcome of three processes which have, only happened to operate together in India, namely, colonial rule and concentration, concentration of agriculture and urbanisation of industry.

After quoting this the writer states his own conclusion:

"Rural economy after the advent of British power became geared to the demands of a colonial economy wherein in early days the export trade in raw materials, located from the ports and cities produced capital. Even later when indigenous capital developed the purpose of the rural economy continued to be the feeding of the demands of urban industries. The mobilisation of loans, trade and resources also developed in consequence at which the not very weighted system rural economy. The primary credit agencies in the rural areas were linked with the urban financial and commercial interests and were consequently controlled by an unconsciously functioning system of urban interests in rural areas. The urban mobilisation in such circumstances could not be confined to finance and commerce only but affected officials and even the government. Under such palpably unequal conditions, co-operation could have but little chance of survival."

It is those who are concerned with depressing prices for raw materials produced by the villages happen to pay serious attention to the deeply significant fact stated above. A series of agents, middlemen and others of the kind drawn from the village right up to England was forged in order to drive raw materials from the farmer, carry them to cities and ports and export them to foreign lands. The tricky machinery of cash finance is very effective in draining away the real material wealth of the country. The various intervening tricks of the entire game are played on the markets which raise and lower down prices to suit their purpose. It is now the task of the new plan to traverse the strands of the life-rote and frenzied process. In order successfully to achieve the task our economic, trade, administrative and other structures will have to undergo basic changes, because the process described above has deeply influenced all of them. It is as plain as day that economic administrators and others with a new insight into these things are necessary in order to save the influence and to rearrange the whole economic set-up which will serve the true interest of India.

14-5-35

(P. no. 249402)

By Mahadeo Goshla

GUAN STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

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# REGIONAL LANGUAGES (By Uloomkhan P. Joon)

The Bombay University Medium Committee is reported to have submitted to the Vice-Chancellor the:

- a. Hindi and Hindi alone, i.e., not the regional languages, should be the medium of instruction and examination.
- b. The change-over to Hindi from English should be completed by 1955.
- c. During the transition English will continue however.
- d. So that the change-over may be smooth and possible, Hindi should be begun to be taught in colleges as a compulsory subject.

This means that the University will follow the Marathwada tradition in Swami also, by adopting the all India official language as the medium, which is connected to Swami in the Union administration for 1955. The one thing for which credit should however go to it is that it realizes the need of teaching Hindi language in colleges as a compulsory subject.

But the above decision leaves the main problem involved. We know that the Bombay University as well as the Medium Committee when it realized that English could not actually work as the medium as students were not up to the mark for it as their equipment of the knowledge of English, now as English is to continue till 1955, this main problem remains unanswered and the decision of the Committee is therefore partial and unhelpful to that extent.

When I say this I am reminded of the Vallabhbhai Patel Bill (Amend.) Bill which is before the Bombay Legislature. This Bill does not take note of the immediate and real problem and more, — it forthwith expects that Hindi shall be the medium to start with! Now it is patently clear that both the students as well as their teachers do not know Hindi and therefore cannot wield the medium of Hindi at present. Sufficient time for the change-over is utterly necessary. It is surprising that the Vallabhbhai Patel Bill does not take note of this aspect of the case.

What should be done then, for this immediate problem? It is absolutely clear that if we choose to remove English — a need which none dare evade, viz., to consider in the interests of sound education and the vital needs and interests of the student world — then we must immediately begin to teach through the regional languages as the medium and unavoidable solution of the question, at least till the time students and teachers learn and know their Hindi sufficiently, to be able to ply it as the medium. The time to change over to Hindi will be then and there, whatever that choice to have Hindi as the medium may well consider the matter at that time. Therefore to push Hindi now for replacing English is merely hypothetical and will result either in reaching the immediate problem of stu-

dents and perhaps in bypassing the legitimate use of Indian languages as the immediate and handy medium to start with Hindi is revolutionized to be the medium of instruction and administration for non-Hindi regions.

The immediate problems before us are very simple and quite obvious.

- a. To provide a suitable language immediately for replacing the English medium;
- b. To begin to learn and teach Hindi in schools and colleges as a compulsory subject. These answers are also equally simple and obvious. Let us not mislead the cause of the all-India common language Hindi or of English for evading these.

2-8-53.

## TUBERCULOSIS AFTER B.C.G. VACCINATION

[The number of well substantiated and thoroughly investigated cases that have recently come to notice is so the adverse effects of the injection of the various Bacterae Calmette-Guérin has failed for substantiated and more recent in the editorial columns of the Indian Medical Journal. In an editorial in the issue of April 1953 (reproduced below), the position has been fairly analyzed. The final issue, it is fairly concluded, need not be alarm. Where the vaccine is in the hands of experts and the programme is one of controlled and carefully followed up vaccination and not a mass campaign, there appeared results that have been brought to notice need not cause any alarm. But where thousands of children are taken in a mass campaign and vaccination is done under conditions of ill-discipline and without adequate or even any form of documentation or suitable machinery for care and follow-up, it is certainly a matter for alarm that these well investigated cases show also possibilities. We accordingly deprecate any false misrepresentation of the encouraging results in the absolutely part of the editorial of the British Medical Journal. But notice must be taken of what most reliable authorities on the subject have found viz. that, progressive tuberculosis has recently more in previously tuberculin-negative persons who have been recently vaccinated with B.C.G. with apparent success according to accepted standards. The thorough use of observation and documentation that prevailed in the Scandinavian countries explains the fact that most of these cases came from that part of the world. Unaided and unaided cases, and reliable observations are wanted wherever this live vaccine is being experimented with. The results reported are not in any case much less we should at least clear our of them. When it is proposed to enlarge the chances of good or evil a million fold — as we do when we work in a mass campaign — caution is all the more necessary. Ed.]

Progressive tuberculosis can certainly occur in previously tuberculin-negative persons who have been recently vaccinated with B.C.G. with apparent success as judged by tuberculin conversion and visible vaccination lesions. Sporadic local complications due to the B.C.G. infection, even including regional glandular abscesses occasionally erroneously diagnosed as due to Koch's bacillus by an observer unaware of the facts, should be excluded from consideration of how such a progressive infection develops, as should diseases that follow a natural infection occurring just before vaccination or a few weeks afterwards during the "pre-vaccinal" phase, and also diseases due to reaction occurring some

years later when protection may be expected to have waned. The following remarks are thus mainly concerned with agelessly caused tuberculosis due to inadequacy of protection, and with progressive lesions apparently due to the BCG itself.

We are now believing that BCG vaccine gives complete protection, and a study of tuberculosis from human or bovine sources in the vaccinated has little statistical meaning unless the number observed is related to the number vaccinated, and unless the proportion is further seen in relation to similar observations on comparable unvaccinated persons. However, even the bare description of tuberculosis manifestations in those known to have been recently and successfully vaccinated can provide information on two points—the frequency of different types of case and the time of their onset. When tuberculosis, smudged due to BCG, has developed usually about two months after vaccination, clinical primary tuberculosis is much reduced in frequency, though a primary focus can still result from saproinfection.<sup>1</sup> If Dahlström and Löf's<sup>2</sup> figures for 34,000 BCG-vaccinated Swedish soldiers are broken down so as to show tuberculosis with onset between 0 and 12 months since vaccination—when protection might be expected to be maximal—the number of all cases was 74 (out of 100 at a corresponding time among the 34,000 unvaccinated in their series). Of these 6 cases, 10 were classified as of primary tuberculosis (as against 62 of 100 ifly and 41 of 100 post-primary tuberculosis). The primary forms were composed of primary complex, brief tuberculosis, and erythema nodosum, while the post primary cases—following the conception in Waligorski's<sup>3</sup> "time-table" of tuberculosis—consisted of pleurisy (12), pulmonary maculae (10), and other types (4). There were no cases of meningitis of solitary tuberculosis during this period among the vaccinated (but 11 in the unvaccinated). The prognosis of some forms of tuberculosis—for example, of primary disease and pleurisy, but not of post primary pulmonary tuberculosis—was better when they occurred in vaccinated than in unvaccinated individuals in this series.<sup>4</sup> Differentiation between primary and post-primary pulmonary tuberculosis, however, is often difficult and may be of doubtful value.

Saman<sup>5</sup> obtained somewhat different results, for in a German children's clinic he saw 13 children who developed tuberculosis between 3 and 24 months after apparently satisfactory vaccination accompanied by proved tuberculin conversion. These 13 included 3 cases of miliary adenitis, 1 of pleurisy, 1 of pulmonary tuberculosis (4 with cavitation), 1 of miliary tuberculosis, and 2 of meningeal tuberculosis. Saman concluded that almost all forms of tuberculosis can appear after BCG vaccination, even when immunity can definitely be postulated. The pro-

portion of his cases with pulmonary tuberculosis is higher than in some series, and the occurrence of miliary and meningeal disease is of unusual interest, since, as Löfstedt's<sup>6</sup> remarks, although indirect evidence suggests that the frequency of these forms in particular is reduced by BCG vaccination, this has not yet been shown statistically in a convincing way. The clinical onset of meningitis in Saman's two cases was 16 and 24 months after vaccination, and it is therefore unlikely that the children were infected before the effect of vaccination had developed. The author attributed the failure of protection by vaccination to various factors, including constitutional defects, co-existing other infections or metabolic disorders, and, particularly, to massive reinfection. The progress of the tuberculous disease was similar to that reported in unvaccinated children.

As anticipated by Jensen<sup>7</sup>—who pointed out that BCG has the same order of violence as some viruses isolated from natural lupus vulgaris—BGG has been reported, though very rarely, to produce lupus in and around the vaccination site. Mercurius<sup>8</sup> has reviewed the three previous cases in the literature and added three more of his own; he believes these infections to have been caused by the BCG and not by saproinfection from man or milk. A seventh case has more been described by Öbergren<sup>9</sup> who suggests that reinfection at the original site of inoculation may be a predisposing factor. Response to treatment is similar to that of natural lupus. Progressive systemic lesions caused by BCG, through haematogenous or lymphatic spread have also been reported, again rarely; these include abscess of the knee-joint,<sup>10</sup> multiple bone lesions with lupus vulgaris,<sup>11</sup> and three fatal cases of generalized BCG tuberculosis.<sup>12, 13, 14</sup> That most of these more recent cases come from Scandinavia must be ascribed to the large numbers vaccinated there and the thoroughness of observation and documentation. The reason for their occurrence has been speculatively attributed to poor individual resistance—for instance, from transient causes such as measles<sup>15</sup> or from constitutional deficiency.<sup>16, 17</sup> As Jensen<sup>18</sup> points out, the old idea that the attenuated BCG might wipe out the violence of its ancestral bovine ally is not supported, for no ill effect was seen in other children receiving the same batch as did Meyer's<sup>19, 20</sup> patient, and the tubercle bacilli recovered from the latter showed the same low virulence as BCG when tested in guinea-pigs. The production of progressive lesions by BCG

<sup>1</sup> *Acta tuberc. scand.*, 1955, 59, 571 (1955, 59, 587, 1956, 60, 1).

<sup>2</sup> *Lancet*, 1954, 69, 121.

<sup>3</sup> *J. Amer. med. Ass.*, 1954, 159, 85.

<sup>4</sup> Öbergren, S., *Scand. Lap.*, 1955, 115, 563.

<sup>5</sup> Löfstedt, G., and Jensen, T., *Acta tuberc. scand.*, 1955, 59, 122.

<sup>6</sup> Meyer, J., *Scand. Lap.*, 1955, 115, 564.

<sup>7</sup> Meyer, J., and Jensen, T., *J. Amer. med. Assoc.*, 1955, 76, 582.

<sup>8</sup> Thorpe-Wagner, E. et al., *Acta tuberc. scand.*—1955, 59, 173 and 175.

<sup>9</sup> Dahlström, T. R., and Nord, S., *Acta dermatovenereol. (Stockh.)*, 1955, 35, 257.

<sup>10</sup> *Internat. R. J. Ind. Hyg. Soc. Hyg.*, 1955, 4, 457.

<sup>11</sup> *Acta tuberc. scand.*, 1954, Suppl. No. 27, Ser. Arctica, Medical Journal, 1952, 1, 187.

<sup>12</sup> Fehér, L., *Lancet*, 1955, 69, 242.

<sup>13</sup> Dahlström, G., *Acta tuberc. scand.*, 1955, Suppl. No. 28.

<sup>14</sup> *Lancet*, 1956, 70, 502.



## HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## STUDENT-WORLD AND DISCIPLINE

(By Mahatma P. Dandot)

In Potos there was such a tough clash between the students and the police that on the independence day not only schools and colleges suspended their activities but entire life of the city came to a standstill, and the situation became so serious that the Government had to take prompt action in the interest of the peace of the city. There was firing, some were killed, and many wounded. The whole thing was so perplexing that the Government appointed an Enquiry Committee to make a thorough enquiry and to report. Last year similar situation had occurred in Madhya Bharat, and the report of an Enquiry Committee was published some time back, and now in Bihar too seems the need of another enquiry.

Because of the Goa liberation movement there was a sort of tension in the atmosphere at that time and there was agitation among the students. Like was more so in the Bombay State, and in Bombay very hard work change happened that perhaps their doors themselves were witnessed at them. My point in writing all this is that as all such occasions which affect the feelings of students, a provision is made out of a mode and in the move that before their real position remains weak, and they suffer and get beaten and for whole after takes a strange turn. Moreover, nobody is master of the situation and the whole thing has to be managed by the police. Then is neither healthy nor desirable for our democratic rule or for the development and growth of the people's strength. The teachers are, or should be, the natural leaders of students. The pull that exists between the teacher and the taught in pre-independence days is still there. This should be renewed, and when about discipline should change.

While writing this, I am reminded of an incident in Gujarat. Various complaints were heard regarding the College at Navsari. One of them is that in the First Year Examination of that college there was a drastic cut in the result of the External students, so much so that it came to less than 25 per cent. It is said that if External students get encouraged to appear in the examina-

tion, it would seriously affect the strength of the college, the fee income will go down, and difficulties would increase. Students allege that to save the college from this situation the results of the External students were recklessly kept low and it was done through a particular examiner. They wrote to the Vice-Chancellor of the University about this, but to their great surprise, it had no effect. By the students have now been left with the only resource of putting their grievances before the public.

Other cases in the affairs of the Navsari College are also agitating the student world there. I do not want to enter into these here. Here I only want to note a happy thing that the Navsari students are taking their problem with restraint. I hope the thing would be resolved peacefully, and leaving aside the question of prestige the Government of the college has well, would look into the result of the External students and remove the complaints which seem to be so very clear.

If these who are concerned with students do not discharge their responsibility well, their own shortcomings are bound to affect their teaching work, and the training which students would or should get to work thoughtfully and clearly will not be possible and may otherwise produce unimaginable and disastrous results. The educational world of the country should give its thought to this problem. The remedy to be done by Government control over colleges or universities through legislation. These institutions becoming free and independent should begin to impart knowledge, they cannot remain now merely examining bodies or places for getting through examinations.

(24-9-48)

(Received from Gujarat)

By Mahatma Gandhi  
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## LIME AS A BUILDING MATERIAL

(By Jovanovitch, Jankov)

Lime is an old and basic village industry. Among the village industries mentioned in the list of the All Union School and Village Education Board, lime should have found a prominent place. It is therefore surprising that it has been so far ignored by the Government and constructive workers.

Lime stone deposits are found in most parts of the country and since extensive quarrying, burning and grinding at home have been done by the villages, it is in the country for which machinery has not been developed so far as the significant work. Just as there was no need until the mid-thirties of the present century lime has been subjected to the crushing weight of the modern conditions.

I have a feeling that the increasing emphasis on the utilization of lime by various has not been due to that being an old but material. Whenever I have had opportunities of discussing lime with building experts they at once stated that lime is a very good, useful and cheap available indigenous building material, but even so, it is due to many reasons lime is superior to cement. And currently enough, only other techniques to do anything about it.

### Quality First

Along the strength and durability and such other qualities of lime and then also need many people. The various historical monuments which have survived the vagaries of time and weather, and such large modern structures as the Leningrad University, Kirovograd Museum and Potemkin House in all of which lime played the role, and the construction and plaster are profitable monuments.

While lime is abundant, the villages have been living in little but lime. In fact in many parts of the country houses made of stone, bricks or stone, lime, and in the city, the only houses for millions of our people. As a result of the rapidly changing socio-economic conditions, our rural life has been experiencing an urge to improve their conditions and for lime and more knowledge acquisition of lime right in their hands and from lime. Our Government has also launched a campaign of intensifying the rural reconstruction program in its aim to radically raise the living standards of the working villages. In this context, lime becomes an important problem. The fact that lime has been a traditional building material in fact, is the evidence that give a great impetus to constructive work.

What is, perhaps, even more important, is the fact that lime has a great potential source of rural employment. If the villages are indeed not pleased in the use of lime in building it can be a very large number of villages who could supplement their incomes or gain new employment, especially during the off harvest season.

### Low Cost House

Thus the proper way of making use can be seen in an under-developed country like India is not to look out for some magical formula or alternative building material. It rather lies in the revitalization of the cheap indigenous building materials. Lime has been used in an old and well tried building material. It is readily and cheap available practically in every part of the country. A careful study of the lime mortar and plaster used in the historical monuments and many of the large buildings built in the first quarter of the present century in India and the recent experience in lime mortar and in the building of the houses of the U.S., will show that one of the effective ways to improve the housing standards structurally as well as economically is to restore as far as the place in the scheme of building construction.

Some of the definite advantages of lime as a building material can be listed as follows:

The process of quarrying and burning and making mortar of lime is simple and inexpensive which makes lime comparatively a much cheaper building material. Today when the country is passing through one of the major phases of at least co-existence in which building of houses, where hundreds are being produced, a lot of money is the one that is needed by the village use of lime.

### Reconstruction

Rural reconstruction and particularly rural housing, which is one of the three primary preoccupations for "reconstruction" has been lying in the hands of the country. In a problem which needs urgent attention, lime has been a very important contribution to make. If we take steps to demonstrate in the villages how they can make effective and economic use of lime, the whole lime can only be taken from the deposits just across the distance for building houses and plaster houses, a great impetus can be provided in the progress of rural housing. This is the point to remember that lime is a material which the villages can use fully apart from money costs. And also lime is a village matter as no individual or co-operative alone can pretend to be making money with the village. Lime is not by itself a village matter. The villages have neither the tools, nor techniques and know-how, nor machinery nor the large capital for the manufacturing and application of lime in their reconstruction works. In fact they can take it as naturally.

Apart from writing on it important 'masonry agents' for the utilization of lime in reconstruction programs, the further application and use of lime can provide greatly making additional and supplementary sources of employment in the agricultural industry, especially during the off harvest season. While Government is opening millions of rupees for reviving handicrafts and developing the village and village industries mainly because it is felt that this is necessary to provide employment in the increasing surplus manpower, the planned development of lime, which is perhaps not only in fact, as the major village industry can give a long way to eliminate rural under-employment and unemployment. The fact that machinery has not as yet been employed in the lime industry on any significant scale and consequently almost the entire production is carried out by manual labour, shows the great scope and possibilities of the lime industry in employing a large manpower.

### Exportable Item

The more extensive use of lime is bound to result in appreciable savings in foreign currency spent for importing some modern materials being used in place of lime or as necessary for the manufacture of these materials. Besides, a lot of modern building materials like cement can be spared for more proper use in the big projects. By doing so the country can even look forward to becoming an exporter of such materials.

The use of lime as a building material is advantageous not only for the reasons stated above. Because of its technical qualities lime continues to be one of the very valuable ingredients in making mortar. Even today lime mixed with better quality — made of the best lime and sand — is preferred by experienced and competent building engineers.

The major requirement for stepping up the use of lime is in construction. The Government can easily ask the Building Research Section of the Indian Standards Institution to take up standardization of lime. In this respect, the efforts of some other Governmental departments, like the C.P.W.D. which have already been doing some experimental work, can be coordinated and increased.

(From *Chandrasekhar*, May 1955)

## ALCOHOLIC DRINKS GOING DOWN IN UNITED STATES

When, recently, the *Time*, a well-circulated American weekly, splashed beer across its 8-4 pages in the section for business and published a picture of a beer barrel on its cover page (number for July), the office of the weekly was swarmed under an avalanche of letters of sharp protest.

The *Time* in building up what has been described as 'puffery' for the beer business and the beer barrels, has admitted that the beer trade is passing through an era of decline and short-lived liquor is also faced with the same situation. The paper notes:

In 1964 the C.B. consumed just 26 million lbs. — 4,000,000 lbs., less than the 48 million in 1942. In terms of per capita consumption, the dip is even sharper. Beer sales last year were down almost 15% from the wartime high of 14.7 gals. per person. And last is not the only indicator: 10% hard liquor sales have slumped nearly 30% from the postwar high to 1.18 gals. per capita. (*Time* 52.)

It is interesting to find the reasons for this situation in the change in living habits people making more money and liveling up of the standard of living. The workingmen no longer like to live over a glass of 'mud'. Auto-racing sports, ballroom and home improvement fill his leisure hours. Materialists too, are becoming increasingly aware of the danger in drunken driving. Still another reason given is rising taxes that make the 'poor man's drink' more expensive. At the same time, it is stated that the poor man is no longer poor.

The *Time* describes how the liquor trade is trying to tide over the situation by boosting up beer sales. It also tells its readers in a disgusting view of the great wealth and luxury of one of the big barons, August Ambrose Busch, Jr. He travels in a special new luxury railmotor. He throws out formal parties to every whole-saler, retailer and saloon-keeper — 15,000 in all.

Busch's power is conditioned vitales for his realm and boasts one of the finest animal men of his era. He bought a baseball team by creating dollars 75,00,000 — an publicity drove Busch owns shares worth dollars 28 million in his firm and is paid a salary of dollars 1,00,000 a year. His firm made a profit of 32 million in 1954. Busch is looking off a record dollars 14 million advertisement campaign to plug his beer, to tempt the TV watching home market with his 'ladies' ale' and other types of beer.

The letters received by the *Time* and published in the issue for August show that sections of readers of that weekly strongly repented the boost given to beer and beer barons. The admission of *Time* that the American people are turning away from beer and hard liquor and the liquor industry as a whole is passing through bad times is not without significance. It shatters, for one thing, the misconception that liquor is

well-entrenched in the Western countries and (3) and the Americans are too fond of it. It is not the intellectuals and other 'cranks' only who despise alcoholism. As the letters show and the paper has admitted, the common citizen from all walks of life shirks liquor addiction and are turning away from it. The liquor sales are reduced in proportion to the increased standard of income and living—a sociological phenomenon that needs to be noted by the critics of prohibition policy in Bombay State and in the country.

(Continued)

## LANGUAGES AND INDIAN UNITY

### 'An Example to Emulate'

An institution, the Bharatiya Shiksha Sangam was inaugurated (August 25), by Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Vice-Chancellor of Bharatiya Hindu University. In this institution arrangement has been made to impart lessons in Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati to anyone desirous of learning these languages. In pursuance of the belief — to which expression is given so often and by so many that it remains a wonder that it should not have occurred to more people than it has to do something concrete about it — that it is essential to national unity and solidarity that every citizen should know something about regions and cultures other than his own. And there is no better way of knowing a people's mind and culture than through their language and literature.

As we have pointed out earlier also, it is a little odd that while our universities vie with one another in introducing classes in Chinese, Spanish, French and German, and other foreign languages, few of them think of starting Indian language classes to teach any of the regional languages of the country. Let diploma courses be started in Telugu, Tamil, Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati, to mention only the languages in which the Bharatiya Shiksha Sangam has started teaching and let the Union and other Public Service Commissions announce that credit will be given to candidates for administrative services for knowing more than one Indian language.

(This is from an editorial article of the *Indian Merchant*, August 25, 1966. The *Merchant* has all along stood for the return to our Indian universities. India's unity can be secured and cemented by mutual and peaceful studies of our great languages and by familiarising ourselves with them as the common language for inter-provincial and all-India intercourse. They can educate a patriotic and understanding reader the goals and begin to reconstruct education accordingly. (L. P.)

2-9-66

By K. G. Mahabadi

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Sept. 24

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## QUESTION OF GOA'S FREEDOM

(By Mahasabha P. Desai)

The question has suddenly assumed the form of a grave problem for India. It has set both the people and their Government to intense heart-searching. The question has not remained merely an internal one but has hurried into the eye of international politics. It certainly does one's heart good to feel that after months of earnest heart-searching we are arriving at a certain clarity and firmness about the question.

It is clear that Goa (which includes Diu and Daman) is geographically a part of the Indian continent and the people living there are certainly those of India. But Portugal does not recognise the fact. If she did she would show readiness to negotiate with India, as France did, for an agreed solution of the question. But she maintains that Goa is part of the territory of her State which exists far away in Europe.\*

It is true Goa is geographically part of the Indian continent. But it is not so in fact. The position resembles that of a person who believes that "Swearing is every man's birthright" but may be living under foreign rule. That Goa is geographically part of the land of India is evident, and it is equally evident that the people of Goa are by race, culture etc. Indian. But according to national and international law and practice Goa belongs to the State of Portugal and is not part of the territory belonging to the State of the Indian Union. And this position can in no way be ignored.

The position gives rise to two or three significant points worth serious consideration. One is the aspiration of the people of Goa. The other is the wish of the Government of India. The people of Goa aspire to free themselves from Portuguese rule. But their Government suppresses their aspirations by tyrannical measures of repression. The measures needed are of those adopted by the Inquisition, the notorious court of justice set up by the Catholic Church. The courts of India in Goa today appear to function like courts martial. But blind fanaticism and an arbitrary denial of human rights appear to be common to both of them.

The other point is regarding the wish of the Government of India. The Prime Minister, who is at heart, has declared that the continuance of the rule of a foreign power in Goa should be tolerated in any way and that it has to go. The chief considerations pointed out by him is that imperialism or colonialism has to be abolished from the present day world, and surely, it cannot be allowed to exist and function at the very doors of the Indian Union!

A third point for consideration also arises out of the peculiar position. It is regarding the will and action of the people of India. All the three sides concerned over this question are in agreement that Goa should be free and should now again belong to free India, the people of Goa, the Government of India and the Indian people do not have any particular difference in this matter. To use more precise language, the Government of India adds to say that the question is as to whether Goa should merge in the India. Over seven years ago, the people of Goa may, when the proper time arrives, express their heartfelt wish in the matter. But the Government of India does not wish from its own independent point of view, that the region should be free from Portuguese rule. This independent point of view arises from the need of doing away with imperialism from the world in order to establish peace between nations or from our foreign policy consistent with the aim of peace or any the internationally adopted principle of Pancha Sheel.

Let us now look at the question from the point of view of the people of India. They feel that the territory of Goa is Indian territory, that they have therefore, a right of free entry into it, that, following the right, they would enter the region to help their people who live there in their fight for freedom, and that they should take part in the fight and would raise on the territory India's flag. Having these sentiments all political parties of India either from the Congress along with the Goans, residing in India began to send small batches of men to enter Goa. The numbers were limited in the initial stages. But later, on the occasion of the Independence Day on the 15th August last, large numbers took upon themselves to enter Goa. What took place as a consequence is a matter of recent news.

From the legal point of view or from the point of view of current international practice, such entry by Indians in the Portuguese State of Goa can be deemed unlawful. Some British newspapers have described the entry as aggression though non-violent, i.e. by unarmed men, as a foreign State. And Portugal had her army in readiness to retieve those whom she considered aggressors. One may not object to what Portugal did so far. But she ignored the fact that those whom she retained aggressors were unarmed and peaceful. She could have arrested them for unlawfully entering her territory, she could have tried them for the offence or she could have pushed them back into India's territory. No other sort of action against those who entered Goa on that day could be conceived. But Portugal acted with them as a nation which regards one of the deeds of the British at the Jallawanda Bugh. By her action against the unarmed peaceful Indians, Portugal perhaps unknowingly proved that not only these empires had their growth in such horrible deeds but also that they cannot also be protected or maintained without them. Portugal, in fact, proved guilty of mismanaging unarmed



men and women? It is for the civilized world now to ask Portugal an account of her deeds on that day.

The Government of India, the people of India and even foreign nations were seriously agitated over the events of the massacre in Goa. The question of the freedom of Goa caught the attention of the whole world as if it is a flash and in India, as stated in the beginning, it has assumed the form of a serious problem. It is now for the people of India as well as her political parties to consider the question coolly. The question is, no doubt, complex and charged with deep emotions also and has unhappily become a source of unwholesome rivalries between the political parties. The All India Congress Committee, which met in session at Delhi last week, had to find a way out of this particularly delicate situation. The Committee deserves congratulations for doing it courageously and without falling a prey to emotional hysteria. Congress surely hopes that this will now help clearing the atmosphere and creating a background essential to clear thinking and firm policy.

The resolution adopted by the AICC was published in the previous issue. It has set all people to search their hearts and minds to survive. Events arising out of the resolution had better be left for future contemplation.

9-6-55

(From Calcutta)

### A LOOSE STATEMENT

(By Mahatma P. Desai)

It is some times said that India is militarily as strong and well equipped that she can easily take Goa by resorting to military action. I fear this is an unhappy statement to make. It matters from loose thinking.

How would a common man react to it? He will forthwith say "Then why don't you do it." Why do you delay in doing a thing we want to achieve?" Both the Indian people and their Governments are nearly apt accused parties, though they love peace. However we have not accepted total disarmament and no war as a creed. Therefore, we can hardly take military action in Goa on that score.

And we know that most of the non-Congress political parties inwardly desire to censure the Congress and its Government to that position. By exploiting the popular sentiment for the liberation of Goa, these parties, knowingly or unknowingly, create quite a new and internal or domestic problem for the country.

However, it is a mistake to talk of military action for Goa if we look at it from the practical point. We can hardly take Goa so easily. It must be clearly shown to our people that the way of

war is not easy, as it might apparently appear. Goa is small, however to win it by resorting to arms is not an easy job. It is only then that the world is tempted into wars from such small-looking issues and being impelled by the pride of armed strength and superiority such small-looking incidents result into a world war. We can say, it may not be so in the case of Goa. It is wise to have forethought on such matters. Goa may perhaps be an delicate or explosive a question as Formosa. Nobody knows. Both peace and as well as reasons of security and even India's international prestige and progress require us to note it and act accordingly. Such military action will affect adversely India's foreign policy of peace and violence it is our great shame. Our foreign policy has won for us international esteem and prestige, which is our very great national asset useful for negotiating the Goa issue peacefully and successfully.

Therefore it must be made perfectly clear to the people that military action in Goa is a step in the direction of war with Portugal and loss of life and esteem for our people. Therefore it is not an easy way, nor short nor profitable as well. It will be sheer suicide to build otherwise. The quickest, the easiest and the most successful way to achieve the Goa issue in the case of past and non violence in the same way as that of winning the way in India has amply demonstrated to us. As a matter of fact we are today in a happy position of talking to that war with the help of our Government. And knowingly or unknowingly we have taken to that path, we must now be conscious of it.

Thus it has been expedient for us as a people to resort to peaceful means even in international affairs. It is a right way from the point of view of the principle of peace and non-violence which we as a nation now proclaim for adoption by the nations of the world.

Thus means that we have now come to the state of the experiment of Satyagraha in the field of international relationships. It is a new theme, it requires to be worked out by us guiding ourselves in it with the light that we have had from Gandhi till now. This is a serious matter. We must enter into it without being carried away by the impulse of having Goa quickly.

24-6-55

(From Calcutta)

By Mahatma Gandhi

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## HINDI AND URDU

(By Jagabhai P. Bhanu)

It is necessary to consider calmly and dispassionately and in a broader perspective the fact that Pakistan will have Urdu as its official language. If we do not do it, it might harm India's bright future even.

Undoubtedly enough, Urdu is an Indian language. The obvious proof of it is that it has found a place in our Constitution as one. Therefore if we look at this objectively, we can, with harmless pride, say that India has given one of her languages to Pakistan as its official language. If Pakistan takes this fact in a similar manner, it may see that its own future has joined it with India by means of such a deeply cultural link like the language.

There is advantage to both the countries if they take the matter in this manner. They can, with such a living instrument like the language, fuse between themselves a link of mutual love and concern. But today the jealousies and enmities of old have not still died away and hence that great truth of our situation is hidden under them. But it helps neither. If we damaged it or deny it, both only injure themselves.

We have now two separate languages like Hindi and Urdu, though it is really not so. Thus we had, along with the partition of our land, the partition of the language also. Let apart the former partition, the partition of the language was not necessary. However, it is there now. As a result Pakistan got a national language for itself. North India is a victim of hatred of Urdu. Pakistan makes Urdu as its national language though not taking kindly and friendly to its neighbour. Indeed, one man's work is another man's poison!

I may quote a parallel instance on this point, viz. England and America. Both were once one State with English as their language. They separated as two States after a bloody war. However their language continued to be the same. Of course, in course of time, there did occur some change in it resulting in what is called American English. However America knowingly stopped to change its spelling etc. Otherwise, it would have lost the natural common western history given to it. Today old enmity and hatred etc. are gone, and language has given the two countries the medium for unity and friendship. And it stands them in good stead even though the two countries are independent political States.

India can secure such an advantage for itself through its language. Pakistan might well respond to it. The way to do it is to see that the gulf between Hindi and Urdu, which I fear is ever widening and deepening, may be bridged by both trying to be a common simple language of the people in the North, which we called Hindustani and the manner of which we find in our Constitution. Just as it was written in Roman, it may as well be written in Urdu by

those who know that script. Albeit this may constitute a small difference. However, if we develop our all-India common language, it may benefit Pakistan also. And even if that country writes its national language in Urdu script, there will be people reading that script amongst us also, thus making it easy for the two countries to secure intercourse.

It is worthwhile realising how much real national strength might accrue to us. If we strive for the above thing, there will be the better, rather it is obvious that it will mean increase in happiness, love of peace and co-operation between the two countries.

(From *Quadrant*)

28-8-45

A GANDHI ANTHROPOLOGY  
BOOK IV

Earth, dark 1

In this age of the atom bomb unadorned non-violence is the only force that can control all the tracks put together of violence. (Hindustan, 22-8-45, 18 November, 1945, p. 452 col. 2 'Outside We Said'.)

Earth, dark 2

If we begin to depend on them (Governments), it will mean the end of Basic Education. It must become entirely self-supporting at the end of that period (5 years). If (then we are not able to support, we will) have to declare (our) bankruptcy before the country (Hindustan, 22-8-45 9 November 1945, p. 452, col. 2, under 'Self-support').

Earth, dark 3

If India were to copy Europe in these (militaristic) ways, it (would) mean destruction for India and the world (Hindustan, p. 452, col. 1, above 'Khadi and milis').

Earth, dark 4

Mil cloth should not sell side by side with Khadi (but) outside India. Our milis may not be able to sell in foreign markets too for long (Hindustan, under 'Khadi and milis').

Earth, dark 5

I do not agree that Government should promote religious education. [It] can only teach ethics based on the main principles common to all religions and agreed to by all parties (Hindustan, col. 2, under 'Religious Education').

Earth, dark 6

I should allow my children to run the risk (of over-education) (Hindustan, under 'Co-education').

Earth, dark 7

It was wrong of me not to have insisted on everybody learning weaving as I did in the case of spinning (Hindustan, p. 453, col. 1, under 'Khadi etc.').

Earth, dark 8

[The teacher of Basic Education] is a workman worthy of his hire. His wife and children too will also be workers (Hindustan, under 'Working etc.').

Karsh, dark 9

Agriculture (cannot be a basic craft, (for) it has not the educational potentialities of spinning) But it is bound to come in ultimately. Those trained in Arts Times will cultivate food crops which they themselves need (food, under 'Agriculture etc').

Karsh, dark 10

A governor gets Rs. 5,000 a month, but his master, the newspaper, has an average annual income of Rs. 10 only. Thus the servant's income is 25X10=250 times as large as that of the master.

V L D

In the U.S.A. the income of the governor is not more than 20 times the average income of the American citizen.

T K Rang

In New Zealand the highest pay is about 5 times as large as the lowest.

D. M. Khosdy

(I have) no hesitation in endorsing Mr. Karsh's about the high salaries and the great disparity between the highest and the lowest salaries paid to their servants by our Government—Goodman (food, p. 388, col. 1, para 4)

Karsh, dark 11

If I had my way, I would not buy a grain of foodstuff from outside India. It is my firm belief that even today there is enough foodstuff in the country (Morison, XI-40, 2 November 1947, p. 328, col. 2, l. 14)

Karsh, dark 12

It is not for a democratic state to feed money for founding universities. If the people work then they will supply the funds (food, p. 362, col. 1, last para)

Karsh, dark 13

There is a stage in life when a man does not need even to produce his thoughts, much less to show them by outward action, mere thoughts are. They claim that power (Morison, XI-38, 20 October 1947, p. 321, col. 1, under 'Action etc')

Karsh, dark 14

Is it not the lot of us mortals that the innocent suffer for the guilty? It is as well that they do. The world is the richer and better for the sufferings of the innocent (Morison, XI-3, 10 October 1947, p. 374, col. 1, last para)

Karsh, dark 15

Had it (his love) been successful, death of Mica's partner would have enriched him, for the memory of the dishonoured partner would have resulted in greater dedication to the service of down-trodden humanity (food, p. 374, col. 1, end of para 3)

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## SWARAJYA, GRAMARAJYA AND KAMARAJYA

(I've the programme speech of Pt. Vinoba Bhave read by him on 10th August 1946 at Kanchipur (first before District) in English.)

People has hoped that they let would improve after Independence. There is absolutely nothing wrong in looking such and similar high hopes in Swarajya. What was in Swarajya? It is does not bring in to us the betterment of the lot of the common people? Therefore, it was not proper and quite probable to expect better and happier days in Swarajya.

Second Are People's Servants

But the people did not understand or realize that it was in their own hands to ameliorate their condition. They have taken it for granted that as there was previously the rule of the British and then that of the last King, similarly it was now the rule of the Congress. But, in those days when our Masters of the British land, as we called for the voice of the people. Those old days when the princes and the emperors used represent the people for good. Now it is our Swarajya. Is People's India. There also rule the country today are but the servants of the people who have elected them.

People, do, Real Masters

Power is today vested in the people in which their selfish who would consider the affairs of the country as their selfish. It was for this purpose that the people were organized to elect their voice and accordingly they have elected their servants for 5 years. If the people are satisfied with the service which their servants have rendered during this period they will reelect them and, if otherwise they would elect others in their stead. All this means that for you, the people that are the masters. However, such artificial changes you is not the master yet, remember you are so free collectively. But you have not yet fully realized that real power is vested in you.

People, Must Real It

Real power is something which cannot be had in a gift. Long before (even of 1931) it entirely must going from within. While the people of India are as much able as others. They have, however, been given in fact no account of the long language of British domination. But, like the parents the Government would do all the everything for their children. But that the parents in reality needed to the people, they must feel that it is really an and must experience from within. Some people give the matter too material signs and privileges? In fact, while has been insurance and also have been motherhood. Some women disfigure to the fact the rule of the king of the Arabs? In fact, he himself looks in and considers his rights. Similarly the people must feel from within and realize for themselves that they are the masters. They must then experience the real strength of Swarajya from within.

How Will It Happen?

Would the people of every village rule the country from Delhi? No. How will they, then, get the experience? The answer is. The people of the villages will rule their own villages. They will then get the experience of the working and affairs of the State and feel the real strength of Swarajya substantially.

From Grama-Rajya to Bharat-Rajya

There are six hundred, six and eleven and small in the village went some forward and other their services, so the others and the parents do to conduct the affairs of the village. Not only that but they should work in such a manner and with such a spirit that other people are become experienced and adopt like them, or even adopt and observe them themselves. In time and with other efforts. It would be only then that Grama-Rajya would lead to the real Bharat-Rajya. Swarajya means, self-rule, the rule of and by the whole country, i.e., by all the people. It comes into existence on the withdrawal of the



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Two Annas

## INDIA OF MY DREAM

(By Gandhiji)

Independence must begin at the bottom. Then every village will be a republic or a study of living full powers. It follows, therefore, that every village has to be self-sustained and capable of managing its affairs even to the extent of defending itself against the whole world. It will be trained and prepared to perish as the attempt is defied itself against any on which it can without. Thus, ultimately, it is the only road which is the start. This does not exclude agriculture or individual help from neighbours or from the world. It will be free and voluntary and of mutual love. Such a society is necessary, free, cultured in which every man and woman should be at the work and, what is more, that no one should want anything but what is necessary for the life.

Two, society must naturally be based on truth and on non-violence which, in my opinion, are not possible without a living belief in God meaning a universal, all-knowing living Force which allows every other force known to the world, and which depends on none and which will live when all other forces may considerably perish or cease to act. I am unable to account for my life without belief in this all-embracing living light.

In the structure composed of innumerable villages there will be ever-widening never-ending circle. Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual, always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages, till at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals, never aggressive in their arrangements but ever humble, sharing the majority of the oceanic circle of which they are integral parts.

Therefore, the external circumstances will not wield power to crush the inner circle but will give strength to all within and derive its own strength from it. I may be treated with the belief that this is a Utopian end, therefore, not worth a single thought. If England's point, though incapable of being driven by human agency, has

an imperishable value, my picture has its own for mankind to live. Let India live for this true picture, though never available in its complete form. We must have a proper picture of what we want, before we can have something approaching it. If there ever is to be a republic of every village in India, then I claim unity for my picture in which the last is equal to the first or, in other words, no one is to be the first and none the last.

In this picture every religion has its full and equal place. We are all slaves of a majestic tree whose trunk cannot be shaken off roots which are deep down in the levels in the earth. The mightiest wind cannot move it.

In this there is no room for machines that would replace human labour and that would concentrate power in a few hands. Labour has its dignity, dignity is a universal human dignity. Every machine that helps every man should have a place. But I must confess that I have never got down to think out what that machine can be. I have thought of Singer's sewing machine. But even that is problematic. I do not need it to fill in my picture.

(Paragraph 21, 7-11)

(1944, 2-1-44)

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## B.C.G. CAMPAIGN SHOULD STOP

(By Mageshwar P. Desai)

Legislatures are at present in session and several Health Ministers are giving vent to their wrath against the anti B.C.G. campaign launched by Shri Rajaji. For example, Dr. B. C. Ray remarked that although Rajaji was a 'doctor' he was not a doctor of medicine, suggesting thereby that Rajaji could not understand anything about B.C.G., while he as a doctor would, which may be true. But it is also wrong, he claims as doctors have got involved in their allopathic profession, they have failed victim to one-sided view of the matter. There are eminent doctors who are against B.C.G. What have doctors to say to this? They must first resolve this point of difference among themselves before they think of experimenting B.C.G. on the people. Otherwise it would not be wrong to say that they are practising quackery.

Madras Assembly Kaur argued that doctors like Shri B. C. Roy and Shri Jyoti Malhotra were in favour of B.C.G. that in the week nearly ten crores of people were already vaccinated with the B.C.G., etc. Now Shri Rajkumari is not herself a doctor, but she is a Minister of the Government. Therefore she must consider the fact that doctors who are against B.C.G. are also very earnest doctors. Moreover, how can it be proved that the vaccine has prevented T.B. in these ten crores of people? Nor can it be said that all of them would have developed tuberculosis were they not so vaccinated. On the contrary, one would like to ask, have they not created a new source of trouble for the humanity by inoculating ten crores of people with live T.B. bacilli? The bacilli, however, weakened they may be, are live T.B. bacilli. Is it then wrong to say that in the name of science they have started a 'germ-warfare' on our children?

The Health Minister of Madras has put forth a novel plea. He says Rajaji has created a scare about the vaccine in the minds of the people and have thus disheartened them. This is, in my the least, a travesty of truth. Who has created a scare in the public mind by saying that tuberculosis was on the increase? And suppose for a moment that it was increasing, B.C.G. is not a remedy for it. Doctors themselves are not agreed about its efficacy. Again, B.C.G. is no cure of the disease, at the most it is hoped that it may prevent it and that hope too is said to become ineffective after about two years. And all doctors agree on the point that repeated vaccination is injurious, vaccination itself may cause the disease! In the vaccine there are bacilli. Although they are weakened, it is found that sometimes they get active and cause tuberculosis.

There is in the body a natural resisting power against disease. Instead of taking such

measures as to preserve and develop that power the Government is experimenting on the people under the doubtful notion of science. It has no right to do this.

The truth of the matter is that the department of the Government wants to do something on a mass scale, and the so-called preventive measures are now-a-days flooding the country. With their help, it can be shown that some departmental work has been done but really spending it is no health work. The right and effective way for preventing disease is to give for cleanliness, nutritious and balanced diet, well ventilated houses, instead of doing this work and directing our monetary resources to that purpose Government departments support different kinds of vaccines from foreign lands and inject them in the bodies of our people. And they bolster themselves with the belief that by so doing they are keeping pace with the civilized world! Ignorant people in our villages do not know anything about all this Government officials go there in a pompous fashion and start vaccinating people. People dare not disobey but, they feel, they would be persecuted by the Government.

Now, who takes advantage of fear and ignorance? We do not know why this *live bacilli* is deliberately injected in the bodies of our people. This is not a matter for the doctors to decide, for the simple reason that they differ about the effects of B.C.G. B.C.G. must be stopped. Whoever wishes, may go to a doctor and get himself vaccinated, Governments should not come on this as a mass campaign.

1-9-55

(From Gujarat)

## SUY KHADE HUNDIS

(Shri V. L. Malhotra, Chairman of the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board, has in word and colouring appeal to the people.)

For the first time in the history of the Khadi movement, the Government of the country has directly taken the responsibility of the sale of Khadi Khanda. Unlike last year and the years before that, Khadi Khanda will be made available to the public through the 40,000 post offices dispersed in all parts of the country from the 10th September.

I need not at this stage, go into the history of Khadi Khanda and how they are becoming an integral part of the Khadi movement in India. Before independence institutions engaged in Khadi work had to face numerous difficulties in finding finance for the promotion of Khadi production. Khadi Khanda were viewed as a method by which advance funds can be collected from the public and thus ensure continued employment to lakhs of poor handspinning in the remote villages of India. These spinners are women. The petty wages they earn out of handspinning are often their *income*, and means of their daily bread. These *income*

to be used by customers engaged in the production and sale of products on a local basis and sold through their own retail outlets.

After independence, the Government of the country has taken over the financing of Khadi production and sales and therefore there should not be any possibility of funds for continued production. But the next step needs for popularising Khadi in different sections of the community as also to generate active interest among them in the lot of the economic progress.

Last year, the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board took over the organization of the sale of Khadi Handis from the various institutions engaged in the production and sale of Khadi and moved them on a national scale. For the first time the sale of these Handis through post offices was also introduced. The response from the public and from officials of the Government both at the Centre and in the States, was indeed very heartening. Handis worth over Rs 74-50,000 were sold. That gave us the measure of the willingness of the people to help a deserving cause and in these days when the spectre of rural unemployment and resultant underemployment haunts the country there is no greater cause than that of bringing commerce to these millions of work and wage. Handicrafting and handicaving of Khadi offer opportunities of work to millions. Khadi Handis are taken with the people but to demonstrate not only their sympathy with those tens of millions but also their active support to the cause that Khadi seeks to achieve.

The experience of the Board last year was that organizing the sale of Khadi Handis on a national scale called for the services of hundreds of workers. To set up such a large organization and to enlist that number of workers involve considerable expenditure. Last year's experience also showed that the 40,000 post office in the country could be usefully utilized for this work.

Through the courtesy of the Ministry of Communications of the Government of India and with the active co-operation of the authorities of the Posts and Telegraph Department of the country the Board has been able to arrange this year the sale of Khadi Handis through the 40,000 post-offices in the country. Khadi Handis, therefore, will be available to the public at all the post-offices from the 15th September. The Board has been enabled to adopt this course because of simplified, expeditious and economical procedures on the one hand and, on the other, given the opportunity to every individual to serve as a self-employed agent of Khadi and thus identify himself with the cause of promoting the welfare of the toiling millions. The Board expects that institutions allied to it and individuals will procure Khadi Handis from the post office nearest to them, against payment, and sell these Handis

to others in our society, lines of class and caste. The role of Hinduism in the past century is a challenge to the most sensitive and an incentive to the people to witness their services in the noble cause which Islam represents. It is the earnest hope of the All India Hindu and Village Industries Board that the people, no matter where they are, will resort to their nearest post office in large numbers and buy Hindu handicrafts both for their own use and for sale to their friends.

[I add a few words for the friends and the Swedish community. They can play a very real and effective part in this national campaign of saving Queen Beatrix in aid of Swedish seaports. For example, a single student at a batch of them can comparatively easily set up a stall or stand and buy Swedish fish for sale. These they may sell cheap in return, for further sale. The process may be repeated in all hundreds of ripper yards of Swedish fish the small amount which can be easily secure Swedish registration and schools also can register such sales and thus earn for themselves the merit of having their own initial credit in the case of their trading activities.

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State	Loans (₹ crore)	Revolving Loans (₹ crore)
Assam	1,070	—
Andhra	22,379	—
Uttar Pradesh	5,54,444	65,595
Uttar	2,09,689	12,218
Karnataka	3,332	369
Kerala	25,113	319
Gujarat	39,248	4,404
Tamilnad	42,673	597
Delhi	8,245	98
Punjab & Pepsu	14,343	618
Bengal	10,568	1,263
Bombay	123	—
Bihar	23,89,329	34,689
Madhya Pradesh	1,34,637	37,062
Madhya Bharat	14,987	381
Maharashtra	28,148	—
Mysore	7,706	—
Rajasthan	3,29,238	14,343
Vindhya Pradesh	4,823	773
Kashmir	41,800	1,905
Karnachal Pradesh	2,625	—
Hyderabad	1,08,525	32,074
	43,14,425	2,11,394

RESEARCHER'S ADDRESS:  
FACULTY OF BUSINESS

John H. Howard, Warren, New York, County Clerk

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# HARIJAN

Vol. 1

1955

## SATYAGRAHA AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(By Maneklal P. Meher)

The first issue has drawn my attention, at perhaps nothing else before, to the need of re-considering and revivifying our ideas of Satyagraha. Mr. Gandhi was with us, it was his business to guide and direct us in the matter of this unique instrument of direct action for solving group problems in a peaceful and non-violent way. Now that he is no more with us it is up to us to consider and revivify such ideas really in Satyagraha which is non-violence and was an inflexible weapon, and could also be a sure remedy for any social or political evil. We look at its deeds in a true historic and critical way.

We know that Gandhiji came to this unique weapon in South Africa, in a situation which challenged the self-respect of our civilised men and women there. Gandhiji has given us a very vivid and graphic description of the meeting where he first thought of the way of meeting that challenge in a brave and yet non-violent way.<sup>1</sup> The way was what has been now well known as "Civil Disobedience" of a law that may be felt unjust or unjust, and it was to be undertaken by those first suffered under it and after all remedies called constitutional or legal failed to secure due and satisfactory relief.

A similar situation in the life of our people as a whole arose in India in 1920-21 when our self-respect as a people was challenged by the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy, the breach of promise about the Khilafat, and the Rowlatt Bill. The whole of our people were stirred from the depths of our national being. As a reply to it Gandhiji introduced his idea of Non-violent Non-co-operation (N.C.O.). It was a discovery of the second most important weapon in the armory of Satyagraha.<sup>2</sup> It contained the vigor and resistance that were lacking in the heart of our people existing as they were under a gross humiliation by an alien people. The N.C.O. also directed the energies of frustration and helplessness of an unarmed people to constructive activities of national rebuilding. In short, N.C.O. with the British rule in India allied with its positive wing of what came to be known later on as the Constructive Programme (C.P.) formed the basis of our national aspiration for freedom, and, as the

late Late Jajamohanlal Bhabha said, since then till we achieved freedom N.C.O. became the ABC of Indian politics. And Civil Disobedience was resorted to off and on for specific relief from wrong done by Government, e.g. the Bardoli Satyagraha, the Nagpur National Flag Satyagraha, the Bardoli Satyagraha etc. These trained our people in the method and technique of Satyagraha or C.D. and by 1930 we could declare that we shall achieve Poorna Swaraj or complete independence through Satyagraha. The non-violent weapon came to be recognised as a means to secure independence. The point to be noted here, from the point of view of the study of the techniques of this new weapon, is that even such a wide and broad aim as Swaraj or independence from foreign rule was conceived as a specific demand in the form of what is known as the Eleven Points. These points defined in clear terms the sort of relief that was to be given the people from resorting to the extreme weapon of C.D., and it well demonstrate a 'change of heart' on the part of the opponent.

At the end the nation decided to break the Salt Law, which was decidedly a bad law. And we know what came out of it.

It is clear from the above that we have had two weapons of Satyagraha — one, Civil Disobedience, the other N.C.O. with its positive wing of the Constructive Programme. And its use was for the purpose of undoing national self-respect against attack from alien rule. And later on it developed into a non-violent rebellion against foreign rule and for securing complete independence. Both in South Africa and in India the opponent was the British Imperial Power. The fight was not of one free country against another. It was a fight of the oppressed people against their rulers. It may be said to be a domestic issue. The status of the fight was later national, not inter-national between two sovereign States. The G.D. line presents us with the latter type, viz. of an inter-national character. The new type naturally arises out of the new circumstances of our being a free and independent sovereign State.

Two sorts of questions arise from this situation. The first is whether we as a people can use this non-violent weapon against our own British Government for removing its presence? This is a domestic issue. The second is whether we, as a people and as a sovereign State, can use the weapon in our international affairs to solve questions that may arise, as for instance, the Kashmir or the Goa issue.

The first question may not be quite a new thing as it is similar to the Satyagraha we had had against the British Government allied with a very big and equivalent difference that the Government now is our own and is a democracy. We may not discuss this question here any further.

The second question is a new thing. In Kashmir our territory was invaded by our neighbour country, Pakistan, Satyagraha, or a more

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter VI, The Achieve of Satyagraha in Satyagraha in South Africa by M. K. Gandhi. Pab. Narayana, Haridwar in Price Rs. 4-0-0 Postage etc. No. 134.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter I, VI, VII, VIII described the circumstances and the atmosphere in which he made the discovery. See also An Autobiography or the Story of My Experiments with Truth (1929) Chapter 26, Pab. Narayana, Haridwar, dated 14. Price Rs. 1-0-0 Postage etc. No. 145.



violence or 'moral' equivalent of war could not be resorted to—as a matter of fact, it never occurred to anybody, much less was it suggested by anybody. The State in India forthwith sent its army in self-defence and as we know Gandhi blessed it and thus well demonstrated his doctrine of Satyagraha, that it is not the same thing as European pacifism. Non-violence in Satyagraha is not a negative creed, but a positive principle of brave, active and direct action. If one is not up to it, one must not even through violence, and cannot readily or through pseudo-non-violence submit to injustice or foreign invasion.

In Goa we have a little different position. We wish to win it back from Portuguese rule, which is there on a colonial basis for about four centuries but. The question is should we invade it with our armies? For that is what 'police action' as it is called, ultimately means. This step can obviously be taken by the State. It will mean declaration of war with Portugal, involving the question with international affairs in war and peace. That is an idea that is obviously not of Satyagraha and we may well leave it there. Satyagraha requires that at least we must resort to peaceful and legitimate means.

International negotiations and diplomacy can help us here. This we may liken with what was used to be described during the days of our fight for freedom as "constitutional means" as compared with the direct action of Satyagraha. Such means are open to us in the international field now, as we are a free and sovereign people. Satyagraha admits their need and importance and recommends them as an essential first step of its technique. We are resolute to them in redressing the wrong in Goa. The Government had to advance in this direction as far as breaking off diplomatic relations with Portugal and withdrawing the Goa Borders. It is a sort of N.C.O. beginning to take shape in our international relations with Portugal. We should note and appreciate it accordingly. It can be progressively translated into a police action against Portuguese India by the people's efforts organising and allying themselves with their Government; a kind of an economic blockade can so well form part of Satyagraha in international affairs.

There is another side to the case in Goa born of some Indian political parties having taken on the matter in their own hands. As we see an attempt is being made to persuade the Indian people to resort to Satyagraha or C.D. by crossing into Indian Portuguese territory without aim to liberate it from Portugal. This is not the place to analyse this action. I only cite it to say that through that a non-violent action in some manner has appeared as the step in this field. In terms of Satyagraha it takes the form of ensuring foreign territory and thus involves breaking of international law in some manner. The law to be broken must be bad in ethical and moral

ity. Observing the matter from the other side it may as well be dubbed as a form of non-violent invasion on Goa by the people as apart from the Government which technically is not at war with Portugal.

It is irrelevant here to discuss this point further. The main thing to be noted here is the utter need our people feel to free Goa from Portuguese rule and have it back as India's territory which it is naturally or geographically. Is there a Satyagraha or non-violent way for it? That it should be there is what the doctrine of Satyagraha lays down. We must have a non-violent and peaceful way of vindicating justice and righteousness even in international affairs. To arrive at it is the business not only of the people of the world, but also their Governments. The U.N.O. if it means anything for the human world must stand for such a proposition. If the human world wakes as it ardently does now, to free war from its affairs, it must find out and have a 'moral' (or non-violent) equivalent of war. Satyagraha is that. It begins with embracing all well-known constitutional means at one's disposal. Reasonable and peaceful persuasion backed up by tactical diplomacy and strength of tactics of one's cause and world opinion in such a sense in the international field. N.C.O. or breaking of diplomatic and economic relations with the opponent is also a helpful and accepted means. This can be buttressed by the oppressed people's willing co-operation with the Government measures of N.C.O. Even a Government can sympathise with and help Satyagraha, as Lord Hardinge of I remember might did in case of South African Satyagraha against racial laws.

Farther on there remains with the people the weapon of C.D. What is called the Goa Satyagraha at present is a form of this though it is, I fear, more a sort of passive resistance than true Satyagraha. Any true C.D. action can come only if there is a specific issue worth it or when we have exhausted and dismissed the success of constitutional means. This we have not done. Our Government hopes to deliver the goods through them. In a free democracy like ours, the people and their Government must be at one in their international policy. This is true for Satyagraha action also. It must be realized that for Indians as apart from the Goans, Goa is not a mere domestic affair—it is a foreign affair and both the people as well as the Government have, in the very nature of things, come to resort to the strategy of Satyagraha as described above. In other words India has come to function as a non-violent war in international affairs, due to the sheer force of its history and her peculiar circumstances. We must try this experiment with all the care and vigilance both on the part of the people as well as their Government, both of whom must move in unison and act with one mind, one aim, and peacefully.

25-5-55

# "BUILDING FROM BELOW" — VI

(By Jagdish P. Datta)

(Continued from the issue of August 11, 1966)

In any plan of national rebuilding or development the role of Government is important. And more, — it is necessary to some extent at least. This is true for the plan of 'Building From Below' also, even though it is aimed to base such a plan on self-employment and through multi-purpose co-operative societies of self-employing families "on the basis of their present co-existence". Co-operation presupposes willing effort and initiative on the part of the people. It requires a measure of ability and intelligence to work the co-operative organisations, which must come both from the people. Government or any external agency cannot give it. All this is true. However, as the DFP Plan says,

"In the creation as well as the implementation of the institutional framework for public and direct effective operation of the self-employed sector the role of the Government is important.

It is needed in the following way. Firstly, there must be a declaration of policy to the effect that 'the ultimate goal of the programme of development and of policy is to ensure the production of all articles of first necessity in the self-employed sector in progressive steps in accordance with the growth of its capacity to undertake it.' (DFP p. 15, para 10)

That is necessary to give the nation a sort of an economic or industrial directive regarding the pattern of industrial economy, the people will adapt to themselves.

Such a declaration may provide the right focus. Even on the one hand to the self-employed sector to intensify and expand itself for the enlarged regional centres, and on the other it may persuade the private sector to deal with ultimate requirements from the expansion for articles of first necessity to plan its growth within and then seek loans. As the self-employed sector does not, however possess the necessary productive capacity, Government must, on the one hand build up its productive capacity through strategic implementation of the programme and on the other provide inputs of production in the private sector, so that consumer welfare is not at any time endangered." (Ibid, para 10)

It is well to bear in mind here that such allocation of industrial effort as reserved in favour of articles of first necessity only, viz. food, cloth, etc. It will assure the nation not only expanding employment to the whole of the population, but will also secure maximum production and easy distribution will spread out among the whole population. As the DFP Plan says

Expansion of the production of articles of first necessity and development side in accordance with the programme may, therefore provide the self-employed sector the right type of conditions to secure itself and progress growth. Markets for articles of first necessity are large, secure, and in the context of Indian population trends, expanding. As long as technological changes are made possible by provision of appropriate tools, whether necessary suitable inputs of the supply of goods may be satisfactorily met." (Ibid, para 11)

There will be the higher need of Government resources such as grants, loans and subsidies on the one hand and taxes and reservation of spheres of pro-

duction on the other. From the first two cases, however, the growth of the self-employed sector will be assured. The Government should therefore, while from various imperatives to initiate the steps and conduct of specific control measures, an illustrative case to be provided. During the period of transition, to ensure adequate production of widely needed goods as well as their equitable distribution, on the one hand and also facilitate the industrial transition to the steps envisaged in the programme on the other, Government may have to devise a series of specific economic controls. The basic policy has nevertheless an integrated approach to the economy and simultaneously requires the Government to adopt policies and measures appropriate to these objectives.

"Overall economic controls are also necessary to provide able to the self-employed sector to discharge their functions effectively. Supply and control over the flow of raw materials and credit, the provision of markets, to cater to the self-employed sector through which the multi-purpose co-operative or the grid system according to the programme, implies not least, in certain stages to facilitate transition and guide development on the desired lines.

The aim of the implementation of the programme of development outlined in the DFP Plan is to develop an appropriate pattern based on well-defined social and economic objectives. Effective implementation of these policies, temporary or permanent, through an integrated approach to the programme and the introduction of social economic measures. (Ibid para 11, pp. 16)

Such a policy of the nation's self-employment economy, specially in the industrial sector, is obviously not free from difficulties and even opposition from vested interests of organised capitalism in the country. The DFP Plan has noted this as follows—

The transition in the industrial sector of the economy is however likely to present many complex problems and probably also work against opposition. Two reasons for this exist. (a) Apart from demands for specific remunerations of workers or spheres of production and/or control and restriction in specific cases, the new economic order demands substantial transfer of production of articles of first necessity to the family workshops and thus threatens the interests of many of India's best developed industries. Rights for survival (a concern) and may be expected to be opposed and determined. (b) Even if the need for such a transfer is conceded the transition to family workshops, it may be held against to say and in the process may affect the volume and also the quality of the present output. Criticism may raise the issue that family workshops may not be technically capable of handling specific processes of production. Both these reasons are found in themselves, but arise from a misunderstanding of the significance of the planned programme of economic development of the family workshops. (Ibid, para 12)

According to the programme, controlled production of articles of first necessity cannot continue in the private sector and will need to be transferred to the self-employed sector. But this transfer is meant to be effected over a period of time, during which the productive capacity of the self-employed sector is to be built up and enabled to undertake this responsibility. Thus the organised industries are given adequate notice of this intended transfer by Government's declaration of industrial policy so that they can plan either to split up into decentralised private producers, co-operatives or to adjust themselves to undertake alternate lines of production. The gradual withdrawal of organised industries from the field of production and sale may be made to synchronise with the gradual advance of the self-employed family sector. If the





# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MARGHERITA CAMERO)  
Editor: MARGHERITA P. DEBARI



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TWO ANNAS

## BUY KHADI HUNDIS

### President's Message

The Executive Council of India has issued the following appeal to the people in regard to Khadi Hundi collections:

We have been celebrating with enthusiasm for many years the birthday of Mahatma Charkha Jayanti. Mahatma Gandhi himself declared that this day is his birth-day and he celebrated as his birthday. We should be considered as 'Charkha Jayanti' and be observed as such. For this reason all over the country must observe this day with enthusiasm. Khadi Hundi collection is on that day. This year too we have to observe this day with enthusiasm, faith and a spirit of devotion.

Khadi is dearer because of the reasonable wages being paid to the weaver spinners. The Government of India is, therefore, extending financial assistance for the production and marketing of Khadi so that the consumer price may be brought down and sale by sale production can also increase.

During his life time Mahatma has laid and again has placed before us the utility of the promotion of Khadi production. Among the many aspects of this activity the most important is that through it large numbers of people can earn their daily bread, especially those who are unable to do any other work but who can, by the work of their own hands, employ themselves profitably. From this point of view propagation of Khadi has been considered essential.

In the initial stages Congress leaders and other Congress workers used to hawk Khadi from door to door in order to propagate and popularise it. But now for the convenience of both the sellers and the buyers a novel method has been devised. People can now purchase Khadi at their choice according to their convenience. To facilitate this, sale of Khadi Hundi will be a barometer to measure the extent of sales effected during the Jayanti celebrations.

I believe that the people will buy Khadi Hundi on their own volition as a sign of devotion and love. These Hundi can be bought for any amount and exchanged for Khadi of one's own liking.

I hope that people will not buy these Hundi as help members and I appeal to their patriotism to celebrate this Jayanti by buying Hundi and Khadi and thus help the cause.

## EDUCATION—WHY AND HOW

(By Prabhu)

Almost everyone says these days that our education has great importance in education, but I attach a far deeper meaning to this idea in education than is usually held. First, my meaning is not limited to the simple idea that there should be more teaching in math and some physical science in the education process so that students will not become illiterate because of ignorance. Physical science should undoubtedly form part of teaching and everyone should also be educated to work with his hands. If every person in the country began to labour at something on the day by his own hands he would be able to avoid the distinctions in society and the world would be more peace and happy. This would also result in increasing production and in improving the standard of living. This working by the hand would make a martyr of himself to the people. It is my therefore the greatest to understand that as far as this simple meaning goes the idea of education should be not culture or independence. But we have told others. I attach a deeper and deeper meaning to the conception.

### What Students Should Do

I believe we should always be seeking in education so that the method of the student develops of itself and he acquires the habit of thinking independently. If we accept this view of learning, I would like the entire curriculum of knowledge will undergo a change. It is in my opinion, that students are given knowledge and culture subjects. Students and the world of a student are not doing the best thing during school. I do think and realize that the student should receive his education in a manner so that he develops the capacity to learn the necessary subjects by himself as he progresses in school and college from year to year. There is no end to the world in knowledge and subjects worth learning. One does not need all the knowledge in order to pass some life on earth though it is true one should acquire enough knowledge to be able to live well and happily. But it is a misleading assumption that knowledge necessary for living well and happily is confined or restricted only to some school or college. Knowledge essential for life can be not only from the field. It is the function of school and college to develop the capacity of the student to acquire such knowledge by himself.

### Freedom from All Outside Forces

Persons hold on their own completing their school and college courses because they believe the better will secure good career jobs and live decently after passing through schools and colleges. But this is an entirely mistaken view of education and knowledge. Knowledge is



(This is copied from a long report on social studies that our Hakkia brethren have to undergo in Scotland every winter term). The conditions all over the country with its one hour night are bound to be slumped the more. Though law has done away with indenturedness, racism still persists in it. And as the labor market does not work in villages, it takes a greater toll of valuing making the Hakkia slaves. We must remember that the Hakkia-to-be slaves have to stand in it to actively helping and heavily standing by the Hakkia when they are persecuted by Hindu and English masters of indenturedness.

S. S. S.

M. P.]

## PEASANTS' PROGRESS DAY BY DAY—VII

(By Sankardeva Mandala)

Sankardeva Ashram, Nashik City

The 1500th birthday, death anniversary of Lord Buddha is going to be celebrated at Nashik City in the form that we are used to be observed by common Buddhists all over the world. Although Vinoba is not a Buddhist, he shares himself as founder father of Lord Buddha. On the last night, some days ago, that the Buddha talks to his in the direction of following Buddha's mission of Charnakdeva Jyotirmati. According to Vinoba, the teachers of Lord Buddha, who had relationships at his hands were not only respected by the Indians but were also believed in their life-to-day life. He was glad because he knew that Vinoba in one of his messages had paid tribute to Lord Buddha in the printed Indian. Vinoba knew that the idea of his countrymen had divided at this point but it matured from his idea. On the contrary, he felt that it was in the spirit of Vinoba that we demonstrated in the world how truly and sincerely we regard Lord Buddha as the greatest Indian. The responsibility is all the more since we have adopted the Ashoka Chakra as our symbol. This was indeed a clear recognition of the Lord's teachings and the manifestation of the High values we hold dear in.

Vinoba has pointed out the last part in the direction of the Bharu Ganga Sangh how the idea of the Bharu Ganga Ashram had developed to his mind at the time of the South Days Sarvodaya Sammelan. The guests of the Sarvodaya Sangh for South Days was completed before the end of the day and all the Sarvodaya were conscientiously presented to Lord Buddha in his spirit. Vinoba therefore felt that some cultural activities be started at South Days which could demonstrate in the world the place of and name Lord Buddha occupied in our civilization. When came the Sarvodaya Ashram felt being it is already gathering more devotees coming to South Days. It is expected that the place will be able to present a picture of life based on the principles of Sarvodaya. It may also can become a center for exchange of thoughts. Thus it is hoped that the Ashram may be able to attract in near future, not only quality from abroad, the Gokuldeva Ashram to lead a life of Sarvodaya living service. "Can there be ideas to avoid the drawbacks of the common Sarvodaya? Therefore although Vinoba will be his idea, we should try to lead up to the possibility of life based on Sarvodaya life." Such Vinoba implied devotion to Sarvodaya as the product of our life, he added.

### André Chastin

Chief Districted Member President of the Bharu Ganga Sangh wanted to know Vinoba's opinion about popularizing the Ashoka Chakra. According to the present plan, after four Sarvodaya charitras would be tried in the various areas by the end of January 1959. Some people about the possibilities of the charitra would be available by the next Sarvodaya Sammelan. In the mean time, it would not be possible for Vinoba to put the charitra for sale in the open market. It would certainly be available for the sale of experimentation in the capacity to find from open to the spirit of the latter

will not world wide as have double the wage earned today by a sphere on the ground charitra. The durability of the charitra was expected to be fifty per cent more than that of the current charitra. For the importance in representative official and non-representative quarters regarding the functioning of putting the movement on the market the interest was not growing and even actual understanding in the length of circulating market in the Bharu Ganga Sangh. Moreover there was a divided opinion regarding accepting and modifying the product of this charitra as "Khand".

Clarifying all these misgivings, Vinoba pointed out that it was undoubtedly in the form of the new charitra for it would not only help at great length in reducing the problem of unemployment but would also lead the country towards independence in 1960. Through the medium of village industry, thus eliminating the need of new job openings, it also pointed out how much stress he had laid on the importance of the charitra in the Sarvodaya mission of the AICC. With in the Vinoba Committee meeting on this during the Sarvodaya Sangh, he was for the mass production of this charitra. And now the pattern was prepared at the Bharu Ganga Sangh, the Government had announced assistance where they would put the charitra manufactured on a large scale. In our Sarvodaya should move the funds for the work of the movement supply. He had also suggested that the Sarvodaya Project should take up this work in right earnest. He was glad that Vinoba Ashram had welcomed the suggestion.

### Going for South

The Chief of Hyderabad Congress, Shri Sarvodaya Sangh, Vinoba from his experience that the land problem could not be solved through village, which had suggested the landowners to donate the possession of their lands by means, but he had. According to him, Vinoba should come out with the people. They suggested the movement from some of the big landowners for the last time that the landowners had to move in the direction of the village, that was not going to solve the problem. When was the discussion? The point was that, while Vinoba had to find some on the basis of going to the landowners of the Sarvodaya village of India presents a practical demonstration of the movement, of the idea of Sarvodaya Sangh for Vinoba who had observed village along with Vinoba. Therefore suggested to see if something could be done to encourage the idea of Vinoba's of land which was the ultimate aim of Vinoba and which was in three upward world while according to the national planning level.

### Sankardeva

The concluding talk with the President and members of the Sangh was by, continued round Vinoba and Sankardeva. Vinoba invited that the latter should feel excited regarding the development of his movement, not in Sarvodaya. He was to observe in Sarvodaya, he was for a particular place, not a particular district or town. This was because the workers of that district or town to become self-reliant as far as possible implies that are involved. On the other hand people could be more Sarvodaya through Sarvodaya. They are willing the means only for the work concerned with Vinoba with in supplying work, thoughts, and supporting workers. When did not use the money even for meeting their other expenses. They district could be for him. This would be the use of the possibilities necessary for the realization of the dream of Sarvodaya in Sarvodaya. Vinoba here drew the attention of the members to the national ministry of organizing Sarvodaya work, whenever possible an district basis. Instead of the positive factor as to being done under such an attempt would inspire the workers for Sarvodaya and Sarvodaya work, and would leave the Sarvodaya Sarvodaya Sarvodaya as well Sarvodaya could also be occupied in the form of the product of the time of the Sarvodaya.







them during the course of time, i.e., their purification. It is, therefore, necessary for us to grasp clearly why we raise the two ideas of community and caste to the status of an 'idea' and what it implies. Besides we have to point out precisely what is in them not detrimental to the health of society so that our people may consciously set about removing them.

Qaumi (community) is a Persian word and its root meaning is one people constituting a country or nation. The word is current in the original meaning in Hindi, but in Gujarati the meaning has narrowed down to indicate a group of people who follow the same religion—a religious-community. Thus according to the Gujarati convention, Hindu, Musalman, Parsi, Sikh and others are qaums or communities. As all these different communities constitute but one people belonging to one country or nation there should be unity, or at least harmony among them and hence we have named this sentiment as "communal unity." It is likely that the idea of a religious community may not be consistent with, or the same as, that of a national community. It is obvious that if this were to happen in the case of communities living together in the same country and if, therefore, the national sentiment were to weaken or be hindered in its development and as a consequence the sentiments of separatism of communities were to gain in strength, the nation would be harmed and would not be able to ascertain its essential unity. If the sentiment of the citizens of a community were to take the form of a sentiment of their separateness or nationality it would usurp the rightful place of the national sentiment and become dangerous. As a result the nation and a religious community would become one, so that in the country communities other than the one which is powerful would feel oppressed and lose all affection for the nation or may choose to separate themselves from it. The emergence of Pakistan illustrates the point. And the communal State of such a powerful community will turn into a sort of a religious State. For instance, again, Pakistan seems to intend doing so. Our aim in India is not to have a religious but a secular State, that is, a State in sympathy with all religions. In such a State all communities would live in harmony as one united people and would consider their particular religions as their own spiritual domain. In such a State exaggerated feelings of separatism of religious communities would prove an evil.

The institution of caste is peculiar to the Hindus. It seems to have had no influence on the Musalmans, the Christians, the Parsis, the Sikhs and other communities so that they, too, show characteristics of caste. But essentially caste is peculiar to the Hindu social organisation. That is to say that the institution has not shaped itself out of the relations between the commu-

nities but indicates separate institutions constituting a single community. Students of the growth of the institution tell us that its origin does not lie in the differences of religions but in those of social functions or occupations. It is said that there were only four varnas in the beginning which have now spread out into eighty four castes.

If we try to find its characteristics we see, in the first place, that caste is determined by birth. For instance, a carpenter's son remains carpenter by caste even though he takes to another occupation or becomes a Government servant. The other is that partaking of food and marriage are confined only to the same caste. That is to say that the secret of caste lies in the regulation and restriction of inter-dining and marriage within the caste units determined by birth alone. As a consequence, every caste, though a part of the larger Hindu society, becomes as if another greater social unit within it. This social sub-unit of caste has been traditionally looking after social customs regarding marriage, divorce, birth, death etc. independently on its own. The caste institution has forged its own sanctions of boycott, etc. for their regulation and control. For instance, today the Hindu Code Bill is being considered by Parliament. It deals with matters like marriage, inheritance, divorce etc. But many Hindu castes have from ages past organised the regulation of these matters and do it effectively. In fact, there was no need of any legal measure for them on this account.

Over and above the characteristics noted above the institution of caste manifests a sentiment of high and low among the various caste units. It is expressed even in the matter of partaking of food, as well as of marriage. For instance, it is a matter of common experience that members of a particular caste will not take water from the hands of those of other castes, nor will they take food with them, marriage between members of different castes is, of course, out of question. And the Marjans caste were set aside as untouchable. We have now shrouded untouchability considering it an evil even though of the caste system and it is now reckoned a crime to practise untouchability in any form whatsoever. But the sentiment of caste still persists in the Hindu social order in other forms and manifests a living force on the strength of customs regarding taking of food and marriage. It is obvious that if like the force of community feeling, this one of caste feeling does not operate within the broader limits of and foster the one-same sentiment (is also the community sentiment) it would disintegrate the nation as also the community. That would give rise to the evil of contempt like the one of communalism. This is how the idea of destroying customs and communalism has been born. It will be considered hereafter separately.

4-4-55

(From Outlook)

# THE THIRD WAY MOVEMENT

[The following is reproduced from a press release or a statement on international peace and freedom for a working party in the Western world. These which it is a series of paragraphs to solve the problems of the world should be interpreted to mean about allied ideas and programmes going on in different circles of culture and politics. The following is given here from that point of view.]

1949-50

(S. P.)

Millions of people everywhere now realize that peace and security for mankind cannot be achieved through the policy of military blocs. These people are looking for some expression of this viewpoint. The Third Way Movement provides it.

In Europe, America, Asia and Africa there are organisations which have, for some time advocated as support for the war preparations of either the eastern or the western blocs. They have also sought to develop political and economic programmes that reject both capitalism and communist totalitarianism. Some of these organisations have met and discovered a good deal of common ground and mutual encouragement. It is now suggested that there should be an international conference to establish close contact and exchange views. On the basis of a tentative policy statement given hereafter.\*

It is proposed that the scope of the conference shall cover the basic conceptions of the Third Way and the relationship of non-alignment in the power struggle to a positive outlook on world affairs, what is involved in a constructive plan of aid for underdeveloped countries, colonial liberation, outline of a Third Way political and economic policy, future organization of the movement, and a programme of action.

## Policy Statement

\* The second half of the 20th century finds the world in a profound crisis. In the midst of tremendous opportunities, we are living under the shadow of war and economic insecurity, and in danger of social and moral demoralization. Armaments increase, cleavages deepen, wars which cost the lives of hundreds of thousands are fought, and the R. heads finally bring us face to face with the possibility of the destruction of civilization.

"For these reasons, and because political parties in general are incapable of any consistent and imaginative response, the people of the world have a sense of helplessness which facilitates the present trend towards the regimentation of society and the divorcing of the common man from any control over social policies.

This helplessness can be overcome only by some fresh alternative which will lift us out of the Cold War framework and provide a solid basis for peace.

We therefore identify ourselves for the Third Way.

The primary purpose of the Third Way - Third Camp movement is to bring together all those who reject the present-day policies of both the Russian and American blocs, and who are seeking for a new political and philosophical outlook to deal with the issues which arise in such policies, who refuse to give support to the war preparations of either side in the Cold War, or to any alternative military alliance, who believe unreservedly in Human Rights, including the right of all peoples to independence from foreign control, who are dedicated to working war on want, and who stand for a programme of political and economic democracy at home and abroad."

## WELFARE STATE v. SURVIVAL STATE

(By P. Sankarabharati)

### I

"Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and wellbeing of himself and of his family including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other risk of destitution or deprivation beyond his control. Furthermore, children are entitled to special care and assistance."

Article 25 of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.

This noble ideal has been taken as the basis of a Welfare State regarding which we have much being talked about in recent times. Politicians as a class are never tired of probing the virtues of a Welfare State. Leaving these apart, many intellectuals belonging to this school of thought speak with great enthusiasm about the prospect which a Welfare State holds out to solve the present-day economic ills. They have no doubts in their minds that the economic conditions of the people can be improved and the inequality in society reduced, only with the establishment of such a State. In this, according to them, the Welfare State provides a new moral order, a truly revolutionary step, constituting a milestone goal, and at last in all. It sets a pattern for a humane and progressive society.

That the essence of the Welfare State providing the necessities of life to everybody carries with it a system does appear almost to be denied. People are led to believe that the Welfare State will look after their problems and that the march of highest progress is the conversion or transformation of the present State into one with the basis of the Welfare State. Political parties vie with one another to win over public support by repeatedly declaring their goal as the establishment of a Welfare State. The Congress Party was at the Delhi Session elected to their house the goal as the establishment of "A Welfare State with a Socialist Pattern of Society". As this is the party in power, plans are framed for the development of the resources of the country keeping this objective in view. The First Five Year Plan is nearing completion and a second plan with a more ambitious programme is being drawn up with great emphasis on the establishment of heavy and capital goods industries and also the development of medium and village industries.

While the ideal of a Welfare State is good as far as it goes, we who believe in the Christian conception of a Servants of God cannot regard this ideal as the political and programme of the Government. The country's resources are being developed for the first time in a systematic and planned manner, and in an underdeveloped

\* The conference was to be held in Kings College Chapel, London E.C. 1 from Saturday morning, September 3, 1950 to Tuesday evening, September 5.

[illegible]

History 1, is a common reason why those who also of a Maryland State, loved them, and not without any delay. A picture of a thing, noted in the minds of the people in the United States, as recorded by the Congress, is the best of the Maryland State as illustrated by President John Adams and his Maryland state. He has put in it. I don't think to consider over these quite good and close to the fact of history. Being it is of the year, necessary that we should make it clear how the per-1814 of the United States are in connection with those of the Maryland State. This article is an attempt to show to the public of modern and historical interest. There are a number of...

SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF RURAL INDIA  
(By M. K. Das)

**A. contact@univie.ac.at** (email: [Andreas.Hofmann@univie.ac.at](mailto:Andreas.Hofmann@univie.ac.at))

During the last eight years our Station has made a considerable progress in various respects of our daily life that I first thought that the economy of the economy on a whole has not yet been reached (especially) due to the foreign situation in the past. I feel that the time has come to study all the aspects and the status of our country as a whole and to give the government of the country the information that will be necessary for the future development of the country.

And then he suggests the following points *worthy of our study*:

1. Structural patterns of rural life in India
2. Structural points of the rural population
3. The fertility of the rural population
4. Natural factors in farm experience
5. Agricultural cultural patterns in villages
6. Traditional cultural patterns in villages
7. Rural families and the social capacity
8. Farmhouse traits and farm experience
9. Substrates of the rural life
10. Mobility in a South Indian rural life and process
11. Methods for the structural progression
12. Problems of the institutions from them in farm
13. Core to farm movement, pattern and structure
14. Social differentiation and the process of rural  
  life
15. Cultural changes in the country life
16. Social changes in the country life
17. Social institutions in a changing culture in  
  village

64. *Formal Development* is a changing construct
65. *Formal assessment* refers to a standard setting
66. *Problems of youth* (*Problema juvenil*)
67. *Social aspects of crime* (*Aspecto social del delito*)
68. *Social aspects of crime* (*Aspecto social del delito*)
69. *Social Psychology* and the culture institutions
70. *Implications of the topic* (*Implicaciones del tema*)
71. *Development of social conditions*

“Of course there are many other problems and the police in Bombay. Life in India which also have to be studied thoroughly.”

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It will join the Association of the Central Life Commission for India with the Rural Ecology of India Council, a government body concerned with ecology, help the National River Plan, and the continuing project of development in India. The appointment of the Country Life Commission for India in February is the most important for the wider scope of the National Life in India and the new form of the Western State in India.

The suggestion is a good and helpful one. Not only that it is utterly necessary that we begin to study rural India in a scientific way, so that our planning might take its right direction of rehabilitating our countryside which is rural India. As a matter of fact, perhaps unfortunately, we are by the sheer strength of our circumstances going towards it. The Health and Village Industries Board, the Hand-loom Board, the Small Scale Industries Board, the Social Welfare Board are all pointers in this matter. The difficulty is that these Boards are set up without a well laid plan and hence they are not co-ordinated in working out a common aim, we rehabilitating Rural India, which is implicit in the fact only that, these Boards work under diverse Ministries who do not have a common goal or approach and ideology for rebuilding the country. What is needed is really to create an independent Rural Life Rehabilitation Ministry with all these Boards under it. Such a step might naturally follow an inquiry of the sort suggested by the distinguished speaker.

In this matter, our servants also can lend a helping hand. They should begin to turn their efforts to such studies by freeing themselves from the negative traditions they have fallen a prey to during the British rule. They can do so immediately if they begin to hasten through the language of the people to serve whom should be their constant aim.

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# HARIJAN

Oct. 13

1945

## INDIA'S PATTERN OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

(By Mahatma P. Desai)

The Prime Minister took an opportunity of speaking about India's policy of industrialization while opening the Government railway coach factory, Ferozshah, Madras. As it was the Gandhi Jayanti day, he naturally referred to Gandhiji and his ideas of small scale and village industries. He said that the big industries that the State in India has been undertaking these years under its Five Year Plans, embracing upon self-reliance is the keynote of our industrial program, he said that "there could be no real progress in India's industrialization till they were able to manufacture all the machines necessary for the purpose. 'So long as we have to import other countries for the essential, dependent.'"

Only, self-reliance is the veritable law of nature of real freedom and independence both to individual and corporate life. As we know, this had been the very basis of Gandhiji's way adopted by our people under his leadership. Gandhiji said that not for the State only. His emphasis was that the people also will not be really free and progressive if they depended for their bare necessities of life even on their own Government in the State. The nature of India's progress in industrialization must be therefore governed by the prime law of real freedom.

Applying this law to the affairs of the State, for which the Prime Minister is obviously responsible he particularly referred to our defence industries and their needs and said that India might have an army, a navy and an air force, but if they had to import the machines required for her development, then they were dependent, and he added that it was therefore far better to have moved into machines manufactured in the country than first rate ones coming from abroad.

Such a spirit of Swarajita Chakra based on a robust sense of self-reliance and freedom was surely the message that Gandhiji gave to us. With the advent of Swaraj or political independence our Prime Minister is busy transferring it into the domain of State industries or what is called the public sector. This is really speaking for the State or the Government sector. It is intended to mind such ventures like the Air India Corporation, the Railway, Iron and Steel etc. Very, it is in the nature of things that the State cannot touch or take up the massive volume of the people like agriculture and the vast field of village and home industries that cater to our needs of consumer or household goods. These are what constitute the so-called private

sector. It is the area of the free enterprise, the market or non-official sector. Therefore, it would be a huge capital and expensive industrial blindness to ignore them or to ignore as private. There are rather the old national industries with which the nation lives and thrives. When Gandhiji emphasized them, he had this aspect of the case in mind. The aspect cannot be set aside and it is good that our planners and the Government are seeking to include it.

The Prime Minister is apparently concerned of great factories and big industrial ventures and stands among them. But it would be a mistake if we simply believe that he does not know the role of small and village industries in the nation's industrialization programme. We rather know that he would have a place for them in the next Five Year Plan. As he said, 'For the formation of a great movement in India and as the leader of the great struggle against a mighty empire, Gandhiji laid stress on village industries. Carefully enough, those who were sceptical of him then now stand for development of village industries.'

Therefore in his address he pleaded for a coordinated development of our industries which he classified into three categories—the heavy, the medium and the small-scale. It is worthwhile to note that this classification is based on the use of money and material handled or needed by the industries as against the number of men they may employ. It also conceals a hint of their relationship and inter-dependence, where in the heavy ones almost dominate and set the rule of economy and finance. The area is born of a capitalist economy of the imperial West and may be, therefore, misleading in Indian position conditions. As the Prime Minister very correctly said, 'Everything has ultimately to be judged in terms of the human welfare—in terms of the welfare of the millions of our country.'

The pattern of industrialization that we may devise for our country must, therefore, primarily move these millions of men—our needs and hands. We want a programme which may set their hands on the move as against the mere move of machines in the region of millions of men. It would, therefore be better to classify our industries according to this idea and give them importance in a like manner. Then we shall see that we have three kinds of industries—those owned by the State and managed as public utilities, those owned by private capitalists and administered and managed for their profit, and those owned by the people of large or immeasurable decentralized units and conducted for the upkeep of the common life of our people. The last class of industries requires to be organized and equipped by technical skill, educational and financial facilities and research and various such other things which are today almost exclusively going in favour of the former two











# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)  
Editor: MANAGARAI P. DESAI



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THE ASSAHS

## FEAR, INSECURITY AND DISCIPLINE

By Mahatma P. Desai

The Prime Minister after completing his Parliamentary duties at Delhi, took sometime to visit South India for a week a few days ago. As he said, such all-India tours that he makes at convenient intervals between a Prime Minister's usual official engagements inspire him, they give him a sort of spiritual food and tonic. Thereby he has the needed opportunity of securing close contact with his people whom he intensely loves and works for. Did this thorough knowledge of the throes and the urge that new India represents to him. There are also occasions to pour out his heart to the people. He almost always stands with them, as if to record his place and ideas in unison with the people whose wishes he almost senses through each pathos.

On October 2 Mahatma's birthday, he was at Madras. The memorable day gave us much and the spiritual background for the great speech that he made that day. As we know, South India is feeling tremendously these days about Hindi and its teaching in schools. The Prime Minister spoke about it. That part of his speech is reproduced in this issue elsewhere.

In a way what he said is not a new thing. Very often—why, since the movement for propagating Hindi, the *Ashw Medha* (awards) or the *Prize Money* for India began under the leadership of the Father of the Nation, that thing was said by him also on various occasions even from platforms in South India.

Incidentally spoke about the language question in the larger context of the great need of discipline in our people's affairs in general and in the student world in particular. Obviously, the unhappy necessity of recently closing the Aligarh University was worrying his mind. When he saw 'all this vulgarity and indiscipline in the younger generation', as he said, he often wondered what would happen to the country and rightly, in fact the Prime Minister said he was greatly concerned at the fall in the standard of education in India. This is indeed a very dangerous question about the mental health and growth of our younger generation.

Discussing the reasons for such a state of things, the Prime Minister said that one of the

reasons for the standards going down was the great deal of confusion on the language issue. Nobody knew what language to learn properly and what not to, with the result that they were quite ignorant of every language! And he spoke upon that topic at length, all of which deserves our closest attention at the picture of our people's history and development.

As I said earlier, the topic is not anyway quite new. But as we know, in the affairs of a nation when it is out to rebuild itself there come certain moments when even things like 185 and 200 make four have to be recited or remembered. The language issue is one such thing for our country particularly at this juncture.

In the speech reproduced elsewhere in this issue, the Prime Minister again assured the people in the South that Hindi, which is one of our fourteen national languages like others enumerated in the Constitution does not become 'more national' than Tamil, Gujarati, Marathi or Telugu, and that it will not be an imposition on the way of any other language of our people.

As we all know, each an assurance has both the common feature of all recent pronouncements on the topic from the President down to almost all V.P.'s in our country. They are meant to reassure the people, chiefly non-Hindi-speaking, against their reasonable fears from what has come to be dubbed as 'Hindi imperialism'.

The assurance has a meaning and significance both for the Hindi-speaking and the non-Hindi-speaking areas. It must be noted by the former that their language is not any way more national than other Indian or,—as the Prime Minister has appropriately begun to term them,—national languages. It should be clearly understood now that if at all the word 'regional' is to be used to describe our Indian languages, the term applies to such as Hindi as to Urdu, Tamil, Telugu, Gujarati etc. The word might better be replaced now by the truer and more respectable word 'national'. All the languages enumerated by the Constitution in its 8th Schedule are Indian or national languages, and thus they deserve equal respect and recognition and

opportunities to grow and develop in the affairs of our country.

However, as we well know, history has made us a multi-lingual people; we cannot be unilingual like, say, France or Germany. Still for as we can as well secure such a benefit and convenience for us by having one common language for our people's intercourse between themselves. We have till now been using such a language 'colonial', it is high time we evolve and secure our terms to suit the right conceptions about the language pattern of our country as a *United India*.

The common language of intercourse is really the *Inter States* of India. It has to be evolved by our whole people's joint efforts. It is meant to grow, develop and enrich itself with the help of all the languages of India, and it will draw, 'whatever necessary or desirable', for its vocabulary, not only from Sanskrit but also from all other languages of India and the world, if I may say so. This *Inter States* of ours will be the expression of our one national being and common endeavour in all the spheres of our people's life as a free and independent nation, working in the company of nations of the whole world. Such an adventure will be the common endeavour of our several people who now start again their new career in the modern world. To start on such an adventure now, the present situation requires that an assurance of the kind The Prime Minister just should clearly come from all concerned.

The Prime Minister's pronouncement is therefore very welcome. I may only add an observation or two in this direction. The general assurance now requires to be worked out actually in some relevant particulars, viz., in which of our official or non-official spheres of public activities the *Inter States* will not be imposed and *displace* national languages of their rightful and legitimate spheres? These are questions here in the minds of people whether the States will be free to use their own national language for all intra-State purposes like education, administration, justice, legislation etc. in a happy silence with Hindi which will surely be there for inter-State and all-India intercourse. At least there should be no government measure which will tend to awaken or exaggerate the lurking fear in the mind of all non-Hindi regions. Such a fear, along with an unscrupulously shoddy the shape of things to come in economic and other spheres, creates a sort of insecurity in the minds of our people at present. This is a clear fact, I think tends to rouse feelings of tension and animosity among classes and language groups amounting to what the Prime Minister described as 'vulgarity and intolerance'. It is a grave warning. We may well remember that it is a danger to our national unity and even independence.

14-10-65

## WELFARE STATE v. SARYGDATA STATE

(By P. Srinivasachari)

(Continued from the previous issue of 12th XI)

### III

It is no longer disputed now—in fact, the prevalent opinion is coming round in the point of view—that it is the primary concern of the State to promote the welfare of the people and especially of those who without some form of insurance, cannot keep themselves fit for service. As has been pointed out both the Socialists and others who used to be regarded as reactionaries claim that they are at a Welfare State.

Thus a Welfare State can be a Socialist one or one even further *left*—a capitalist one. The main question is not a State to be termed a Welfare State unless it has the definite and specific measures taken by it with a view to promoting general welfare and promoting that which is a standard of living that goes far beyond that which is indispensable to maintain life with minimum comforts. Social Insurance policies fully developed provide income security, protect against the unemployment and starvation of working power and make provision for special expenditure arising in such marriage, sickness or death. They are the potential weapons of the State in its attack on want. The more a State is able to achieve this objective in full, the greater is its progress towards the ideal.

#### Working of the Welfare Scheme

It is not possible in the working of the welfare schemes there is very little difference between socialist and capitalist States. Social Insurance schemes like unemployment, health, old age pensions, national health insurance, care of children etc. and measures to ensure full employment are formulated and implemented by the State.

It is certain that these welfare schemes come under and form part of these planning in such. The cost of these schemes are calculated beforehand and provisions are made when the general plan for the social development of the country is framed. The State decides what what kind of services should be provided and at what price these services should be rendered, and officials are made according to the machinery of fund, and resources at hand. The various national language schemes to be included and the part at which the welfare schemes are to be extended depend on the nature of the development plans in the general plan. The State has the final say about the provision and extension of various social insurance. If the general development plan would confer its consent of the extension of the schemes, then these insurance schemes are extended in scope or confined in their operation so that the rate of economic development achieved is not seriously affected. In fact, in a welfare State the welfare schemes are not taken piecemeal, but are included in a well thought out plan for the general development of the country.

A Welfare State under the capitalist system does not function according to any formulated plan. Social Insurance schemes are introduced by the State and the greater part of their cost is met out of taxation and from other sources of public revenue. Special contributions are also levied in some cases.

#### Welfare Scheme in England

To take the example of England, the principle of social Insurance has been evolved by the Acts of National Health, National Insurance and National Assistance and the Children Act. These are the four pillars which support the structure of the Welfare State as it exists in England. Under the National Health Scheme they have evolved a comprehensive health service designed to secure its prevention in the physical and mental health of the people. Medical services for all purposes, have been made free of cost or the charges made for anything supplied under

The National Health service can always be relied on to care of those who are gradually not in a position to pay. The National Insurance Act provides compulsory payments by way of unemployment benefit, sickness benefit, maternity benefit, widowed parent's benefit, pensioners' allowances and death grant. By the National Assistance Act, further provision is made for the welfare of disabled, sick aged and other persons and for providing shelter for the disabled and aged and for social services who are without resources, or whose resources (including benefits received under the National Insurance Act) need to be supplemented.

In order to enable them to meet their requirements, the Children Act is intended for the care of children of both sexes and under the age of 16 and in certain cases, for children of parents, when they are without resources, or are abandoned by, or are living in circumstances in which their parents are unable to maintain them, out of them.

Religious educational institutions, whether catering for all groups from a child or a widow to the old man, in this field are in an important position, it is operative in England. The State sees that the people in distress are given adequate help and such institutions it tries to provide the minimum for himself and his family.

#### Welfare Measures under Capitalism and Socialism

In a capitalist society social welfare measures are taken not according to the general class interest of the workers and development of the resources of the country, but in a calculated manner and according to the interests of the ruling class. The law according to capitalism and the capitalist system, the State, but it is also possible for a welfare State under the capitalist system to undertake the various measures which are in fact provided or contemplated by a socialist State. However, even though the capitalist and the socialist systems differ from each other, a regime the ownership of the means of production, the National operation of the economic system is more or less the same in both. They believe in the large-scale industrialisation of the country for the rapid development of the existing and unused resources, increase of production in the economic side and the industries are run on similar lines making use of modern science, the invention and the latest technological improvements. Both try to stress on getting things raw materials and dealing with them by exporting finished goods. International trade market operations and the adaptability of a suitable price system influence their calculations. They do not concern themselves with any loss or harm done to other countries in this process.

The economic activities which raised the production of wealth and depend on the increasing wants of the people in a welfare continuously without any limit. Here the State has that the State sees that the means of production does not automatically bring about a change in the pattern of production and the national operation of the industrial system remains the same also measures taken by a Welfare State—whether capitalist or socialist in structure—to stimulate the activities of the economically backward tend to be similar. In fact, one does not find any great difference between the social welfare measures introduced by the Labour Government in England and those introduced by the Conservative Government. The idea of the Welfare State is, including its measures for social good automatically narrows down the difference between the working of the two systems. But it should be remembered that in a Welfare State under private enterprise the resources in the private enterprise, resulting from the steps taken by the Government, is only incidental to the main aim is to allow relief to those who are in need of it, and not to wipe out the economic inequalities in itself. But the socialist State takes these and organises welfare measures with the sole purpose of reducing inequality.

(To be continued)

## ALL-INDIA SANSKRIT DICTIONARY

To

The Editor, *Samaja*,  
Ahmedabad 14

Dear Sir,

We have been hearing for a long time that the Deccan College Post-Graduate Research Institute at Poona has undertaken a monumental work, viz. the completion of a comprehensive Sanskrit Dictionary on scientific lines covering all the departments of knowledge. During my recent visit to Poona some months back, I learnt from one of the scholars working on the project that English equivalents only were being given for Sanskrit words and phrases. When I suggested that a dictionary of the type without Hindi equivalents would hardly serve our purpose and that they should therefore be given, the professor told me that it was not considered essential by them as the work in question was meant for international scholarship, and further added that, even so, it was difficult to carry on the activity for want of sufficient funds.

Now I understand that the Union Government, with a view to expedite the work, had offered substantial financial help to the Institute. Even before this they as well as some of the State Governments were already taking interest in the work, and giving financial help.

Would it not be up to the Union Government to require the Institute to give Hindi equivalents along with English ones? Hindi has a superior claim in the interests of Indian scholarship. Will they take the necessary step?

Ahmedabad-14

F. G. Deshpande

8-10-64

I endorse the above suggestion. For a Sanskrit dictionary to be prepared here when we have Hindi and Urdu in the domain of scholarship or the Upanishads of our country it would be something unfortunate not to have the all-India Hindi language equivalents. It will not be a national venture, which it must be, if it has to be truly international and self-responsible. However, English may also be there, but to think that it will make the dictionary international is too naive to be worthy of us. If we look at the post-war international world that is coming up before us, however, this is not to say that English might not be there. Obviously, the dictionary envisaged must be a Sanskrit-Hindi-English dictionary.

Yours etc.

M. P.

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# HARIJAN

Oct 22

1951

## THE LANGUAGE ISSUE

[From the speech of Shri Bhabha Nath, Madras, 24-2-51.]

In the Constitution they had enumerated 12 or 13 languages in India and all of them might be called the national languages of India. Many of them were great and ancient languages "like your own very good language of Tamil" (cheers). There were all national languages in the true sense of the word. They had also said in the Constitution that "Hindi must be the all-India official language." "Hindi does not become thereby a more national language than Tamil, Gujarati, Marathi or Telugu. All that it means is that among the national languages of India Hindi by virtue of various factors is the oldest language to be adopted as the official language for all-India purposes. Otherwise it has no pre-eminence as a language among others."

Shri Nehru gave the assurance that "there is no conflict between Tamil and Hindi." If they went to other countries beyond their world and that every educated person learnt at least two and usually three languages well, besides having a smattering knowledge of two or three more. The question as to the future of English arose. "But the first thing I want you to remember is that it is quite absurd to imagine that there is any kind of conflict between Hindi, Tamil, Telugu or any other language. Tamil is a great language of this area and I should like people in the North more and more to learn Tamil. At the same time, it is obvious that we must have some common language between us for official purposes. Otherwise we get so many linguistic barriers that we cannot deal with each other. So Hindi has been chosen as the official language and for practical purposes no other language can serve that purpose. Hindi is not an imposition, coming in the way of any other language. It is absurd and completely wrong to think there is any imposition. In practice, no step is taken which casts any burden on the non-Hindi speaking person whether in Government service or otherwise."

"I am sorry that some people here, in Madras State, started an agitation against Hindi. It has no meaning, because nobody wants to impose Hindi upon the people. I have no doubt that a knowledge of Hindi will be to the advantage of everybody in every way, just as I think a knowledge of English is also going to be of advantage. Now, this question of English comes up. Obviously, English cannot continue as a national language. You cannot introduce a foreign medium for the masses. But having said that, I want to make myself perfectly clear that

it would be a very bad thing for India and the future progress of India if we ignore all non-Indian languages, all foreign languages. It is quite essential for us to learn foreign languages.

"What the foreign languages should be, I am prepared to leave it to the choice of the people. But it is obvious that for us English is the easiest foreign language, easier than German, French, Russian, Chinese or Spanish. I hope people will learn these and other foreign languages, because we are now playing our part in the wide world. We want young men who know these languages. We have to trade them, we want them in hundreds and thousands for our foreign service.

"And, nobody can learn science, though he may be a scholar in Hindi or Tamil. Neither Hindi will help you to learn science today—no Indian language can help, of course they might afterwards. You cannot produce out of nothing. You cannot produce just by translating some textbooks in Physics and Chemistry. Therefore a foreign language becomes essential.

"Obviously it would be silly on our part to forget the English we know. English after all is not only one of the most important world languages and the most widespread but, in some ways, the most important language. Therefore, we have to keep up our teaching and learning of English—the proper kind of English, not a smattering knowledge of English; it is not good enough. I say so because I really am afraid that we will not be able to keep up our scientific, industrial and other works unless we have full acquaintance of some foreign language.

"Fortunately, we have been for hundreds of years a nation which was rather closed-in. Geography made us so, the high Himalayas in the north and the sea all-round. As you know, however India ventured out to distant countries 2,600 or 3,000 years ago, Indians in those days were not afraid of going abroad. There were adventurous young men. That was a period of vitality. And then came the period when we became more and more a closed-in people. We not only did not know of any people, we hardly knew anything about the outside world, thinking that we were self-sufficient here even in our own coarse drabbing ourselves up, one insurmountable caste barrier and what not. It is surprising that we fell down, that we became a subject nation." You see the deterioration as we became an 'island' country.

"I remind you of this because we have to profit by our own history as well as the history and experience of others. Now we have got independence, and that at a time when the world is more and more coming in closely. We have become independent at a time when all these barriers—physical barriers to travel and communication have simply faded away. When all these physical barriers have broken down, it will be a terribly dangerous thing for us to revert to the closed-in mind the 'island' mind in our



country. We will have to take the back seat then. Therefore, we have to develop the value of a free nation, the vision corresponding to the modern developments in the wide world.

"There are, in India powerful tendencies towards unity and progress. They will make good, I think. There are also tendencies which are disruptive and disintegrating. Some of us have been ignoring them. But I do not think we should ignore such forces. We have to be wide awake at the time. There has been a separatist tendency in the Indian mind for a long time past—we have provoked, happened and so tried other influences that separate us all the time. So, we have to be very wide awake. Because, one thing is certain that India's progress depends upon her unity, her pulling together and upon the way the 350 million people of India work and co-operate with each other. That is the basic factor. The moment it appears that you cannot do it, well it does not matter how clever you are or I am, it will do us no good. We will go down as a nation."

(Quoted from *The Hindu*, 4-4-1935)

## THE CULTURE OF INDIA AND RELIGION

(By Franklin)

(FROM the preface, to 1934-35 at Raynolds camp in the Karapet District of Bihar.)

The first was witnessed redistribution of land in these villages. All land which was given to gifts to Brahmins in all the towns, land was equally distributed to everyone. Those who had land before received less of it and those who had none of it also received it. Thus the old order in land changed radically and all the people in the villages agreed to the change willingly and with love. Now this is an small part. There is a whole lot behind the change. The members of the villages were persuaded to see the truth of the Hindu and they accepted it in critical position.

From very ancient times all belief of people in India have started and sustained certain ideas and ideals which have gone to build up Indian culture. All these ideas and ideals are coloured by an immense power which we call religion. The content of religion has always explained the reason of the people of this ancient land in their daily life: what is this religion? All would that is given to us by God and all the gifts of power and intelligence that are bestowed to us by him are meant for the service of society. What is religion? We cannot be masters of wealth, that must be the Master.

This idea is very difficult to understand, but social life today is based on the individual's right of property. We believe that where the social order is based on the individual's right to possess things there is nothing like society.

In a village or city where people live by their own individual interests and therefore violate the individual's right to own property there is no society as such even though some services may have been organised. It is within a family or by individual members begin to believe in or else had a separate right to property the family would come autonomous body. What is true of the family is true of the whole village. We have not yet reached this last truth of social life. Still when it is explained to the people of India they have no difficulty in grasping the idea. The fact that the people of India would be persuaded to part with the land in the whole village and to give it

as gift to God is the best proof of a religion is not in the history or the land.

(FROM the preface, to 1934-35 at Raynolds Camp in the Karapet District of Bihar.)

The point of religion cannot be that it is society in that persons who live together. I give it to their property called they have to that they possess only when they have helped the poor community there was needed to do so. But this position is necessarily the nature of religion and does not go deep enough. Their religion was with its own parting with some part of our personality to be given to the use of us and thus making every one else owner of property and in a sense divorcing ourselves of the right to own property.

Religion, he said, "Money is the root of religion." But his saying does not mean that money is the essence of religion. The religion cannot. What he meant to say is that the person who does not have money in his hand will not even begin to be religious. Therefore money is the substance of religion to begin with.

Money remains owners of property and showing money to others as evidence does not serve any social purpose, for does society progress thereby. Therefore when we give up everything altogether we give to society in the best manner possible and truly show the quality of money at the best. Could we not it best merely to keep the money in a bag and not let it work? It would be money or sympathy for all beings only when we would not keep the money in a bag or not let it work in the form of it we had kept it there through some misadventure of the content of money. Would it be any possibility of the man of knowledge if people about this content of money in that they would come to him to ask questions and he would reply in their satisfaction? If it were so people would not be content to be property themselves. The knowledge of the man of knowledge should be such as to make his ignorance and religiousness known so that they would not need to go there asking questions. Therefore whatever religious duty one performs should be done humbly, so that the work of the master and growth of his religion is rather in society itself.

### 2

The idea has said that trading is a great religious duty, and it is, of course, not so perfect that it is a great religious duty to bring from other places things that people need and give them to them when required. Whenever service is truly in this fashion would surely be entitled to some recognition for his service. Thus the trader is also all the servant of the present, the present have done not grow about but from the need to use it is believed under the circumstances to report the idea given by the people here and to report what for his use is truly rendering service to him.

The present is the master and the trader is the servant. But the servant has domestic work requires him to return for service rendered that one also a small service today by to more than a month's service of the master. I have failed to understand how trading which is essentially a form of service has been converted into a source of hoarding wealth.

The current conditions present today are such that those who serve the community people about them become rich and pile up wealth through the service. If everyone in society minded his own interest and got everyone more busy, we would have no objection to everyone doing it. But today we are urged to be happy. All sorts of people, both rich and poor, want to be and there is no end to the tale of how they pour into my ears. There have no end of wealth but the brothers are quarrelling on the one quarrel with the trader and there is an order between them pointing to a court of law that is that have the people who have piled money pointed if there have any brought how strong with it in the family? They run the ropes on my hand and how rate of India of India which

as the other side has not any doubt if we mean more? Is the time not come when we can better afford to postpone it? It is necessary to wait because all of us would be very anxious that we have to care for all and maintain the integrity of it.

(From Hindi)

### RANDOM SETTINGS

(By Archbishop P. Doshi)

#### Atom Bomb to Prevent War?

The question had again cropped up whether there would be war on account of Farnell-Panda Nehru had then declared that there was no likelihood of war on that count, but had confessed that the problem regarding Farnell was certainly difficult and intriguing.

Around all the same time there was news that England was preparing to manufacture the H-bombs! It was also given out that devastated Germany would be armed again.

At the time Rajah started the debate, my that the A- and the H-bomb both should be conceded to the nation of the ocean, for otherwise they would be declared destroy humanity itself. But whenever there is need such amount of perfection? The word of India who too maintained an army, could not of course carry that much weight. But on account of her past history India does have some influence for peace. Farnell Jewaharlal is able to talk to America to the nation of the world as an agent of that power. America and Russia however are not going to allow anyone to interfere with their policies so easily.

Still however, earnest-minded people feel that there is no likelihood of war. On what do they base their view? It is believed that the H bomb is preventing nations from rushing into war. For example Bertrand Russell held this belief. He asked Jewaharlal to appoint a commission to go into the question of what amount of destruction the atom bomb is capable of and to put the findings before the world which would draw its attention to the seriousness of the position. He has gone a step further. He was responsible for calling a conference of scientists. It was good so far as it went, but it is not enough. One may concede man can be prevented from doing mischief to himself and others through fear, just as he is believed to be prevented from committing sin by the fear of the fire of hell! But such prevention would surely not start him on the way to heaven. This does not seem to be a good enough way to take humanity to the haven of peace.

There is another class of thinkers who emphasize the economic aspect for the abolition of war. The danger of war, they point out, are rooted in the inequalities in the economic policies of nations, and they hold out the hope that if these inequalities were removed the probability of war would wane of its own accord. This is to say that nations should keep under control their self-interest, greed for wealth etc. and should

accept the self-imposed duty of maintaining brotherly relations with other nations. It is true that force of keeping peoples together for peace is active and positive. But that too is not enough.

In order to secure peace in the world, however, ultimately, the sentiment that man shall not be killed or injured under any circumstances will have to be cultivated and made permanent. This is something which can be done by faith and trust in man. It is also something which can be achieved only by the strength of the mind. But does any one of the religions accept this possibility? Religions, we know, sanction capital punishment religious war, the duty of the warrior caste to fight, the duty of self-defence even by using arms etc. How, then, could war be totally abolished? The basis for actually abolishing war from human affairs can be laid up only if man comes to believe that man cannot be injured or killed under any conditions whatsoever.

(The note was written about six months ago and is revised on changing the tone of the talks in some places before reproducing it here.)

1958-59

#### End of Imperialism

That the conference at Bandung in Indonesia could be successfully concluded as a valuable stage of achievement in the fight for peace in the world. The nations and their representatives who met at conference deserve congratulatory letters for it. The work that the Prime Minister of India and China put in at the conference has proved remarkable for the success of the conference and the two nations may well take legitimate pride for it.

India Pakistan Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia were the five nations who had called the conference. All concerned are aware that the five existing powers are not able to see eye to eye on many questions. Ceylon has a difference with India on the question of the rights of the Indians in Ceylon to settle there. The quarrel between India and Pakistan is well known. The difference between them is wider and deeper than that between India and Ceylon. Out of the three nations which lost their birth as undivided India the third is Burma besides India and Pakistan. One has to be thankful to God that Burma has good and friendly relations with India. It is to be noted that the amount of attention which the conference drew to itself from nations which did not participate in it was not small. Newspapers have portrayed that America was closely watching the proceedings of the conference and might, directly or indirectly, be interfering with and effect its work. It was believed that Ceylon and Pakistan did much to be of help to America in what the latter sought to do. One cannot be blind to the fact that want of full accord between the five nations who had called the conference marred its success to a certain extent. But that

the conference was short<sup>11</sup>—the session is certainly a definite achievement in the world's progress towards peace.

All the players, with one or two exceptions, were not members of the United Nations Organization. They however accepted the principle of the United Nations Organization while considering the problems facing them.

The most significant feature of the conference was the fact of representatives of many African countries taking part in the work of a conference of this nature for the first time. This feature of the conference implied that the history of the world is, at long last, turning a new leaf. It also forms a challenge to the white nations of the world who have, during the past century, followed on their usurpation of political power in Asia and Africa. That America has joined hands with the white nations of Europe in the past during the present century is a new feature of events of contemporary history.

#### Asia and Africa

Of the two continents who have taken a step to the power of the white nations of Europe Asia is marching ahead of Africa, protest against imperialism is just dawdling over Africa. Imperialism is still holding its sway in South-East Asia where in Indo-China, France is not yet in a mood to quit her possessions. Still, the Geneva Conference, which met some time ago, has done a little in support of the need of taking the matter further. Attempts, however, to make the good work of the conference are still in evidence.

Portugal is not yet showing any willingness to quit her imperial possessions in India as France has done. As a consequence we are witnessing a serious problem shaping itself before the world to solve.

The chief imperialist powers holding their sway over Africa are two—England and France. Both of them are very unwilling to give up the advantage they have in South Africa, a brutally naked policy of white racial superiority is shamelessly adopted. The Government of the Union of South Africa has perceived that the rise of a free India and her way of thinking is dangerous for imperialism. That is why that nation never misses an opportunity to ignore and shove us Kenya behaves a little differently, but at bottom it is the same old story of the whites not wishing to give up all they can hold on to the advantages they possess.

#### India's Foreign Policy

The nations of Africa are neighbours to India. Europe for them is not so. That is why Europe has little sympathy for them, nor does it help them. That is the reason why the neighbourly relations which Africa had with India from times immemorial are again renewing themselves in the new age. The old relations of

India with South-East Asia are not yet questioning themselves in 1955, some reasons. The main cause is this—We have not been able to achieve full friendship and cordial relations with Pakistan and Ceylon.

Both the countries are not yet able to the politics of the world as we are, both seem to be engaged in marching their own affairs in peace more and to that end their foreign policy is shaped with an eye on contrasting the good wishes of the white nations who, they believe, would help them.

As India wisely decided to be self-reliant in the matter of her internal affairs she was able to avoid taking aid from the white nations. It is no small achievement of ours that we were able to resist falling a prey to the tempting offer of substantial financial aid from America. That was why we were at once able to shape our foreign policy on the basis of peace. That is also the reason why our foreign policy proved effective in the Asian as well as the Bandung conferences and through them in the affairs of the whole world.

Is it possible the march ahead by India in the affairs of the world has been taken as a slight to themselves by the mighty leaders of England and America? They are the powerful nations who prided themselves on the role of leading the world. One can easily understand their feelings, feelings of men like Winston Churchill of England, that "the country train, who was till but yesterday in our possession, does the duty to profess to be wiser than we?" If, therefore, in some parliament of India they seek to threaten her it would be nothing new, because such game is well known in affairs between States.

It is plain that Pakistan, Goa and Ceylon provide good spots for such game. Why, whenever should they talk and deal with peace-loving India who is also their neighbour, unfriendly or improperly? It would be no matter for anyone if menacing support from outside quarters is misleading Portugal from the path of justice and truth. It is for India to continue such support by the truth and fairness of her policy and by her loyalty to the cause of peace. She has already declared her determination not to be moved from her position of the problem of Goa. This determination means that she intends to advance world opinion in order to make those who do not want to give up the advantages of imperialism to do so. The foreign policy of India is thus firmly adhering to the basis of unadorned peace and unqualified opposition to war. Our people must learn to appreciate this deeply significant fact, that is to say they should begin to advance and prepare themselves for the success of the policy of peace which their government has adopted.



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TWO ANNAS

## THE MONOPOLY CUT OF ALL

(By Bhambharaj Karmachand)

On Gandhi Jayanti day, October 2nd, of this year, Major General Solley contributed an article to *The Times of India*, which was given prominence under the title "Prohibition as Mahatma Gandhi Regarded It."

In this article the writer suggests four measures to deal with the drink evil. Briefly they are as follows: (1) Provide clubs and places of recreation for working people; (2) Close down all wet corner pubs; (3) Carry on propaganda against the abuse of alcohol; and (4) Make alcohol available at a normal price to those who need it through a few Government Stores. The Government holding a monopoly for the manufacture, import and sale of alcohol. He suggests that Gandhiji would have supported this method of dealing with the drink evil. One of his reasons for this view is that Gandhiji had, in the *Harper's* of November 13, 1933, while commenting on an article of the writer published in that issue, remarked: "The suggestion about State monopoly of manufacture and sale of amusements, and alcohol undisturbed today is perfectly sound." And so far as the other three measures mentioned above go, the implication is that they are similar to Gandhiji's own suggestions from time to time.

In regard to the first two measures, one may agree that they are unobjectionable and similar to what Gandhiji himself had proposed. But one feels that there is a weighty difference between the writer's and Gandhiji's position in regard to (2) and (4) above.

The Major General wants propaganda against the abuse of alcohol. Gandhiji wanted propaganda even against the very use of alcohol. To the former, alcohol is all right as long as it is taken in moderation. But Gandhiji saw that some who took to drink, thinking at first that they would keep within moderate limits were unable later to be moderate drinkers and became addicts. They wanted to be helped against themselves and could not be then helped as long as liquor was available to them. So Gandhiji was against alcohol itself, and not merely against its abuse.

Similarly, in regard to (4) above, there is a profound difference between the writer's position and that of Gandhiji. Gandhiji would have the Government take over the monopoly of the manufacturing and sale of liquor so that in the case of those who require it for medical reasons (which is the only exception Gandhiji made for Indians wanting liquor for purposes of drinking) liquor may be made available. Major General Solley, on the other hand, states: "At these Government Stores it should be possible for everyone to buy alcohol in a closed package." "Ideally, he would make it available for all life as long as to whom the Government will sell liquor. Whether for infants it would decrease amounts between fathers—children, young people moderate drinkers or addicts—, or will sell freely to anyone who wants it. Then, of course, will not be Prohibition by any stretch of imagination, but an approach where the freedom to drink will be opened good and wide. Nor does he say whether the Government will sell only a limited quantity to each drinker, and whether it will ensure that what a buyer buys will be used by himself and not sold at a higher price to someone else."

Questions such as these are left unanswered. Consequently the writer is able to say to be misled by superficial considerations into thinking that what the writer advocates is in line with Gandhiji's views. Worse still, the title of the article bore-faciously misleads the reader into thinking that the views propounded are actually the views of Gandhiji himself.

It is more especially unfortunate that this should happen, on Gandhi Jayanti day when we should do all we can to revive Gandhiji's memory, spread his teachings among the people, and strive to put them into practice. Instead, to direct the mind of the public from what he taught in order to propagate our own views which are at variance with his and to pass them on his, and on a topic of such grave national importance as Prohibition which was so near to his heart and which he was so anxious to achieve at all costs, is a serious loss. "The most unkind cut of all" on his birth anniversary,

## COMMUNALISM AND CASTEISM

(By Rajendra P. Bora)

[An continuation of the article "Community and Caste" in the *Journal* of 1953-54]

Community and caste are ancient institutions of our social organisation. The sentiments of communalism and casteism arising out of them are also known to the Indian social order in one form or another from almost equally ancient times.

Let us first examine the difference between the two institutions. Community is a part of society including separateness from the whole, it tends to emphasise the feeling of separateness. Caste is not a part showing separateness but is a constituent unit of the whole, though including separateness. It is a classification of society based on unity, synthesis and co-operation. The evil of becoming an independent mode of sentiment and behaviour within both the institutions when the separateness between the communities is exaggerated and emphasised out of all proportion and when co-operation between castes is vitiated by feelings of superiority and inferiority. Both these unhappy situations can be seen working during the course of the history of our country.

## 1

During the second age of Indian history communalism is not in evidence. Various communities produced their own religions and constituted one social unit by keeping in view a certain ideal of synthesis. The prevalent view or idea in society used to absorb other races or clans in themselves so that they together formed one larger community. All the races and clans underwent a process of amalgam. Accordingly a progressively broadening view of religion and standards of beliefs and practices was cultivated by the people at large. This process of absorption and absorption had reached a fairly mature stage in the country before the emergence of Islam.

The process of the formation of one community or one nation thus seems to have led to the institution of caste. One is led to the conclusion because the caste or unit which accepted a larger duty of synthesis and formed one society must have had their separate units in the beginning. They must have had their different occupations. They went on preserving their particularities of this kind in spite of their amalgamating in one great race or community. They kept to themselves in their peculiar practices—but the latter were adapted to the larger uniform pattern of the whole. In other words they gave up their communalism to convert it into casteism. When the different clans or races shed their separate entities they gave up their sense of separateness and became constituent units of one single community or society. Still, however, the feeling of separateness which may have residually persisted expressed itself in feelings of superiority and inferiority and the strict restric-

tions of separate intercourse regarding partaking of food and marriage. It seems logical to believe that the evil of casteism entered the institution of caste in that manner. How terrible the evil was was clearly proved by the aggression of a powerful community on India.

## 2

The Mohammedans came to India as a new community. They were able to strike a blow on a society which had weakened on cohesion on account of customs and pride of clan or family which is an offshoot of the caste. The new immigrants held a distinctly different view of religion and life. The old traditional process of creating a synthesis of the different races or clans had by the time ceased to be a living force and had become a dead weight. The new immigrants, hence, did not convert themselves into the line of that caste and were not assimilated into the Hindu social order. Their separateness was not removed. The new Muslim race who entered India did not only remain a separate community, but gave birth to the evil of communalism also. Islam did not stick itself to the field of religion alone but advanced so powerfully as to impose a communal spirit based on religion. The reason was it had been accepted as their faith by the rulers of the land.

Besides, Islamic society did not have any distinctions of caste. Like Christianity Islam also believed in converting followers of other faiths to its own. Caste in Hindu society which were reckoned inferior to others and also some others which were actually held in spite on account of the spirit of customs began to be converted to other faiths as a consequence of the social injustice. There may have been economic causes operating in favour of the process also. Besides, Islam had the power and facilities of a new faith. In short, the Mohammedan community took shape in India along with the Hindu community and the spirit of communalism emerged on the Indian scene.

The Hindus resisted this aggression during the centuries of the Rajput age of Indian History, a society which had lost cohesion on account of pride of caste and family ultimately did not prove strong enough to stand it—and as the new community settled down on the soil making it its home. This gave rise to an age of synthesis with a view to creating unity and harmony between the two communities. Kings like Akbar and saints like Kabir, Nanak and Dadu were the great figures of the brilliant age. During the same period also Ramchand and many of his disciples organized a big struggle against the evil of casteism. That is to say, for about three or four centuries India gave a good fight to the evil of customs and communalism of this period. Till the advent of the seventeenth century the history of India had reached the stage when a current of new influences, which had an entirely

different effect on the process of exercising the  
arts of concealing; the outcome, which was  
going on all this, made its appearance on the  
scene.



Emperor Aurangzeb's gave a rude shock to the success of synthesis which had set on during the Mogul period. As a result the Hindu community reacted in a equally incredible through the Marathas and the Sikhs. But the logic of the reaction was not the same as that of the age of the saints. It was inspired more by pride of consciousness of community than by a spirit of a religion of humanity working for a synthesis. The pride of a conscious communal entity looked a strong virtue in the early politics of India. If the Maratha power had come and triumphant out of the struggle the bloom of India would have taken a different course altogether. That was, however not to be. The Maratha power was not only removed in spirit but it never birth in a new cell — the cell of consciousness or serene. In the Maratha power did not prove capable of lifting to one national authority in a continent like India. The Sikh power had not advanced beyond its provincial boundaries. When the Mogul cover disintegrated neither a single successor Maratha State emerged nor was a sort of loose new nation left in the people's imagination the sub continent that was India. On the other hand the British had begun infiltrating into India. And a new era began again.

This new age came after the age of Islam in India brings her in contact with the modern European nations. The characteristics of the new age were totally different. European Christian trading communities had begun to enter India for the first time. They came by the sea route. The Hindu community possibly as a measure of self-defence had prohibited sea voyages. Besides with a view to preserve its separate identity as a community, it had set up major barriers in the form of various various prohibitions. In contrast the British came as a sea-faring people and brought with them various new skills like a disciplined army, various techniques of organisation etc. The state of society and politics in India at the time was such that western came easy to the British so that they clearly took possession of the machinery of the States of the country and during the nineteenth century were able to absorb India in the empire of their queen. Foreign rule was thus firmly established in India for the first time in her history.

The British were a Christian community, but it is remarkable that they acted less more as a foreign ruling community. The Indians quietly withdrew for the first time an absolutely new type of communication: a separation based on a similarity of the whites in the dealings with the Indians and began to be influenced by it. This communication was based more on the culture of

the state then on religion and was national. The British community was a national community. It brought to India the idea of country-wide nationhood over and above the one of a community based on religion. As a consequence the idea of community came to be confined not only to religion and culture but was carried to the field of politics also. This was something new during the British age of India's history. Its consideration had before been left to a separate article.

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A few days back, we read that in a U.P. village, two people were done to death by a mob. One of the unfortunate victims was an M.L.A. who had bravely stood to save the other who was the real target of the mob. The cause might be, presumably, some political medium or another - the newspapers.

A correspondent from Tuzovsk defined writers about another madness or blind bet breakdown which is equally infamous. This is what he says:

[illegible]

On the humanity of this I hope the Government might have come to know of this and will take due note of it.

2014-01-01



1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

#### BASIC EDUCATION

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TURNING NEW THINKING

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**Abstract**

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### Maximizing Business Success

**POLYMER LETTERS** 1970-1971, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 1-64.

# HARIJAN

Oct. 29

1935

## THE S. R. C. REPORT

(By Kanchiah P. Sivas)

I

Friends are asking me whether I propose to write on the S.R.C. Report. And they particularly ask how I feel about it. The question is natural. We all know how the issue of States Reorganisation for Free India is of very great and far-reaching importance. This is apparent even from the simple fact of our people's intense feelings that have been exhibiting themselves during the last few years. And this paper has by now already given its opinion on the main principle of this vital question. And it is as follows:

Our people should immediately have provision for the use of their languages scheduled as India's languages in the Constitution in all the spheres of their national life and affairs like education, administration, justice etc.—and if, to that end it is felt necessary that the States should be linguistically reorganised then it should be done so. What we aimed at to forget when doing this is that we all belong to India, in such we have one common nationality or citizenship, which does not change any way in spite of the diversity of languages, customs and such other ways of living. As Gandhi said in his post-prayer speech on 20-1-1935 (*Drishya Diary*, p. 376):

"The world outside did not know them as Gujjarathi, Maharashtriki, Tamiyani etc. but only as Indians. We must, therefore resolutely discontinue all dangerous dualities, and feel and behave as Indians. Subject to this paramount consideration, a linguistic redistribution of provinces should give an impetus to education and trade."

Our people here, in their pre-independence days of fight for freedom, experienced how it would fare if we worked on this principle. We must all remember that during the eventful years 1915 to 1920 the one great change that came about in our national affairs was that the policies of the Liberal School of thought which worked chiefly through the English language came to an end and the new age of nationalist politics of Swami which worked through the languages of the common man or of the masses of our people began to function. The most noteworthy attribute of this new age in our political life was that its leaders espoused the Congress programme of India, namely according to the above linguistic principle and they worked among the people through their regional languages and the A-I Congress Committee resolved that for interprovincial and all-India purposes Hindi-

Shastri's *Pravasi* be used as India's *Inter State* Shasta.

I am reluctant to remark that there are to be found some Congressmen also who even now, more like the remnant followers of the old Liberals, harp on saying that India had unity through English. They do not seem to have noted the above fact of our recent history. That we could create and establish successfully the sense of nationalism and one one nationality among the people by working through diverse national languages is a point equally noteworthy. Language is a means to an end, we should not mistake it as an end. For example, there are people who say that if regional languages of the people are made the medium of all instruction or that if States are reorganised linguistically there will not be the unity of India! Such have thinking is being put forth, only because we have not truly arrived at or assumed the essence of the work put forth by our previous generation. If we wish to have a stable basis for real democracy, then we will have to give to our great Indian languages their proper place in the new setup, and due consideration when reorganising the States.

II

This experience which we had in pre-independence years and the principle of States Reorganisation that was implied in it cannot be disregarded now in post-independence reconstruction.

On the other hand, it is also practically necessary to reorganise them, if we see that after the Indian States merged in the Indian Union a temporary device of arranging them as A, B, C States was resorted to. It was promised then that when the first opportunity came to reorganise them it will be immediately taken up. The country is now planning five-yearly development programmes on a grand scale. This made such a need even more imperative. The result was the appointment of the S.R.C., which has now reported to the nation. The Commissioners deserve the thanks of the people for doing their great job. Their report will be considered an important document of India's history, in also it will obviously affect the course of our future.

The most noteworthy thing in the Report is that it has clearly put down the fundamental principles that should guide States Reorganisation. They recommend to form 16 States with equal status in the Union. Delhi, Manipal and Andaman-Nikobar have been recommended to be territories under the Centre. This carries the merging idea of the Indian States a step further and completely integrates them as a new Plan.

III

Secondly, the Commission accepts the general principle of linguistic States, and clearly the confusion that still persists about its meaning. For example, it does not mean that all people with a common language in contiguous areas



should form one State. Further, the States are not nations with their own separate territories, but they are sub-States of the one great common State, the Indian Union; they are only the limbs of this one sovereign State. Therefore, the Commission has clearly refused to accept that any language area is a separate State of its own with its own history or citizenship or nationality or sovereignty, as that would not be the real or proper meaning of the principle of linguistic reorganisation.

Admittedly it is highly convenient to have the administration of the people and their affairs and education etc. conducted in their own language, and further that so doing our people can build real democracy. However, if so doing that there may be economic or such other practical difficulties in the way from the point of view of India's unity and national interest, it is most that such other factors should be considered also. Therefore when we are out to arrange our new map, all these aspects of the case must be carefully considered and wise and proper decisions should be arrived at.

After independence these considerations other than the only one of language have been increasingly emphasised, and the Commission has accepted its validity by agreeing to such a need today.

That is because of the over-emphasis that came to be given in the language principle in some quarters and the exclusive and wrong meanings that began to be given to it, — to such an extent as to jeopardise India's unity and the true position that the States are a joint family with common wealth. The Commission gave a stern warning against such an approach to the question and thus has cleared the atmosphere in a desirable manner.

#### IV

Another fundamental principle that came to be noticed after we became independent as a political unit. All the States or any the sub-States of the Indian Union should enjoy equal political importance, i.e., there should not be a State so large as to constitute an inordinately large single political group representing it in the Parliament. If this principle is not observed there might be avoidable jealousies and rivalry. The Commission would have better paid more attention to this. One of its members, Shri Pandey wrote a separate note to emphasise this aspect, for which he should be congratulated. In the new map of the Union there should not be States too large or too small. If the area speaking one language say like Hindi, is very big then it should be properly divided into more States, taking into consideration all the relevant points in that behalf. And on the other hand, if there are contiguous areas speaking the same language, but are divided into separate small political units they may as well be integrated into one, as for example, the Gujarati-speaking areas.

#### V

The Commission has accepted a third principle, viz., economic. There are two or three things here—1. Viability, 2. Enough resources for development. Really speaking it is these considerations mainly that have prevailed among linguistic groups, economic outlook and given rise to bitterness and rivalry for territorial gains. And this constitutes the real danger and not the principle of linguistic reorganisation of States. The principle is being wrongly abused on account of its being misused to cover economic or territorial squabbles even, and is confused with claims on the language's grounds of separate geography, history, culture etc.

The two economic points of viability and resources of ample resources for reasonable development cannot easily be overlooked. But this cannot be considered as if for a separate nation. It must be viewed as a joint family property being equitably distributed as the States are only the limbs of one body politic, India. Ultimately we cannot afford to forget there is the Centre whose duty it will be to see that all its limbs are financially well provided and cared for through judicious administrative means etc.

The Commission examined the question of States Reorganisation from each three-fold point of view and have submitted detailed proposals for it. The Parliament will now have to legislate on and decide the matter on these recommendations. It cannot be that these cannot be improved or amended. One can it be maintained that there is nothing in it that does not require to be improved. Because the question itself is of such a nature that one must seek the line of happy compromise, there can hardly be found a solution that may please all the parties concerned. Therefore whatever amendment we may seek to do in the proposals of the S.R.C. may better be with maximum consensus available on it.

#### VI

The example of Bombay City has been typically significant from these points of view. It appears that the Commission was too much carried away on financial grounds to maintain a balanced view. And it seriously erred in it when it pleaded for a bi-lingual State for Bombay on the ground of national unity. It would have been good if the Commission had at once reorganised for Bombay a solution which is emerging out of the discussions to arrive at a happy compromise, that go on at Delhi these days.

The Delhi talks do not reveal a novel solution. Let alone here the fact that the Commission has reorganised Bombay City as its separate province, but we know that two important bodies viz., the Union Commission and the J.V.P. Committee, reconsidered the matter during the last decade and gave their verdict that Bombay City should form no part of a linguistic area and that it should be a separate unit by itself. The Commission should have accepted this and working on that basis

should have said that there might be Sanjivani Mahasabhas with Vaidika if it agrees but Hansi can accept the fact because of Bombay City - a special position looking to its history, language administration, development, Indian trust finance etc. On these considerations it would be wrong to include it as one single language group. Just as Andhra was told that it could form its own State but without Madras City so also it could have been declared to Gujarati and Maharashtra that the cosmopolitan and unique nature of Bombay is such that it will not form part of either language group, and the reorganisation of Bombay State will therefore have to be on this basic understanding of the case. This the S.H.C. did not do and it now remains for the Congress and the Central Government to declare with an amendment of the S.H.C. concerned States and we hope they will do so and further carry on the great work of States reorganisation.

In the onward march of States, the work of States Reorganisation is a very consequential and important stage. It must be negotiated by us calmly and with liberality of approach and understanding and keeping in view that we all belong to one common nationality. The aim of the world are as is today. Then watch to whether we solve this question peacefully, cordially and with the full sense of responsibility as a great nation that wishes to pursue truly democratic ideas.

11-10-55

(Type signed)

#### THE 'LANGUAGE LANDSCAPE' OF INDIA

It was the address delivered by Shri B. G. Kher, Chair man, Official Language Committee on the 17th October, 1955 at the inauguration of the Aggarwal Trust of Linguistics at the Deoria College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona.

#### 1.

It seems to me that in the numerous languages and dialects great and small which constitute as it were, the 'language landscape' of India there ought to be immense national availability for study of linguistics. Apart from the number of distinct languages and dialects we have an extremely wide range in respect of the stages of development attained by the various languages. At one end we have the primitive forms of speech, with only an oral tradition and without any written literature, of some of our mountainous tribes inhabiting the hills and forest areas. At the other end we have the finished great languages enlisted in the Constitution, several of them spoken by as large or even a larger number of people, than the speakers of some of the advanced languages of the West.

The most widely spoken of these, the Hindi language ranks in the world's languages and only to the Chinese and English in the number of persons who speak it. These fourteen languages have an enormous wealth of literature and a literary tradition going back several centuries and in the case of some more than two thousand years.

During the last hundred years or so of British rule, all these great languages to a more or less extent, came under an eclipse, and their growth and development, which would otherwise have taken place in the natural way in response to the requirements and growth of modern industrial and scientific progress, were checked. Increasingly, over the last hundred years, the English language, on account of the educational policy adopted by our rulers and the official prestige which English enjoyed, came to supersede the indigenous languages as practically the entire public life of the country.

Naturally languages develop in response to the requirements of communication and intercourse felt by sections which speak these languages. English however came to occupy the unnatural position in our country of being the sole means of inter-communication at the all-India level or the higher levels of all persons in public and private life holding positions of authority or prominence. With a rich and well-developed language like English at hand, which was the sole means of communication at all-back levels of intercourse, the official language of government, the medium of instruction for all advanced education and also the language of all the learned professions, no wonder the indigenous languages languished and failed to develop a sufficiently rich and precise vocabulary for the requirements of social life, capable of its being a period when the progress of scientific knowledge wrought a great revolution in the physical conditions of living in the country. The result is that there are many handicaps to make good when the time has now come for the Indian languages for taking over from the English language and gradually displacing it.

Intrinsically I believe, each of these languages is fully capable of expressing the most complex or abstract thought, notion, or shade of meaning. Language is essentially a perfect means of expression and communication for its own environment and there is no warrant for supposing that any well-developed language, let alone the rich classical languages of India, is incapable under appropriate conditions, of expressing any thought or sentiment which the members of a linguistic group find it necessary to communicate. Mahatma Gandhi, with his penetrating insight into the fundamentals of civilised life, said as long ago as 1925 that "there never was a greater superstition than that a particular language can be incapable of expression or expressing abstract or scientific ideas."

Now with the attainment of independence, the problem that presents itself to us is one of developing our Indian languages so as to make them adequate vehicles of thought and expression as the eventual displacement of the English language without harm to the cause of science or advancement of learning or prejudice to the unity and integrity of our national life.

While it is estimated that only 10-15% of the 170 odd languages and dialects are in current use, the subcontinent speaks at least 13 or 14 of them which for purposes of literature or education or public life, need to be recorded if at our major or literary languages. Considering the size of the country as well as the population and further, having regard to the close affinities between these different languages presently, and more especially in the two or three groups into which they fall, what is striking is not the multiplicity as much as the extent to which we had common elements and strong affinities in them.

These affinities are, of course, only a reflection of that fundamental bedrock of common cultural traditions, ideals and values, — in short the Indian way of life — which underlies the apparent diversities and differences amongst cultural groups in the Indian subcontinent. For one thing, both the great families of languages, the Indo-Aryan as well as the Dravidian have borrowed extensively from Sanskrit.

Apart from this, over the entire Indian subcontinent, there has been unending intercourse in the fields of social and religious movements, repeated changes in the frontiers of political authority etc. so that through the crucible of history over many centuries an Indian way of life has crystallized and emerged.

A language is the standing record as well as contemporary expression of the culture and experience of the particular group speaking that language. It is the locus on which these cultural patterns are written, and it is obvious to me that all of us who are justly proud of our common cultural inheritance must cherish and develop all important languages, more especially all those recognized by the Constitution as such.

The central concept of the Indian tradition and way of life is one of harmonious and unifying diverse cultural experiences. I submit, therefore, that we ought to approach each of our languages as a spirit of humility and reverence, even if it be the rude unrefined speech of a tribal group, because each such language is a unique expression of the culture of the particular social group who speak it. We must cherish and cherish each of the elements entering into the evolution cultural life of India.

Furthermore, as each of our regional languages has idealized problems to face, the growth and development of each is sure, in some measure, to be assisted by the growth and development of all. Properly conceived, therefore, there is no antagonism between the official language of the Union as recognized by the Constitution and the other languages, or between the different regional languages inter se. We must assist each of them to become a still better vehicle for the expression of its language group and a harmonious and worthy component in the integrated cultural life of India.

(To be continued)

## GANDHI AND TRUSTESHIP

(By Suresh Kumbhkar)

What a paradox that disparities and inequalities deepen in the society with the growth of science! Though every new discovery in science helps to move human conduct, it results in aggravating the gulf between the rich and the poor. Labour-saving devices do save labour, but they also kill it in a shocking degree. Economists and philosophers have tried to probe into this strange phenomenon. Different schools like democracy, democracy, socialism, humanism and communism have sprung up in consequence. Yet disparities and inequalities persist. They are as much there in the U.S.A., a country of free economy as in the U.S.S.R. a country of controlled socialist economy. The survival of the common man is not a distant dream.

Failure of capitalism to solve the social ills is obvious and natural. But not so of socialism or communism whose love of the underdog is legendary. One cannot help concluding that communism is only a reaction born of capitalism, an anti-these against it. But there is a basic resemblance between the two viz. their belief in material selfishness of human nature. To both of them, man is no more than a self-centred economic animal. They ignore the vital truth that man is basically spiritual, can rise superior to the passions that he owns in contact with the brute and can respond to the call of the spirit in him. No scheme or plan of socio-economic reorganisation can succeed if it denies the spiritual element in man.

With this plain fact in view, Gandhiji put forth his theory of trusteeship as a solution of human exploitation and class-conflict. He taught us that the rich should deem themselves only trustees of their property and should use it mainly in the public interest. If all men, and he, realised the obligation of service (as an eternal moral law) they would regard it as a sin to amass wealth, and then, there would be no accumulation of wealth and consequently no income inequalities. He pleaded for abolishing the eternal conflict between capital and labour — i.e. for knocking down of the few rich who command the bulk of national wealth and knocking up of the hitherto masses. He always held that mill-owners are not exclusive owners of mills and that workers are equal sharers in ownership. Likewise, ownership of land belongs as much to the frogs as to the Zamindars. He wanted the haves to reduce themselves to poverty in order that the have-nots may have the necessities of life. In keeping with the Biblical injunction "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread," he believed that the needs of the body must be supplied by the body and he, therefore, stood for bread labour, i.e., everybody labouring enough for his food.

Whether the rich would voluntarily abdicate ownership of wealth or property and take

to service-man-based labour is questioned by many. Surely, in the dictionary of western economic thought, which is money-oriented and treats man as a marketable commodity, the very idea of personation finds no place. So they, as half-ridiculous pose the question: "Can there ever be a trustee?" Or, "Who follows trusteeship?" Gandhiji replied it in unequivocal words:

"My theory of 'trusteeship' is no idealism, certainly no utopianism. I am confident that it will survive all other theories. That possessors of wealth have not acted up to the theory does not prove its falsity, it proves the weakness of the wealthy. No other theory is compatible with non-violence."

Still the answer might not satisfy many. Some others may mistake it as a road to perpetuate class differences and inequalities. Nothing could be further from truth. Gandhiji gave the warning as such as follow:

"There is no other choice than between voluntary surrender on the part of the capitalist of superfluous and consequent acquisition of the real happiness of all on the one hand, and on the other the impending chaos into which, if the capitalist does not wake up because awakened but ignorant burning passions will plunge the country and which not even the armed force that a powerful Government can bring into play can avert."

And this method for bringing about the desired consummation of economic equality was necessary. To quote him:

"He (the non-violent worker) may not however work endlessly. When therefore the limit is reached, he takes rest and conceives plan of active Satyagraha which may mean civil disobedience and the like."

Besides, Gandhiji stressed on the education of workers. It cannot be guessed that there would be no exploitation if people refuse to obey the exploiters. "Exploitation of the poor," said Gandhiji "could be extinguished not by effecting the destruction of a few millionaires but by removing the ignorance of the poor and teaching them to non-co-operate with their exploiters." Thus the conflict is not between haves and have-nots but between intelligence and an intelligence. Could labour separate itself and act as one man, it would command greater weight than money in the words of Gandhiji:

"The problem therefore is not to act class against class but to educate labour to a sense of its dignity. Moneyed men owe all from a microscopic minority in the world. They will act on the square, immediately labour realises its power and yet acts on the square. The moment the labour recognises its own dignity, money will find its rightful place, i.e., it will be held as trust for labour."

It follows from the above that Gandhiji's idea of trusteeship rests on three pillars:

(i) Voluntary abdication of ownership of wealth and property.

(ii) Universal acceptance of bonded-labour as a creed.

(iii) Education of labour to stand on its own feet.

Curiously and happily enough, these three tenets form the basis of the Sampatitien Yagna Programme evolved by Ashwari Vinoba Bhave. Through his Sampatitien Yagna, Vinoba paved the way for all to free themselves from the tyranny of possession and substitute their appetite for belongings. Vinoba asks all who possess money or property in fact, all who earn their living themselves to renounce ownership of what they have and share it regularly with a portion of it preferably one-fourth for the society.

The characteristics of this Yagna are:

(i) The donor has to donate a certain percentage of his or her income or expenditure throughout his or her life.

(ii) Money would remain with the donor.

(iii) He or she would spend it according to Vinoba's instructions and scheme annual accounts.

Based on the idea of non-possession, or possession on behalf of and for others, Sampatitien Yagna seeks to make the rich and the poor shed all their sense of ownership and share their richness or poverty together and seek to draw according to his or her need from the bank connected to every home. It seeks to eliminate richness and poverty by merger of the rich and the poor and create a shared life or shared society.

It is how Gandhiji's theory of trusteeship has been given a practical shape. Work has started to that effect and about two thousand people are already subscribing to the Sampatitien Yagna pledge. As its message spreads from door to door, more and more people will take to this idea actively. And the day is not far off when we will be able to establish in our country the Ramesh Raj of Gandhiji's dreams.

25-9-55

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(EDITOR, MADANMOHAN P. MALHOTRA)



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## THE 'LANGUAGE LANDSCAPE' OF INDIA

(Continued from the previous issue of 28.10.67)

II

I do not know if you expect me to say something relative to the work on which the Official Language Commission is engaged. If you do, I must disappoint you. You will no doubt appreciate that it will be improper for me, also premature, to express any views on any of the numerous points arising in the detailed consideration of this complex issue, and both the Commission and I as its Chairman must maintain a wholly open mind on this subject at this stage. But when I have a gathering before me of such distinguished scholars from all parts of the country devoted to the pursuit of research in Indian languages, I cannot let this opportunity pass of placing my difficulties before you, so that you may be in a position to give guidance which will be valuable to the solution of the problem which the Commission has to tackle.

Perhaps I may venture to say a few words generally about the way I think the issue should be approached. The task before the Commission is really a pragmatic one as to what should be the position to be occupied by the official language and the other languages, so that the country's business may be carried on with the greatest facility, so that there will be available a suitable means of communication at all appropriate levels of inter-State contact, so that the standards of teaching in universities (on which our scientific and technical progress depends so vitally) are not impaired while we move from the present unsatisfactory position to one in which the official and other languages will have attained their appropriate status in their respective fields in the life of the country.

There is one important aspect of the matter in which I think we must pay heed. The Constitution has laid down as the directive principles of policy, an obligation on the State to endeavour to provide within a period of 10 years from the

commencement of the Constitution free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years. It is obvious that the vast expansion of literacy and elementary education contemplated in this directive of policy can be conceived of only in terms of Indian languages and not in terms of the English language which, after so many decades of official patronage and even imposition, has not permeated beyond an infinitesimal fraction of a narrow cross-section of our society. The people of India have given unto themselves a Constitution of a democratic republic based on adult franchise. We have therefore to view the entire problem of education and public life in our country in a context wholly different from that of colonised foreign rule in which the knowledge of the English language within a narrow group of the community sufficed for all the country's requirements. All this, it seems to me, makes the eventual displacement of the English language from its present position in our society inevitable.

But when I say that the English language will eventually have to be displaced from its present position in the national life of our country, please do not imagine that I am oblivious to the importance of English as a foremost means of international communication in the world today, or insensitive to the beauty of its literature and the wealth of scientific knowledge in it, or forgetful that it has served us as a national platform and been an important element in the forging of our national unity. Nor do I view the matter merely from the point of view of patriotic sentiment. Considerations of national self-respect are undoubtedly important in respect of language, as it touches the entire national life of a people so intensely. A language is not the property of any particular nation, and obviously, it belongs to all who can speak it. We may not reject a foreign language because it is foreign. I have no doubt, besides, that we must equip our graduates both in the natural sciences and humanities with a

sufficient command of English and/or other suitable foreign language or languages to serve as a 'key' to the storehouse of knowledge not yet available in the Indian languages and as a 'window' to the rapid progress of technology and scientific knowledge that is constantly taking place in the world. We must see to it that educational standards do not deteriorate, and our impatience must not affect the efficient training of leaders of men and of the servants. But there is a vital distinction between using a foreign language as a second language and its use as the only or principal medium for education or for the conduct of the day-to-day business of the country. The massive renaissance of our national life which we are committed to bring about within a reasonable period following the attainment of adult franchise, free and compulsory education, promotion of social justice and equal opportunity, etc., is inconceivable to my mind in terms of any but the indigenous languages. Indeed the provisions of the Constitution have already settled the issue and it should be unnecessary to restate it.

The prospect of a vast popular awakening and the economic and social advancement of the country's teeming millions has yet another aspect which we must not ignore. While it is clear that we must make special efforts to equip Hindi as well as other regional languages with words and expressions relating to special fields like the scientific, the technical or the legal from which for historical reasons these languages had in recent decades been shut out, we must not forget that these living languages are intended to be serviceable to the millions of people who will be using them. A living language resides in the currency of daily speech, in the workshop world and in the market-place and not in the dictionaries of the lexicographer. While helping the development of our languages, we must not forget this and proceed to make them merely memorials to our scholarship. The common man, by and large, has no interest in any doctrines of linguistic purity, and perhaps he is right. All living languages are constantly responding to the new needs and strains of social situations, and in the course thereof they freely borrow and assimilate foreign terms and expressions. I recall reading that nearly half the words in the English language are themselves or are derived from such loan-words. So what shall we do to avoid the fatality of trying to purge living languages or to force them into the preservation bed of preconserved ideologies of scholarship? I think every new word well assimilated by a language is a conquest made by it, and not an

inroad into it. I find in the Oxford English Dictionary that several hundred, nearly a thousand, Indian words have been admitted into the Queen's English. This is mentioned by G. Subba Rao in his book "Indian Words in English." So, while we try to make up for past deficiencies and to equip our language with a new vocabulary, should we not choose words and terms having regard only to their simplicity, accuracy, serviceableness and adaptability of the graft to the genius of the host language, regardless of considerations of their racial origin or of doctrines of veridicalism? The opinion of scholars like those I now before me on this subject should furnish valuable guidance to the Commission at this point.

Article 351 of the Constitution makes it quite clear that the Hindi language, which is the official language of the Union, is to be developed so as to serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India, and that it has to be enriched by assimilating, without interfering with its growth, the forms of style and expression used in Hindustani and other Indian languages mentioned. The Constitution has further provided ample protection and guarantees to all languages and scripts. The position, therefore, though complex, is essentially one to be solved by the rule of light, and not heat. The language problem is a problem of practical policy which must be approached from several, as distinct from a religious or revisionist standpoint; from a national, as distinct from a provincial or communal standpoint; and from a pragmatic, as distinct from an economic or ideological standpoint.

One other thing, moreover, seems to me beyond controversy. In the solution of the language problem many agencies are concerned besides the Union and the State Governments, viz., the Universities, the Judiciary, the legal and other professions, the Press, the scholar as well as the man in the street. In whatever we do, therefore, for the attainment of the final solution, reference must be placed not so much on the scale of law and governmental support and patronage—powerful and indispensable as these aids are—but on the merits of the solution propounded and the programme chalked out for its attainment, and on the fundamental good sense and patriotism of the people. A complete and detailed linguistic revolution, such as we have to bring about, cannot be enforced merely by the fiat of the State; it is a task in which we must engage the freely and enthusiastically co-operation of the various agencies concerned and of all important elements in the national life. The objectives,

properly viewed, are common and are shared by all feelings of good will. They are enshrined in the Constitution which the people of India solemnly adopted after mature deliberation five and a half years ago. The problem is essentially one of means and instruments to be used and the pace to be set for achieving common goals. We have faced many important and difficult issues in the seven years since our Independence. I have no doubt whatever that the political maturity and innate good sense of our people will help us to tackle this issue also successfully. I believe that it is the contemporary generation which will feel keenly the difficulties and unconscionable which any solution of the language problem which we may propose might involve. Succeding generations will not feel them with the same keenness. Any solution which we willingly and vigorously adopt after due consideration will, when the contemporary generation accustomed to other ways disappears in a few decades, be accepted with the passage of time. While, therefore, there may be honest differences of opinion today as regards the solution adopted finally by the country for itself, it is infinitely more important that the goal and the programme, once determined, are universally and unreservedly accepted all over the country. We must take every possible care to see that our solution is scientific and will not harm the genuine interests of future generations, and here again your Institute can give us very good guidance. I hope and trust the problem will be solved in such a way that the generations to come will say that we tackled this difficult task wisely and well. They should have no cause to say that we were unmindful of long-term national interests or that we were timid, hazy and unwilling to make the effort to acquire new habits of thought and expression, or that we were narrow-minded and bigoted.

We have come to occupy a high position of prestige internationally in the country of nations. This international position is obviously the result of our highly ethical and disinterested approach and the special viewpoint of tolerance and peaceful co-existence stemming from our cultural inheritance. Obviously, this international position vitally depends on the capacity we demonstrate in tackling our internal problems by dint of the same spirit of tolerance and mutually beneficial co-existence which we preach abroad.

By Pankaj Bhargava  
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## Cruelty to Monkeys

A friend from Bombay, April 18, is writing of the following news from NAFES:

London, October 17

Anti-Vivisection societies are jointly to meet at Carlton Hotel London this week to protest against the transport of animals and particularly of monkeys, from India for the purpose of vivisection.

"Although we are quite powerless in the matter" said the Secretary of the National Anti-Vivisection Society to NAFES today, "we are continually supplying the Government of India with information on the progress of monkeys."

Dr. W. Lillie-McIntyre, Secretary of the Research Endowment Society, which fully justifies the use of monkeys for research purposes, is at present abroad with the object of increasing the supply of monkeys for research.

The Secretary of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals interviewed by NAFES (editor) is the most degradation which his society led to the High Commissioner for India on monkey imports and export. "Although we failed in that major objective in getting monkey exports banned, improvements were made in the methods of transport."

India has also set up a special committee to consider the whole problem with a view to bringing in legislation. The chairman of this committee is Mr. T. K. Krishna Rao. He is a very considered man, and we feel that under his chairmanship much will be done."

Commenting on this piece of news, the friend rightly remarks that it is sheer cruelty to sell monkeys this way for securing foreign exchange. It does not behove a man who proudly professes from the house-top that we are the children of the land of Buddha and Gandhi. Will Government stop this cruelty to the flesh of God's creation?

(20.10.52)

M. P.

By Mahatma Gandhi

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# HARIJAN

Nov 3

1938

## ORTHODOXY AND REVOLT OF YOUTH

(By Majumdar P. Datta)

Shri A. P. Patnaik, ex-Dewan, Bhavnagar State, (Bhavnagar) writes as follows:

The central theme of your leader of 12-13-38 entitled "Free Education and Intellectual" should serve various schools. The falling standards of education between 1914-1920 before independence when young India like their fathers could not stay out of the freedom movement. The national school has now to come back to making, rather than "making" a government. When a necessity of life like clothes, food and shelter, or a house is required, no one wants to go to their class or political centre for it, but to a tailor, shoemaker, builder or building contractor. In the same way, the education we should go to schools. The education system of our fathers was inadequate in itself, to make things worse, but at least they were of one mind as to principles of efficiency and discipline and they knew what they were doing.

Europe, America and Japan are educating their youth for needs of today and tomorrow. They have got to do. If people and our Government are prepared to take expert advice in education as they do in engineering or industry, our five year plan would be still greater success.

Shri Patnaik's letter deserves close attention. I hope he does not suffer, as some superficial observers do, that the past students played in the fight for independence would be bring about falling standards and discipline in education. The advice that Gandhi inspired in the student world then was that they should quit English educational institutions and join independent national ones which were started as an educational constructive activity. As we know, very few joined them. Though many, on the spur of the moment, left orthodox schools and colleges, most of them went back to them within a year and only a few national educational institutions survived with very few students on their roll. All honour and glory to these institutions they continued their life career as experiments in new or truly national education, from which emerged a few new ideas in education like the new medium of education, place in the syllabus, of our common or national language for the country which will not be English but Hindi-Urdu; need of manual training and instilling dignity of labour; a new approach to syllabus and curricula mainly from the point of view of rural India, and its actual needs, to name a few out of so many ideas that were brought forth in the educational world. These ideas exposed the serious defects that inhered in English Education which was fast having its social results of educated unemployment, the medium of the alien language leading to fast deterioration in standards of studies and examinations and evoking among the student world a righteous

resentment that previously nothing was done to stem the decadence that set in. The national educational movement, though not a success from the point of view of numbers, was very effective in exposing the anti-national character and un-educational nature of what passed as a public instruction in India. The Government did not mind this, perhaps for apparent reasons of politics, and things educational drifted on. It is this drift that was allowed to go on for political reasons on the part of our ex-British rulers that, I think, brought about lowering of standards. There was to be seen a sort of anarchy and anarchy lurking in the Government system of education. Its prestige as a nation-building activity and the foreign rulers could do without really worthwhile to remedy the rot that set in, in consequence. Really speaking it was this that brought about a collapse of falling standards and a confusion more or less up till now.

Shri Patnaik is therefore right when he says that now has come the time to "make" our Government. This, for the student world, means that they should begin to apply themselves to their studies in a disciplined manner. And they do feel so. What is necessary is that the picture of reform and reconstruction of education which suffers from neglect right from the beginning of the century till now, should be clearly drawn out and its programme should begin to be slowly but surely implemented. It is here that we find the weaknesses and veiled lacunae created by the pre-national system of education set up by our masters thwarting reconstruction and impeding the onward march to reform and improvement even of the most essential nature like the medium of instruction, investigation of basic education, study of Hindi in schools and colleges, etc.

If Shri Patnaik at this and suggests important expert educational advice from outside, I may note that we have had it for all the big educational inquiries since 1915, viz. the University Commission, the Secondary Education Commission, the Higher Education for Rural Areas Committee, etc. All these bodies had on them foreign experts, and we have had their advice embodied in their reports. But the old orthodoxy is too much with us, and I fear we lack courage and conviction to begin a new chapter and hence the proverb that be, both at the Centre as well as in the States, shudder to change the old order of education. And a sort of inert and hypocritical seems to hold the field, we say things of which we are either really not convinced or we not bold enough to execute. This brings about a rot in the educational machinery which drifts on only tinkering with the problems which they, left to themselves, cannot obviously solve, being a departmental machinery under the Government. The whole situation and the times of the new age we see in demand radical reorganisation of our basic ideas of, and approach to India's education. This in turn expects a high and belief in



new values and independent attitude that are necessary to negotiate successfully through a revolutionary stage like the one we are at today. The leagu, the mass-union, and the sorts of discipline we see today are only the signs and symptoms of this critical situation besetting us to beware before it is too late. Old orthodoxy in education is still too much with the leaders and the workers in the field and I fear this is what sets youth on its turbulent edge of revolting against the ruling past.

10-18-55

### LATE SHRI JAJUB

(By Mageswar P. Dasa)

We note with deep regret the news of the death of Shri Shrikrishna Jaja. He was one of the old guards that are gradually passing away from our midst after a strenuous life of more than 50 years in the cause of freedom of our motherland Jajap, as he was lovingly called, did not belong to the parliamentary wing of our activities, he was all along a constructive worker, though he ever cheered up when the fight for freedom was launched by the Congress. His main field of activity was Khadi and village industries. Goodwill entirely depended on his capacity and wisdom to carry on these activities. He highly respected him and always hit at home with entrusting various constructive activities to him. Jaja was a devoted servant of Dandranayana. He was a deeply religious and highly conscientious worker. As such he was respected by all his colleagues as a revered elder of the all-India family of Khadi and Gram Udyog workers. Their loss is irreparable. I dedicate myself with, and dedicate before, the resolution passed by the members and staff of the A I K A V I, Board Bombay.

"This meeting of the members of the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board and members of the staff of its Central Office has learned with deep regret the news of the sad demise after an epidemic of Shri Shrikrishna Jaja. Shri Jaja was a member of this Board and had behind him years of devoted and dedicated service in the cause of the country and especially of the Dandranayana.

For many years he was associated with Mahatma Gandhi in the promotion and organization of Khadi and village industries in the country. He was also the Secretary of the All India Spinning Association and the spirit and inspiration behind the work of this Association.

In the formation of the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board Shri Jaja played a very important role and as the representative of the Sarva Sava Sangh his devotion largely influenced the Government of India not only in constituting this Board but also in the selection of its personnel. Though due to ill health and his desire to devote the best of his time to the Bhawan movement, Shri Jaja could not be a member of this Board, the Board had the benefit of his great experience and wise guidance at all times. It may not be out of place here to record that it was largely due to his unrelenting effort that this Board is

now enabled to launch on its ambitious scheme of Khadi and Village Industries Technical Research Institute at Nagawandi, Wardha. This has been made possible because of the generous gift of land and equally generous offer of buildings and other establishments belonging to the Sarva Sava Sangh for utilization by the Research Technical Institute.

This meeting with deep sympathy and deep sense of sorrow in the passing away of Shri Jaja, wishes to place on record its appreciation and gratitude for all Shri Jaja had done in the cause which the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board now seeks to promote and expand. This meeting conveys to Shri Jaja's family and to the All India Sarva Sava Sangh its sympathy in their bereavement."

11-18-55

### WELFARE STATE v. SARVODAYA STATE

(By P. Srinivasachari)

II

We have to be even, the ideas and the working of a Welfare State. It was also pointed out that the Welfare State can easily fit in with the framework of a capitalist as well as a socialist society. Since none of the above features of both the systems are found in it, there remains a notion that the basis of a Welfare State are the same as those of the Sarvodaya State and the both 'Welfare State' is taken as synonymous with Sarvodaya. This is due to a lack of proper understanding of the state for which a Sarvodaya State stands.

Mean of the Sarvodaya State

The Sarvodaya State stands for the happiness of all. It does not represent the aim of the law and order of the society, and for that matter, its goal is not the 'greatest good of the greatest number'. It stands for the good of one and all of the high and the low and of the strong and the weak. In aiming at the happiness of all it does not go by the utilitarian formula of the 'greatest number', even though the greatest good of all includes the good of the greatest number. It is not merely an economic or political system that the Sarvodaya State signifies, but a movement, social order and a way of life designed to ensure the happiness of all.

High standard of life

As the Sarvodaya State represents a way of life, the economic progress of such a society is not, mainly, measured in terms of production of wealth. The production of wealth is undertaken to increase the standard of living but it has also to be ensured that any increase in the standard of living should contribute towards increasing the standard of life. As the aim is the happiness of all, the measures to not only on the removal of material well-being but is a great stress on those activities which concern an atmosphere that promotes economic freedom and opportunity for the human development of all. More important is a high standard of living without any sort of coercion of the nature of the economic activities will only spell ruin.

Decentralized planning

A centralized economic structure existing in social inequality and exploitation is incompatible with the aim of a non-violent social order. The example of the highly centralized countries of the West and their consequences that have given social problems and economic ill should be a timely warning. The end sought in Sarvodaya is human happiness combined with full mental and moral growth.

There will be no objective in machinery but the use of machinery should not run counter to social well-being. It should not displace human labour and lead to exploitation.

Since a sense of security and satisfaction too pre-requisite for moral progress, the pattern of production

and the production of the national plan to be expedited to start. A unit that produces more is rewarded for it and the high production is given recognition as an honor for the achievement of life. In the long run, the people that of goods, especially of consumer goods, will be content as it comes through individual or co-operative effort. As far as possible, each region, including of a small area will be made self-sufficient and self-sufficient as much as within which are primarily necessary for life.

In the economic structure of a Sarvodaya State will be a decentralized one. The decentralized industries will make use of much of the modern machines and tools as will not stand in the way of our progress.

Industry that cannot be decentralized will also have their place if they are found necessary for satisfying the requirements of the people. But such big industries will not be left in the private sector. They will be nationalized or controlled by the State and will be run, not for profit but for rendering service to the people.

#### Abolition of Exploitation

The Sarvodaya State which stands for a decentralized society, and a new vision, would offer common welfare exploitation is now there. In fact the structure of the economy is such that, there can be no room for any kind of exploitation. There can be no concentration of economic power as the productive power will be dispersed and spread out in all parts of the country.

#### State and Freedom

A State which is working for the establishment of a Sarvodaya order will give emphasis on the power to be believed in order to the desired ends. Particular care will be taken about the pursuit of correct means, as no person has shown that the results attained always depend on the means adopted. Realization of the goal is in exact proportion to the purity of the means adopted. Sarvodaya rejects violence as a means towards the goal.

The Sarvodaya State therefore rejects the philosophy of violence and all that it means, for the establishment of a new social order. There is no place for violence and hatred in changing the present structure. The philosophy of Sarvodaya believes in the conversion of men and not in their destruction. It also is the absence and destruction of a wrong system, and not of those who are victims of the system. Those people should be educated and changed and not destroyed or wiped out, only peaceful means can be employed to secure social justice. Prevention of those hatred and the abolition of violent methods are opposed to its philosophy.

But that does not mean that violence will be tolerated. Sarvodaya gives its full as the weapon of non-violent non-cooperation in opposing evil and fighting for any good cause. It believes that whatever is gained through peaceful means is an atmosphere devoid of hatred and violence will have permanent value as the reform is carried through with the maximum support of and the least of negative opposition from the parties concerned. As economic power will be widely distributed, no one can exploit another, and the productive activities will be free from the violence that is inherent in the centralized system of producing.

#### Decentralization of Political Power

In the Sarvodaya State as we shall see we there will be no concentration of political power. As decentralization will be the backbone of the Sarvodaya order, there can be no exploitation of the masses under by the major units or of units by the mass.

Just as in the economic field, political power will be highly decentralized. Local regions will have all the powers necessary to manage their own affairs without any interference from outside. The major units will enjoy only such powers as are delegated by the system for the effective management of national affairs. The masses will have powers over such matters as concern the nation as a whole and derive its authority from the masses. As the

regions will have wide powers and be economically self-sufficient, the main feature of the political system will be the small regions that will function in self-sufficiently separate and be bound to the nation, which will remain only minimum powers for maintaining national unity. The political life will not be a parallel with the order in the area contained by the bottom.

In fact the economic and political framework of the Sarvodaya and Welfare States represents two different orders. In the former there is diffusion of power, while in the latter there is a concentration of the concentration of power. In fact even though widely scattered mass movements are undertaken by the Welfare State they do not bring about a revolution in the way of life of the people. The welfare movement is good to the people but while maintaining its welfare, they busy with their own individual efforts as well.

#### Welfare or Freedom

The State is concerned with every aspect of life of the individual so much so that it wants a large administrative machinery for the proper management of things. A large army if not a large police force have been considerably employed for many social purposes under their time and where in the number of officers and. The Welfare State is overwhelmed with duties desired to achieve, and with an intention that is usually entirely beyond means. It gives strength to the problems of a social structure which might be called administrative system State.

The greatest harm resulting from such a kind of system is the loss of freedom and individual initiative. In order to provide various kind of relief the State assumes enormous powers and thereby controls the economic life of the people. The individual freedom to pursue an avocation of life according to his own aptitude is very much restricted. What is more people may even find that the amount of employment are confined to those that the Government wants for them. The concentration of economic power in the hands of the State affecting the lives of the people is such that no single person or organization can resist the policies of the State. However the centralized system of production by concentrating the working population in a few parts of the country prevents other cooperation and understanding among the various portions of the people.

In a State where political power is concentrated an individual is not of the many suffers in the country. The masses may suffer as individuals as in the world, freedom of politics. It is much more restricted of being governed than of providing. The government, however in its thought a central and largely undemocratic body, not a set of men whom he is content with others who share his opinion, have chosen to carry out the welfare.

#### Individual Initiative and Self-reliance

Every the State underlines all the welfare measures the citizens is aware of this depend on the State for everything. They look up to the State not only in times of distress but even in ordinary day today life and have not made initiative of their own to secure the economic or life without the State coming in for help in any way at the time. This absolute dependence on the State saps their strength of resistance and makes them completely unresponsive to the power. They have to surrender their freedom to receive the benefits provided by the State. The State while apparently doing good by maintaining an extensive social system, tends to destroy individuality which lies at the very of all progress.

The Sarvodaya State is quite opposite to this kind of order. An individual enjoys maximum freedom in pursuing his activities without any kind of fear or interference from authority. He has full scope in doing as his own initiative and will. The only consideration that restricts his freedom is that his actions should not cause

\* National Council: Authority and Individuality.



most conspicuous (types of dependent) parasitism observed. Developmental defects of parasites as they appear are usually dependent on earlier living organisms on the host. The effects and the consequences of parasitism is an almost universal phenomenon in the animal kingdom and it is important to inquire into the relation of parasites and effects. It has long been recognized that parasites have been derived from free-living protozoans. Moreover, it is evident that parasites themselves have been developed repeatedly and at various times in most of the animal phyla from protozoans to arthropods.

In the community, and the earliest ones must have been aquatic, numerous kinds of plants and animals live together, and parasites in an organism of such association. Animals in the same habitat, under the same conditions for survival. They seek food shelter escape from predators and opportunity for reproduction. It may have been accidentally or incidentally that certain animals found it expedient to attach themselves on or to the bodies of other animals. But cooperation of a host was the first step in the direction of parasitism.

In certain instances they may have tested the animal in such shelter, upon the convenience or convenience of the host, may have effected attachment, and longer may have tested the association. On the animal may have been ingested accidentally, and in the digestive tract of the host found conditions suitable for survival. This gradually the host-parasite becomes more and more dependent.

When other food sources were insufficient, what would be easier than to feed upon the tissues of the host?

The dependent animal is progressively looking for the easy way. The parasite becomes a gradual and progressive adaptation to a dependent existence on the part of the animal or species which elicits this mode of life. With protection and food supplied constantly by the host, the parasite enjoys a condition of luxurious life. With nothing else to do the animal energy finds expression in increasingly increased reproduction.

The parasite no longer need make food or protection from enemies. It can then in comfort the parasite may have been attached. But existence of an active existence results in characteristic changes in the physiology and morphology of the parasite, the organs which function most vigorously in a feeding existence which create a species most and more or more used, increase progressive reduction and eventual atrophy. Especially in this time of the sensory and locomotor organs. The parasite becomes less and more like host and less like host. The wings, the mouth when open and organs of respiration. While the degradation is so highly modified that they have lost practically all of their positive characters and superficially resemble supernumeraries.

With degeneration of the sense organs and muscles, there is a corresponding reduction in the nervous system. As parasite, degeneration proceeds, one after another of the sense organs suffer reduction and they eventually disappear. Certain groups of which the common earthworms, reptiles and mammalian parasites are conspicuous examples, living now all kinds of an extraordinary kind. With the disappearance of the digestive system the animal has lost the ability to ingest and digest food and is reduced to a parasitic type of nutrition. Although less and less active, the physiological losses resulting from parasitism are far more important than the morphological ones. The obligate parasite has lost the ability in the absence of other living cells to carry on metabolic phases of metabolism in synthetic protein or to grow. It is clear that the nervous system in metabolic processes must be supplied by living cells of the host or other associated organisms. This means, to carry on constructive metabolic steps when supplied with energies from autotrophic sources. has effected attempts to culture parasite organs

alone in vitro and is largely responsible for present ignorance of the physiology of animal parasites.

While certain organ systems undergo reduction in parasitic species there is a compensatory increase in reproductive capacity. Numerous theories with numerous modifications appear on which maintain which have expression in increasingly increased reproductive capacity. Parasites may maintain in the host in such appalling numbers. A medical patient with one per cent of the red cells infested would have approximately 200 million per cent in his body. In numerous species there is a corresponding decrease of the sexual organs. The number of eggs produced by parasite worms in reproduction, the average daily output of eggs by a mature female of *Ascaris lumbricoides* is about 200,000. Of *Ascaris lumbricoides* alone 20,000. This number and considerable reproduction is essential since it is necessary to compensate for the mortality of the young stages of the parasite.

In a limited condition of nature the reproductive capacity of any species just equals the losses sustained by death. But the parasite is not concerned with the reduction of the offspring. It lives on actively within existence and in the welfare into the comfort and security of the existing parasites in often restricted and sustained by manipulating the factors of successful parasitism.

It should be remembered that parasites, being wholly dependent, can survive only as long as they find other organisms to support them. They contribute nothing of value, their effects are obviously deleterious, and the defense mechanisms of the host are constantly increased against them. As despite the increasing mass and luxury of parasite existence the probability of success in such a course is exceedingly small. Both the host and parasite are only those lucky individuals, the damaged few who are able to escape or escape others, in parasite the welfare.

Throughout the animal kingdom, during human history as recorded in written form and during geological history as recorded in the prehistoric record layers deep, with freedom to explore our time has been the recorded evolution of progress, whereas the surrender of freedom to an attempt to obtain security has led to knowledge, experience and degeneration. The welfare state offers security to workers on terms of constant susceptibility and dependency, but such a social policy reduces the individual to abject subservience and results in the development of a social caste system.

Dependency and degeneration are organic phenomena. They go hand in hand, either may be the immediate agent, and it is often difficult to determine whether in any particular human creature because degeneration because they were dependent or because dependent because they were degenerate. In any event, the end was strange to obtain comfort without effort, to get something for nothing per cent is one of the features which in all ages has tempted and misled the sensory.

(From New York, May, 1933)

There is both a warning and a hint or advice in this study from history or biological sciences. It is as well we note it at the time when ideas of a Welfare State begin to come to us now.

114-15

H. P.

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# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MARGRETA BANERJI)  
Editor: BHAGANMORI P. DASGUPTA



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TWO ANNAS

## INDIA AND PAKISTAN

(By Bhaganmori P. Dasgupta)

### I

While the problem regarding Kashmir is yet unsettled, the question of Goa's freedom has cropped up and the latter happens to be more knotty and a host with a wide horizon and handspan. Pakistan has already played some havoc in the game that she has<sup>1</sup> started around Kashmir. It is likely that she is being so baffled in that country at present for new tricks. As soon as that is done to start the game it will be started again. One may well say the chapter of Goa's return home is going to supply new colour to the game.<sup>2</sup>

Pakistan has now begun to expatiate regarding Kashmir that the main thing is to ascertain popular opinion in Kashmir and that India should adhere to its proposal of taking a plebiscite.<sup>3</sup>

Now, India has insisted on a plebiscite of the Kashmiris ever since the problem started. Pakistan did not show the same interest about it then. She had rather started putting new overhangs on the conditions laid down for a plebiscite and sought to divert the question to other directions that she could think of as more favourable to herself.<sup>4</sup> It seems the international power politics of the world as developing trends which do not allow much hope of success of Pakistan's aim even in these directions. Otherwise, the sudden love for the plebiscite proposal would not have been born.

The immediate cause for Pakistan's insistence on a plebiscite in Kashmir was some utterance of the Union Home Minister, Shri Govind Vallabh Pant somewhere in Kashmir. From what Pandit Pant said on the occasion, Pakistan appre-

hended that the proposal for a plebiscite was an if being shelved for good. But India at once clarified the matter by declaring that there would be no deviation from what she has already agreed to. What India meant only was that the facts of what happened in 1947-48 during the passing years and the situation arising out of those events could not be ignored and that Pakistan had only to keep this aspect of the problem in mind.

Each water has flown both in the Indian and the Chinese since the Kashmir question came to the front. If the flow of events during the years has not proved favourable to Pakistan, she has to thank herself for it. India has consistently borne goodwill and maintained friendly relations with her. India has not, on any account, sought to take undue advantage out of Pakistan's difficulties, has always believed towards her with sympathy. The reason is India has adopted a policy of goodwill and peace and of opposition to war.

Pakistan is today engaged in pulling her house in order. She has yet to frame her Constitution. She plans to turn one State out of the several now functioning in the region known as West Pakistan. The other State will be turned out of the region which is Eastern Pakistan. She intends to form a federation of the two.

But what of the taste the constituent States of West Pakistan had during the British period, viz., of being separate political entities enjoying provincial autonomy? Why should not the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and the North West Frontier Provinces remain separate constituent States they ask? The people of these several regions suffer from mutual provincial bitterness and rivalry to a very large extent. Afghanistan immediately beyond the North West Frontier wants to have some say in the matter. Pakistan wants to frame her Constitution by finding a way out of all these several complications? She, it seems, would apply herself again to the Kashmir issue once she has overcome these difficulties at

<sup>1</sup> This article first appeared in *Coloured* more than a month ago. Now we learn that an important passage in the political world of Pakistan, an Embassy, recently visited Goa and some kind of a deal between the two States is being forged. Let us hope Pakistan will be wise and not fall a prey to the narrow gang of pressure politics with her neighbours and remember the larger and broader issue of European domination in the East, under which she was also a sufferer in part of pre-W.I. India.

<sup>2</sup> Now, the P.W. Constituent Assembly has passed an Act creating West Pakistan as one State and its first Ministry and the Government has been sworn in. She is busy with it.

home. She does not give out her mind as to how she feels about Goa. This small Portuguese territory would not believe as it is doing if it had no help or backing. What contribution Pakistan is actually making to this attitude of Portuguese attitude is a secret.<sup>1</sup> Possibly, England and America may be in the know. But they would, surely, not divulge the secret.<sup>2</sup>

There is a certain resemblance between the problems facing Pakistan and India which might escape notice in our complacency. Such complacency as our part in India is likely to prove dangerous.

Take the question of the official language for instance. In Pakistan we see an insistence in powerful quarters that Bengali be given the status of the official language of the State along with the two languages already accepted, viz., Urdu. The demand is made by Eastern Pakistan. And last year during the elections in Eastern Pakistan the issue assumed such formidable proportions that the Muslim League party which stood for Urdu as the only official language of the State suffered a heavy defeat at the polls. The event served the purpose of a timely warning to us in India and the Working Committee of the Congress again clarified its policy regarding the regional languages, and Hindi, viz. *Inter-Bhasha* or the language of inter-State communication. In Pakistan, it seems, both the languages, Urdu and Bengali will enjoy the status of the official language of the State.

Here in India we have resolved that the *Inter-Bhasha* Hindi alone shall be the official language of the Union, but we have also recognised that the fourteen languages scheduled by the Constitution will have an equally honourable status. The idea is that the official language of the Union and of inter-communication between the States will serve the purpose of the common thread running through the various scheduled Indian languages and will be one with them, as water flows with milk. We aim to work out this conception as practice in the popular affairs of the Indian Union. There are dangers in working out the process successfully and they are not small. We cannot say with confidence that we have here in India no heart-barrings at all about language as they have in Pakistan.

Just as in Pakistan the language question is agitated between East and West Pakistan we have the same thing happening between the North and the South of India. For instance, witness the ideology of the Dravid Kanna. They speak even the very name of Hindi.<sup>3</sup> By the grace of God it is certainly true that the feeling has not pervaded the whole of South India. But South India does express her feeling by saying that if they in the South learn Hindi why should not they in the North learn any one of South Indian languages? And these pervasions go deeper and hurt various institutions for the all-India services.

Again, I've a hank at the opposition in Urdu in the North. Practically everyone in the Punjab knows Urdu. The Sikhs know it, the Hindus know it and the Muslims know it. But the Sikhs would accept Punjabi only and the Hindus Hindi alone. And both reject Urdu which is known to both of them and in which both are proficient. The same position obtains in Uttar Pradesh and other regions regarding Urdu.

Besides India, too, is facing the problem of co-ordinating her constituent States, like Pakistan's question of having a single unit of government in West Pakistan. And how exactly we in India feel about reforming these States? About six months ago it was believed that the States Re-organisation Commission specially set up for the purpose will consider the whole question peacefully and solve the problem for us. And we also believed then we will equally peacefully implement the solution offered by the Commission. But appearances have changed perhaps the S. R. Commission itself has not been able to preserve its equanimity. And the Governments, too, are apprehending danger, whether the whole thing may not turn into a problem of language the piece!<sup>4</sup>

It is true language is not the only basis for the solution of the problem of the re-organisation of States. But doubtless, if any one basis which touches the day-to-day life of the people can be indicated it is only that one of language.

The basis of economic development is common to the whole country and of common happiness or misery for all the regions. There need not or should not be any adversely rivalry between the regions as that some. But do we not see that most of the bitterness of feeling is evidence in day to greed in the field of economic development?

The administrative unit cannot be too small. That would result in unnecessary increase in administrative expenses and a narrowness in administrative outlook. On the other hand, the unit should neither be too big, because that would lead to the other evils. But this issue is certainly not as loosely touching the daily life of the people as the issue of language.

The issue of language for reorganisation implies two things: that the administration of a particular region and its entire education should be in its own language. This issue is far above and more fundamental than the practical issue of economic development and convenience of administration. Whatever other issues you take into account while considering the question of reorganisation of States, this particular issue of language has to be particularly taken into account. That is to say that linguistic or multi-

<sup>1</sup> By now the S.R.C. report is out and thank God we are considering it calmly though not equally dispassionately.

lingual States into subjects if they do not go against or are complementary to this consideration. If that is not possible the States have to be reorganised on the basis of language.

It is a matter of sorrow that a cause for some apprehension has arisen in the Bombay State regarding the point of view stated above. It seems the question where and how to place the city of Bombay is creating difficulties. Let the difficulty be what it is and let the solution be whatever is best, but it should not give cause for apprehension regarding language. That the Government of the State sets up another new afflicting type of university at Ahmad with a special provision for the medium of instruction in the Act is a serious matter. Will not the whole of South India be aroused if Government determines Hindi as medium of instruction in the University by providing for it in the Act itself instead of leaving it to the University to do as it will? Will not South India point to the instance in support of her feeling of opposition to Hindi? Will not the idea of making Hindi the official language of the Union and of inter-State communication be unfavourably affected by a leading Congress State like Bombay doing what it has done? Does it not amount to a breach of the policy laid down by the Congress itself? There is already a feeling of opposition to Hindi in South India and not such an instance supply an easy means of creating animosity for misunderstanding about the language policy of the Congress? And would not those who are opposing Hindi for their own reasons take undue advantage of the event?

It is very essential for the future progress of India that the policy regarding the question of language which has been laid down by the Constitution of India, the Indian National Congress and the educational world is scrupulously and firmly adhered to. Over-anxious Hindi Masters have to be careful on this score. The immediate task before the people and their Governments is to assign a place to Hindi as a subject of compulsory study in the educational system. It is also the immediate programme to be implemented now to begin removing English from positions it has usurped till now, by the legitimate use of regional languages and the *mother-tongue* in its place. The question of the reorganisation of States can be solved only in a manner which helps the solution of this principal question regarding the nation's progress and strength.

1-9-52

(From Calcutta)

PS Readers will excuse me that this appears at the time when much has happened between the time it was penned and now. This I have noted in suitable footnotes. However, I hope, the point of the article is worthy of attention.

17-10-52

H. P.

## LINGUISTIC REORGANIZATION OF STATES

(By Vinoba)

The Report of the States Reorganisation Commission has been published. It has delighted some and annoyed others. The Commission has given certain suggestions and whether they be accepted or rejected, should be decided by all of us together—the Parliament and the Government should decide the question. There is no use in getting angry and start recriminations.

I consider the linguistic reorganisation of States essential for our strength. If linguistic provinces are not formed, then our Independence would be meaningless. This, however, is not to be done for the sake of unity and mutual communications. Linguistic reorganisation is essential for the well-being of the people for the development of the languages and for greater syndicates.

So the S.R.C. Report should be calmly considered and we should not be deflected into petty disputes. Certainly big points of differences should be brought in the open where is no harm in that, and every one has the right to do so. But all this has to be done with a view to encourage greater discussion and exchange of views and not for mutual quarrels.

It is evident that when the functions of the Government are carried on at any place in the language of the people the people find it very convenient. If the Government is carried on among a people in a language not their own, then it cannot be smooth; but if having once become Bharatya (Indian) for the achievement of our Independence, we now become Prasthya (Preventive), then we certainly become weak and lose a lot.

I would like to say that the Indian people have got great virtues but also have some defects. We have to enhance virtues; we have to retain those virtues which we lack and remove the defects and not allow new defects to creep in. And the S.R.C. Report should not make us think that the interests of one group of people are in contradiction to those of another set of people. If we keep such differences in our minds, even while living in the same motherland, then Savitri will be of course, remain a far cry, even Bharatodaya will become a dream. We want Gramodaya, Bharatodaya and Savitri.

(Extracts from recent speeches)

(From A.I.C. Economic Review, 1-10-52)

By Vinoba Bhave

RHOODAN YAINA

[Local Color Column]

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# HARIJAN

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1955

## UNIVERSITY DEGREE AND GOVERNMENT SERVICES

(By Mageshwar P. Desai)

The Government of India in its Home Department has, a few months ago, set up a Committee to examine the recruitment policy in respect of public services in India. The main question in this regard is whether it is necessary, as is the case at present, that possession of a university degree should be a necessary qualification for appointment to all but some of the lowest posts and services under Government. It is also felt necessary to re-examine the justification for such insistence in cases where recruitment is on the basis of competitive examinations.

With this view the Committee is asked to examine and report on the following terms of reference:

"1. To examine the question as to how far and to what levels the possession of a university degree is necessary for recruitment in public services.

2. To consider the type of tests which should be conducted to assess the relative merits of candidates in an objective manner in the absence of a university degree.

3. To consider measures to ensure that the number of candidates competing for posts and services under Government are not unduly large."

The Committee drew up a questionnaire as a preliminary step of their inquiry and we have received the country and returning witnesses. The short questionnaire is formed of 15 questions divided under two major heads. The answers to some points asked in the questionnaire which I gave are reproduced below. The questions can be easily guessed from the answers.

1. I do not think that university degree should be prescribed for all services and posts except those requiring certain special attainment or equipment in technology, medicine, education, etc.

2. I quite agree with the view noted in Q 11 & 12, viz.,

"It has been suggested that because a university degree is insisted on in a large variety of posts and even where it is not, graduates are in fact preferred there is an undue rush for university education even among persons who have no real aptitude for or interest in such education. It has been argued that this tends to lower the standard of university education on the one hand and creates on the other waste of man-power leading ultimately to a feeling of frustration."

I feel strongly that unless this is changed, there is little chance for our universities to improve their standards or for Government to secure better or well-ordered recruitment.

3. For recruitment I prefer competitive examinations suitably devised for the posts and

posts to be filled. I am of opinion that there may be, at least, a minimum grade of those not having passed an S.S.C. Examination or even with a P.S.C. Examination. My point is that even a non-graduate must have an opportunity to compete even at I.A.S. Examination.

4. Reserved seats for Scheduled castes and tribes may be provided for in the present circumstances in our country. However, there must be a certain standard which these candidates even may attain for securing a post. My point is, reservation must in no way mean lowering of standards necessary for proper efficiency in the services.

5. Probationers may be required to pass suitable departmental tests and courses equipping them the better for their respective work. There may be more than one, graded if necessary, in successive stages.

6. Government can institute training schools or classes for these courses and tests. There may be certain courses which a candidate can do at home or with the help of a private coach.

7. I believe that education should be divorced from the idea of getting Government jobs or attaining certain degrees. As far as possible, there should be sustained regular courses in public examinations for recruitment, as a normal feature. To do this a well thought-out scheme is necessary. To do so would not only be for recruitment but also meant a stimulus to reform themselves. Without this Government they cannot be retrieved from the state to which they have been brought by the peculiar requirements of British rule in India.

8. It may be that need might be felt to limit numbers of candidates at public service examinations. Age-limit may be one I think below 12 and above 35 should be eligible to appear at any one of them. I do not think there need be three levels of age-limits. Number of fresh candidates may be allowed to be sought be limited to, say, three or so. A candidate who does not secure a stated minimum mark at the P.S.C. Examination may be allowed to defer his appearing again. Otherwise generally the P.S.C. Examinations, must be open to all irrespective of not only class creed sex etc. but university degree as well. The latter thing to remove the standing monopoly which is based upon the English university system. All these examinations will gradually act as a stimulus to our progress to reconstitute our own original institutions and secure a new order of things.

9. The qualifying tests for public service examinations should be so framed as to set certain standards of attainment in general knowledge in various subjects in arts and sciences to secure maturity of thought and exposure to moral discipline of candidates.

1.11.55





and a Committee was constituted for the purpose. Just twenty years ago it began to work by first formulating certain general principles of approach to this difficult and vexed question. It had the good fortune of having late Sir E. G. Macdonald's advice and guidance in this, and the general principles that were agreed upon were under his wise and judicious guidance and advice I am happy to declare that they found increasing acceptance in Guyana and many writers of books for high schools have been adopting them in their writings.

There is a recent school of thought which holds that terms in Hindi should be coined and they should be based on Sanskrit language, so that they might be the most acceptable to other languages also. And it is said these terms should be adopted by all the languages, so it will secure uniformity and common terminology for all India. The idea requires to be examined carefully.

It is my day welcome that we might have an such uniformity and commonness of terms as possible in our languages. But it is obvious that this cannot be the first and the prime object. Our object is to begin to use our languages and wield them to express ideas of science that were peculiarly born in the West. Therefore it is essential that we do the work as not to do violence to the language. It must be remembered that there must be no spirit of ingenuity any set of words on the languages. Just as Hindi, all our languages also have their own genius, and in the words of the Constitution, these languages also must be secured by introducing words as "without interfering with their genius." We know that the same Sanskrit words mean differently in our languages they have different shades of meaning even. Therefore it would not do to over-simplify this matter of terminology by having them in Hindi and then passing them on to other languages wholesale. Every language will approach this question according to its own genius but with an eye to secure maximum uniformity and will welcome all help from all other languages. There should be a conscious effort on their part to profit by the work done in other languages and teachers and writers should be helped in this matter by suitable co-ordination machinery that will provide necessary material for uniformity and co-ordination. Suitable machinery for such mutual exchange and clearing will be surely helpful.

As I said above, the Guyana University has begun to teach through Guyanese and hence it has also given its mind to this question and has recently directed its organs and institutions in the following manner:

1. The vocabulary at present in use in the secondary schools and in the high schools for the secondary schools for teaching different subjects in Guyanese should be retained as basis for teaching respective

subjects and a Committee on Science Vocabulary for the purpose of formulating a list of these terms.

2. A Committee on Science, Arts and Commerce to select a list of terminologies in use in Guyana.

3. Common scientific words may be retained if they are accepted internationally and be immediately translatable into English.

4. The Committee suggests that in order to use the terminologies given to be right and if they be wrong, it is desirable that the close being English equivalents should be given in brackets along with the Hindi or Guyanese words. But they be used."

I now give below the general principles accepted by the General Vocabulary Committee, to which I referred at the beginning. I am glad to say that these have found very good welcome and acceptance in schools and colleges in Guyana:

1. If it is found to agree that the terms that may be adopted should first obtain widest acceptance, then it is obvious that they should be simple and natural (in accordance to the genius or the form of development of the language). If they are cumbersome or too difficult to use, they should not be adopted. The more precise words that the idea will not be affected.

2. To select a term also it must be remembered that we cannot afford to lose the use of the limited strength of the language in its genius. That is the weakness of writing in Sanskrit or Arabic script and adding words from them is not very much to be encouraged. It is to be noted in this regard that in languages like Hindi, Marathi etc. which are very poor in Guyana we shall have received more convenience and uniformity by writing in Indian words.

3. Guyana may be now satisfied or content as many words which are having a simple word for use by changing its form according to its phonetic pattern. e.g., mother, father, brother, sister, etc. But we both terms should be avoided as they are.

4. Some foreign words have been current in their original form. Some of them, e.g., algebra, geometry, etc. are such words to those which have been current in the language of the common mind should be adopted as it will facilitate to have a living in contact to knowledge for the language.

5. Generally one can adopt for some language a foreign word which is a noun or an adjective and a verb. The Man of a verb is suggested by using the foreign verb with suffixes -ta, -ti, -ye, or -ya. For example 'algebra' -ta, -ti, -ye, or -ya. 'to be added' or 'to be subtracted' respectively. Therefore words that are may if it is at all, adopt from another language will be nouns or adjectives. We may from them make verbs by using the device of having -ta, -ti, -ye, or -ya. For example— algebra -ta, -ti, -ye, or -ya. 'to be added' or 'to be subtracted' respectively. Then we may have a noun paradigm like from such a verb.

6. Names of sciences or education which are quite new and unknown or foreign to the language, we have no means to identify might be very well adopted as they are. They should be transliterated in definite spelling for their words like algebra, geometry, etc. may be included in this.

7. We may have a Guyanese equivalent for a scientific term like algebra, geometry, etc. which may be retained if it is thought that the English word also is necessary to be known, it may be included with the Guyanese one.





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TWO ANNAS

## MAHARASHTRA MUST FEEL SATISFIED

(By Mradulal P. Dasgupta)

The Working Committee of the Congress deserves the congratulations of the people for the way it has acted in regard to the reorganisation of Bombay State. The recommendation of the S. R. C. was almost a self-born proposal because Maharashtra refused to accept it at all. Gujarat, too, making Kutch and Saurashtra was prepared to accept it for discipline's sake, and when it was clear that Maharashtra was in no mood to accept it as it was, but would do so if it was so amended as to include Vidarbha also in the enlarged State proposal of the S. R. C., it reiterated its acceptance of the S. R. C. formula as it was and refused to accept its amended formula of Maharashtra, and gave out its mind that it would not act for its alternate proposal, viz., that the present State of Bombay should then be better divided into three parts—Maharashtra, Gujarat and Bombay City.

The decision of the G. P. C. was reached by almost all groups in Gujarat. The Maharashtra decision of a just state of all Gujarati-speaking and all Marathi-speaking areas with Bombay City as its capital showed that Maharashtra did not agree to Sardar Vallabhbhai's as a sound principle, but would be ready to consider alternate proposal if any. It would surely not agree to the S. R. C. formula.

The issue is arising in a reasonable way out of the struggle was twofold: (i) whether Vidarbha and Nagpur would join with Maharashtra and agree to constitute a single Marathi-speaking State and (ii) whether Bombay City will be joined with Maharashtra.

The Working Committee did the obvious and equitable thing in the matter and improved upon the recommendations made by the S. R. C. Report by deciding that Vidarbha may be provided upon to join with Maharashtra, but Bombay City shall be a separate State. And so that Maharashtra may have no cause to be dissatisfied, a proviso was added that after 1937 if the Bombay City Legislature newly elected after that year decided by 2/3 majority to join Maharashtra, Bombay City might do so. Thus the two difficulties were solved and the struggle

ended that was worrying almost every day has been made easy and clear.

I hope Maharashtra will feel satisfied with this very wise, just and reasonable solution of the problem and accept it and honestly turn its mind to making it a success by winning over Nagpur and Vidarbha with the help of the good offices of the Congress High Command. The people of Vidarbha will, I hope, readily agree to it, looking at the matter from a long range view of having one single Marathi State, not too big nor too small for being a happy administrative unit of the Union.

12-11-35

## PATTERNS OF SOCIAL SERVICE

(By Mradulal P. Dasgupta)

When about five years ago the Government of Bombay created its Sardar Vallabhbhai's construction worker from Karnataka connected, 'This is a scheme of Government Sardar Vallabhbhai's'. What he meant was, the policy of the Government was derived from the Sardar Vallabhbhai's conception and would set up quite a different pattern.

Goodman carried on his work through village workers who functioned on the inspiration of a sentiment and with both a life-like quality of certain inner feelings of the heart was, therefore, in evidence in Goodman's work. Government servants would carry on the work as any servants would usually do it is obvious, their work would not show the quality which a village worker would generally bring to it. As a consequence, the whole pattern of their work would be different.

Another distinction may also be noticed. The village worker carries on his activities directly among the people. The Government servant does so within the limitations of the instructions given to him by his department or the hierarchy of his superior officers. That is to say, he takes his orders from above. The officers on top or others do the thinking, out of which orders are issued and the work proceeds. This leads to a position where it is not possible to carry on the work keeping local possibilities in view. The Government servant has no discretion to alter the orders he receives. It is not so in the case of the village worker. He has freedom and scope to

act in keeping with the local conditions. He makes alterations and adjustments accordingly, as the *Pradigam* at work given to him. Government machinery cannot allow such freedom to its servants. It would look to the quantity of the work done and pestered with the execution of its scheme. The dialogue between the two leads to a vital difference in the actual execution of the programme.

Other points of difference can be indicated in the same manner. I believe the opinion of the *Karnataka* friend quoted in the beginning arose out of the difference between the two approaches illustrated above. One feels as if the very pattern of the work for *Sarvodaya* undergoes a change as it reaches.

Now, this distinction is very fundamental. It shows itself coming out in various other ways. Looking deeper into it one is inclined to conclude that the fundamental distinction is due to the difference between the original sentiment and the improvement of the popular worker on the one hand and that of the Government servant on the other.

Though the Government servant is called a 'public servant', his original aspiration is not a sentiment of service; he remains for a professional job, and it is believed to be creditable for him if he does the work assigned to him "unperturbed". The usual expectation, however, is that his prejudice as his sense of proper shows itself in the work he does. It is obvious that when he shows his personal prejudices as duties to get the better of him his work becomes a source of concern to the people. But this is very usual in Government departments. Government servants do not take to a particular type of work because they love it. They go wherever they are transferred and do the work they are asked and have to do. The position of a true public and popular servant is quite the reverse. It is expected of him that he loves his work and undertakes to do it with faith in it.

This is why the content of the popular servant has one effect on the people and that of the Government servant quite another. The popular worker can educate and build up the capacity of the people by means of his work for them; the Government servant, at best, can only execute their work for them. If the Government servant were a good man, it would, of course, make a difference. On the other hand, if the popular servant lacked character, his work too would make a difference but of the other kind. What has been described above is, however, what would normally happen without taking into account variations due to individual peculiarities.

## 2

If we kept our eyes open we can see the effect the distinction is having in all manner of ways and in all places. Schemes of village deve-

lopment like Community Projects etc. have been initiated by the Central Government. Finance for them is provided in the Five Year Plan. And it is intended, shortly, to extend them to all the villages in the country.

The Government of Bombay commenced the work of their *Sarvodaya* Scheme before the Central plan came into being. As its name indicates its working was thought to be more at least on Gandhi's lines. The Community Project and the National Extension Scheme are also Government ventures. These names, however, show that they were hardly intended to proceed on Gandhi's lines.

The state of affairs has prompted some people to remark that there are too constructive programmes in operation in the country today — one, the old one of Gandhiji and now the other, the new one, of the projects etc. at Jawaharlal. This is not all. The distinction indicated by the *Karnataka* friend has developed further. The experiment of the Central Government under the name 'Community Project' constitutes a different type in addition to the Bombay Government's *Sarvodaya* scheme. Its execution, conception and consideration are carried on from the highest top, that is, by the Central Government and its machinery. This works for stiffer and strictly new effect. Something wanted to me by a friend from the South in this connection is worth sharing with the reader here.

Gandhigram in the South near Madras is considered a centre for both the constructive activities — the Gandhian as well as the C.P.A. A friend, Shri Douglas Browner of the Ford Foundation was on a visit to the Centre. A member of the Centre, Shri Karthikeyan had taken notes of the remarks made by Mrs Browner, which he passed on to me. I quote from them below.

It was two years ago here in Gandhigram that I discovered myself to have then begun to see clearly how the Gandhian Constructive Programme guided the Community Project, and how the Community Project needed the Constructive Programme. It was here that for the first time I saw clearly how the Community Programme needed a spiritual basis. That insight well be supplied by the Gandhian constructive workers. It was here that I saw more clearly than ever how a purpose for living needed to be given to the people.

It is here that I learnt something about Gandhiji and his philosophy before I came to India. I had learned this primarily through a *Religious Education* seminar we also had here and to India to meet Gandhiji and to get a spiritual understanding of life.

I told the men to raise the question with you as to how Social Education fits into a Community Programme. It is the responsibility and opportunity of Social Education Departments to give the Community Programme a heart and soul. It is our duty to help the people to help themselves — to understand the full meaning of freedom — to give them a purpose to work in the better. It is for you to have the spiritual basis necessary for the Community Project Programme — to have the meaning of 'Man One can live by bread alone'. It is this that I refer to when I speak of a spiritual basis. In the beginning the spiritual emphasis on physical needs described me. But I am glad this is changing.

'Goodstep will be primary factor in one who brought freedom to South African South-Africans. Mohan will be known as the one who brought back a good land only and brought the movement which passed through non-violence to active leaders. This you know as the Individual, a 100 per cent loyalty to the philosophy of non-violence. This comes along with the people of India. 5-10,000 villages form a community a programme of giving education and freedom to the people of world. This is a community of a different village culture. It is the village which is one of these units that will result in a 100 per cent. You have a challenge and an opportunity to take this whole organisation to India. You will be up not as a job but as a volunteer on July 2'

It seems Shri Devdas Karvekar uttered these words before the recruits under training for jobs in the Government Community Project scheme. He has seen and described the distinction we have been considering from quite a new angle. The principle behind his view is the same, however, as is stated above.

## 3

There is another instance also which will help us understand the distinction better. It is true Government servants are there to carry on the administration of work useful to the people; but training them for their social jobs is considered essential. And servants who perform various services are trained for the various reasons. For instance training is given for labour who community project jobs etc. In connection with servants inspired with a spirit of service and both who work on their own initiative trained Government servants form a different class. The following distinction will help us perceive the difference.

Some time back a member of the College of Social Sciences of the Mahatma Sarvodaya University of Baroda made a statement to the effect that Goodstep Shri Rameshchandra Vyas who is better known as Rameshchandra Mahesh all over Gujarat and many others of the same class could not be called 'social workers'. The statement was the cause of a serious agitation in Baroda. If we take into account the distinction pointed out above, it would be obvious that these well-known eminent servants of the nation can hardly be called 'social workers' in the sense that they were trained by a University School of Social Sciences with the purpose of filling certain jobs of the Government departments. Much less did people like the Mahatma or Mahatma study books written in Indian languages on these sciences and they are certainly not Government servants or professional 'social workers'.

The secret of the distinction is that the method of work developed by Government machinery is so peculiar that the scheme of work as well as the main idea behind it cannot escape taking its colour. For this reason, like 'Government' servants, social service is also becoming a 'Government' social service!

It is a 100 per cent loyalty to the philosophy of non-violence. This you know as the Individual, a 100 per cent loyalty to the philosophy of non-violence. This comes along with the people of India. 5-10,000 villages form a community a programme of giving education and freedom to the people of world. This is a community of a different village culture. It is the village which is one of these units that will result in a 100 per cent. You have a challenge and an opportunity to take this whole organisation to India. You will be up not as a job but as a volunteer on July 2'

Going to the root of the whole question one is led to the conclusion that an organisation or machinery or institution is inevitably necessary to actually achieve some aim in society. It is of course, true the organisation will partake of the nature of the aim. But if the aim is collective an institution for its achievement has to be set up, because otherwise the work for it does not gather volume and speed, nor is it possible to carry it on in an orderly manner. But here the real difficulty enters. Just as when the spirit takes a body in order to be able to function, the latter is sure to bring in with it the weight of earthly, so also a nation or social truth has to create a machinery or organisation for itself to be effective, but that also brings in its weight along with it. The weight of Government organisation works in one way, the weight of a popular organisation of the work is undertaken by an individual he too brings in his own weight works in quite another. If some person were to insist that he would not create an organisation for his work it only means he is an individual by himself and does not wish to go further and that he adopts for himself a kind of self-control or a duty of renunciation. But his work is sure to suffer in volume and intensity to that extent.

Today when talk of achieving social aims by the power and will of the people is in the air the idea stated above deserves particular attention. Nor can it be ignored that the institution of the State is an embodied expression of the power and will of the people. And the State is necessary for healthy control in society. If it is believed to be an 'evil', it is a 'necessary evil'. The remedy to counter the evil lies in individuals controlling themselves out of a sense of self-imposed religious duty.

(From *Swatantra Swadha*, 24-25)

"This is what is to be said on the occasion."

"The other thing is about Goodstep Mahesh, some of us have gone into Government, some others have remained out of it. The Government mounting of non-violence these days is to come society as little as possible. We believe this definition of non-violence is dangerous to non-violence itself."

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# HARIJAN

Nov. 29

1935

## THE PRESENT ECONOMIC CLIMATE

(By Rajendra P. Bhat)

I have as my pending file an important address by Sir G. D. Birla, to be noted in these columns. Speaking to a Sunday businessmen audience on July 28, this year, he described what, according to him, was the economic climate in the country at present. This was done by him chiefly with the aim of replying to the queries facing businessmen, viz., "What part are we (i.e. the private sector) going to play in the building of new India?" He stated that the position of the private sector was "taking a rather serious turn at present. It might even mean that it may disappear altogether." However, he was firm that the private sector would surely survive, because "whatever public sector they (i.e. the Government) may have, ultimately they cannot do without the private sector for the simple reason that business lies in with the businessmen" only they must be up and doing to meet the challenge of the time.

And the challenge according to him, is unemployment. Mr. Birla said that it was of two sorts: 1. unutilised under-employment, and 2. educated unemployment. He admits that the first touches 75 per cent of our population. But he dismisses it with remarking that "an agricultural economy helps only upto a point", and shrewdly enough dilates upon the importance of the second sort and says, "these young men are a serious menace to the country when they are forced to be unemployed. It is a challenge not only to you but to everyone of us." And he declares that it can be met only through capitalisation and industrialisation, and not through small-scale village industries of an agro-industrial economy as recommended by Gandhiji.

Mr. Birla, in his scheme of industrial re-organisation, has a place for small-scale industries also, but in a totally different context or pattern. These must, according to him, bring an or revolve round heavy or large-scale industries. And the latter must, as he definitely believes, belong to the private sector. Thus the scheme of things industrial according to him comes to mean that the industrial life of the people must revolve round private capitalists and industrialists—resulting into an economic order which generally goes by the name of capitalism. And we know there is now a school of economists chiefly in America, the home of the new brand of 20th century capitalism, which says that capitalism of the previous century was bad, but it is now changing to be a democratic and co-oper-

ative set-up, rising to a position where just like the much despised capitalism.

Gandhiji stood for a radically different thing. He put the common man and his self-reliant life and labour at the centre of his pattern of a free and independent, peace-loving community. In such a pattern large-scale or heavy industries were not ruled out. They took their place in the broad vista of an industrial community mostly living in its villages and producing its necessary consumer goods—food, cloth etc. in a decentralised way and with such simple implements that even the best of scientific skill would give them. Man would rule supreme in such an order and not money and machine controlled by few. Gandhiji would not place the cart of the heavy industries before the horse of the massive small-scale industries of the nation. Mr. Birla definitely professes his disbelief in such a pattern and points instead a banner on earth that he sees established in western countries and would like to copy it in India. This is what he said he wished to see in India, "People are no longer interested just in seeing some big man enjoying life, but they want to enjoy prosperity themselves. I feel, therefore, that the best way to preserve capitalism in this country is to make almost everyone, small or big, a capitalist."

And he, I think, has no misgivings on the score that all poverty cannot be capitalist. Therefore, shrewdly enough, he chooses who out of the masses in India should directly enjoy and share with the capitalist what prosperity the latter might bring through his means. Surely the captains of industry and capital are there as the first chosen few. Round them must be gathered together the educated unemployed who are really the people for whom it can be said as Mr. Birla does above, that they want to enjoy prosperity like the capitalist. The hard cases of our people is still not so numerous. The former are the people who go by the term, "middle-people" or the middle classes. If a social order is made possible in which these are retained, it is naively believed that it will be possible to manage and control the whole body politic through these classes who will be trained in their administration and will not only direct the workings of the private sector but will also supply technicians and government servants. The most mass of agriculturalists and the rest may carry on as they did before, with this change that their new masters will be Indians and not outsiders and therefore they can rest contented with having a happier deal from them.

And Mr. Birla boldly claims for his inferiority that "we have to make everybody comfortable in this country. All talk of private sector or public sector must be considered in this context. If the Congress cannot solve the problem, it will have to disappear. Only he who can solve the problem will be able to survive. We have to put our heads together and try to solve the problem."



to the Government, the Government should be prepared to meet the needs of the people.

The Government also in the name of the public sector with a controlled private one and its army of officers and experts makes the most claims. They also need the wherewithal, viz. abundant capital, to fulfil it, as the private sector. The private sector needs further that the State policy must be so the businessmen wish it to be. In short, the capitalist and the industrialist must, if not dominate, at least direct or influence the powers that be in the Government of the day. Thus they would if they can. The most uncomfortable part for them in this regard is the slogan of a socialist pattern, which therefore needs to be explained away or interpreted in a manner suitable to their aims and interests. I think this is being well done these days. The Government of the day also stands for an economic order, more or less of the same conception. Hence it does need the help and services of the private sector, — a situation which, therefore, emboldens Shri Birla and others to say that "businessmen in with businessmen" and hence they have an importance and a value even the Government cannot but admit.

I think, Mr. Birla is right here. The Government as well as the industrialist owner by heavy industries. Both would have small-scale industries also, but in a manner and of a conception different from Gandhiji's. Both are careful to win over the intelligentsia or the unemployed educated middle class with giving jobs etc. to them. The masses, thus, almost go out of the picture. Their colossal unemployment is neither's direct concern.

Gandhiji's scheme of things and affairs directly aimed to make the good into the lot of the masses in direct concern with other interests of the classes will find their place even to their own good also. If this idea of his is not made the most active and operative principle in the rebuilding of new India, we must be sure that we are heading for a day when the masses will be driven to find their new leaders and put the reins of their own destiny in their hands. Democracy in India expects us and requires the Government to see that the common man among the masses is directly served so that he comes to his own in his own self-reliant way. If economic freedom means anything, he need not be made to depend on the State and its ruling bureaucracy nor on the masses of the private capitalist and his minions, the educated middle classes. We must avoid such a battle between the classes and the mass of our people. The only sure way is it is the Gandhian way and not the way of suppression of the intelligentsia by other sector — the Government or the capitalist-con-industrialist.

3-15-55

## INEVITABILITY OF VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

(By Vinoba)

It can never happen in the villages of India that village industries be planned with a view to ease the unemployment situation and after four years they be given up to give place to machinery. Population in India as also in the world is on the increase, but the area of land in India is surely not going to extend itself. Under the circumstances we will have to realise that village industries have an abiding function and place in the economic planning of the country. Planning village industries is not something which can be done in order — only planning made and constructing them can be done in order.

Like avoiding agriculture in this country as well as the world avoiding village industries in India is unthinkable. In whatever conditions one can think of, the world will have to pursue agriculture. This could not be said of village industries. In a country where the population is very thin you can have industries other than village industries. In place where land is available for cultivation in profusion one can think of employing machines in agriculture. But in a country like India where the area of land available for cultivation is less in proportion to the population you cannot employ big machinery in agriculture, and even in the field of industries only village industries can work. For this reason I emphasize that we had better not plan through the fear of the danger of unemployment but do so with a permanent planned solution in view.

It is, of course, open to anyone to ask me why I make such difference. I do so because it is obvious that when you are planning for the country as a whole it would not suffice unless you had some definite ideas in view. I have already said it is good that a beginning in the field of village industries is being made with the aim of removing unemployment. But if not now, tomorrow certainly you will have to make up your mind that in the planning you want in this country you will have to give a place of importance to the item of village industries and also consider it a part of your way of life.

There is no question that village industries are inevitable for India. This is not to say that we should not improve our implements and tools. Improvement there must be and as the world knows we have been at it for the last twenty-five years. For years we have been experimenting with the spinning wheel and as a result we have the Anchar Charkha now in the field. So much improved tools and improvements have their place in our scheme of things. They do not inure our class at all. But even if the Anchar Charkha enters the field our folk and the spinning wheel will retain their place, no one thinks of giving them the go-by.

And village industries too cannot sustain themselves alone by themselves. All the people

in a village with types of plant village industries together. If the people in a village decide not to import cloth from outside, they will have to plan for the whole process of cloth making from growing cotton to weaving cloth in the village itself. I do not believe the idea of village industries can be successful and spread unless it was planned on these lines. An individual may successfully plan village industries for himself, but his effort is not going to develop into a plan for the whole village. An individual may voluntarily take to spinning and supply the need for his own cloth, he himself. But that would not be enough for planning for the village as a whole. In order to plan for the entire village it must have a committee. But as long as inequalities persist in the village all the people in it will not obey the decisions of the village committee. Even distribution of land in the village, therefore, is essential.

I have already stated before you some principles which have been evolved during our work. Without village industries we cannot hope to regenerate the village. Village industries cannot prosper in the absence of proper planning for the entire village. You cannot have such planning unless you have a village committee for the purpose. And last but not the least, the committee will not be concerned by the entire population of the village till you have fair distribution of land in it. Thus you will see that village industries and redistribution of land are inseparably associated with the idea of regenerating the village.

That Thiruko has rightly insisted that village industries are not merely a temporary phase in the development of our economy is perhaps some of our Five-Year planners ought to believe, but they are a perennial and inevitable part of it.

I want to permit to add one point here that Thiruko has said, and rightly again, that "an individual may voluntarily take to spinning and supply the need for his own cloth in himself, but that would not be enough for planning for the village as a whole." Even so, it points to the village where voluntarily to undertake planning by themselves. It would not be enough for a successful working of village industries in the whole of India. Planning is that and will have to be undertaken keeping the whole country in view. If the State failed in creating the economy and the industrial structure of the whole country on the basis of equality and restoration of village industries, the necessary co-operation for village industries to thrive and take root will not spread in the country. The single village or a group of them may serve the purpose of the ideal excepted. For this reason also land reform, too, will fail to take root and progress and to reach that all-encompassing corporate power. We should not forget the old saying, "The State makes the farmer" (from

## RURAL CIVILIZATION FOR INDIA

(By Pandit Sahai Mishra)

(From the Presidential Address delivered at the Rural Life Conference on the 20th October 1955.)

The various aspects of rural life have to be considered in relation to one another. It is not mere co-ordination that has to be attempted, but a synthesis. It is a synthetic approach that Mahatma Gandhi adopted when he put together the different social activities that he promoted in his constructive programme. It is appreciation of the same principle that is reflected in the decision of the planning authorities of the country to adopt the programme of Community Development Projects as the method and the National Extension Service as the agency for promoting all-round progress in the countryside. The Sarvodaya Centre of the Government of Bombay are inspired by the same trend of thought.

Without entering into details, I would observe that there are some factors that need consideration in planning for rural India. In the Community Development Projects every effort is being made to secure the co-operation if not the active participation of the people in the activities carried on for their benefit. Often, however, the initiative comes from the Projects Administration and responsibility rests with officers connected with the Administration. Even at the risk of slowing down the pace of progress, I would urge that at all stages and at all levels, it is the people's organisations that should be educated into taking the initiative and assuming responsibility. By people's organisations I do not mean merely ad-hoc committees or even statutory bodies such as Panchayats. To my mind voluntarily constituted bodies such as co-operative societies and social service agencies can contribute effectively to the task of building up, especially when in order to be successful, the construction has to be born below.

A recent survey of our rural economic conditions discloses the fact that even where Panchayats and co-operative societies have settled down successfully to their tasks benefit from their activities flows mainly to the more well-to-do sections of the rural community and that very often the poorer classes among whom may be included those belonging to the scheduled castes remain untouched by these activities. To what extent this results from the influence exercised by the better-off sections of society and to what degree our caste system is responsible for this phenomenon, it is somewhat difficult to assess. But, if there is to evolve anything like a cohesive rural community, caste has to disappear. The observance of untouchability in some form or other, we must admit, is a relic of the past, especially in our village. Untouchable caste, I cannot conceive of the total extinction of the distinction between "caste" and "outcaste."

Turning to altogether another topic, I would like to observe that, though I do not subscribe to

सर्वोदय सम्मेलन) in this connection also

81-25-55

(From Hindi)

—M. P.]

By Pandit Sahai

SHYAMDAN YADAV

[Last City Mysore]

Page no. 134 Page No. 1-4-5 Page no. 134

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the slogan "produce or perish". I do certainly take the view that there is a bleak future before the country unless we can find productive work for the vast numbers who are today unemployed or under-employed.

In case we fail in this effort, the employment to be provided may have to be unproductive or unemployment relief will have to be afforded to vast numbers. This latter alternative has inevitably to be mentioned in the ruled-out. As we are practically left with only one line of action, namely, to engage the unemployed or under-employed sections of our rural population in industries. The state of imbalance between agriculture and industries has to be rectified without delay as a salient part of national policy. I would add here that the unexploited law of people from villages to large towns that we witness today gives rise to stress and creates a number of social problems in the interest of a healthy society that few have to be shocked. There can happen only if we provide suitable remunerative work for people in the countryside.

Industrialisation in India, so far, has been top-down. It has employed numbers of persons from their traditional employment without creating opportunities for the absorption of even an appreciable fraction of those in alternative employment. The possibility of this form of industrialisation to provide, in the future, employment to the huge numbers concerned is admittedly very limited. It is in the acceptance of this stark fact of our economic situation that may be regarded the value that is attached in the draft of the Second Five Year Plan to the promotion of village and small scale industries as an integral part of the plan.

The acceptance of this view has a twofold implication. It will be the duty of the State, firstly, to make available the resources and the organisation needed to help in the reconstruction and development of these industries and secondly, to ensure that, during the period of reconstruction and transformation, they are protected from the competitive influence exercised by the large-scale organised industries in the private sector.

Thus, it will be seen that in both the sectors of our rural economy, agricultural and industrial, we have to plan for a new social order. For some years, we spoke of the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth as being the goal of our national efforts. Today, we have begun to think in terms of a socialist pattern of society as being our ideal. The two are not interchangeable because socialism does not denote merely nationalisation. To my mind, in the context of rural economy, a co-operative commonwealth may well be the order of society towards which we should progress. The creation of a rural revolution for India was one of Mahatma Gandhi's dreams.

## SATYAGRAHA IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

(By Nandan Alexander)

MAHATMA MOHANDAS KRISHNAJI who was last associated with Mahatma Gandhi was a letter to the Editor of the Times London published on September 2. The following part of his long letter is reproduced from *Front Asia*, September 5, 1955.]

In two articles on Gita on August 25 and 26, your Delhi Correspondent has, I think, rendered a valuable service in opening a discussion on the place of what Mr Gandhi called Satyagraha in international relations.

Will you allow me to comment on some of the points he has raised?

First of all, what did Mr Gandhi himself understand the role of Satyagraha to be? In the course of 35 years' close association with him, I discussed this matter with him more than once, and I think I have read most of what he has written about it in the last 35 years of his life.

Mr Gandhi believed, as is the hope that I that he continued to be turned towards as the method means of settling differences between masses of men in discussion for treatment, and needs to be supplemented by other methods.

As far as possible, of course, both in international and in industrial and other group relations, negotiations and arbitration should be preferred, and Mr Gandhi again and again showed himself a patient coach-man.

But he also believed that situations sometimes arise when one side to a dispute shows itself so obstinate and unyielding, so unwilling to agree to any compromise, that the other party is obliged to look for some effective way of showing that to it the continuance of the status quo is intolerable both as a factor in the reason for recognising the right to strike in industrial relations.

Satyagraha was, in Mr Gandhi's philosophy, more or less the equivalent in international affairs of the right to strike in the industrial field.

It was a very important part of his conviction that, in such extreme situations, those who undertake direct action should be prepared to accept suffering but not to submit.

It is important also to recognise that Mr Gandhi was not a pacifist in the sense in which that word is sometimes used. He did not believe that war is always the worst choice. On the contrary, he again and again trusted that those who are not willing to follow the way of Satyagraha eventually are sometimes under moral obligation to fight.

I do not know why your Correspondent only mentions his approval of the Indian action in Kashmir and the Chinese resistance to the Japanese. It may be noted that he wrote with the utmost appreciation of the heroic resistance of the Poles to the Nazi hordes in the autumn of 1939, and showed strong sympathy to the British demand to send the Poles to that front.

When, as your Correspondent recalls, he urged the British to resist Hitler without violence in 1940, this was due to his conviction that the British were of much greater worth than they. If any people might thus show the world a more glorious way of resisting, and perhaps in the end winning an invasion, but in fact it may perhaps be doubted whether any nation is yet morally fit

for true Sistringria — resistance is usually to the death without help and without committing any violence.

148 Oaktree Lane, Selly Oak,  
Birmingham, 28.

#### WILL B.C.G. DOCTORS NEED TO THIS?

THIS is looking important, place of news is called from the teacher in 1953 from the New York Times. It will wait how the West is made about the use of the open mouth prophylaxis B.C.G. and the doctor. Doctors have an experimental approach to it and work with a spirit of confidence.

It is a fact that the only that best of B. C. G. is to be used in the United States. Doctors, however, have the best of the B.C.G. method, from 40 to 50 percent. There are the additional data in studies about B.C.G. in the following article. It is important and particularly noteworthy.

In a sample in 1953, three quarters of 10,000 children of tuberculosis had been from the positive group to the test problem in tuberculosis in the tuberculin positive cases and not the tuberculin-negative cases only, in which B.C.G. vaccine is indicated. The latter are hardly 2 per cent in total population and about 15 per cent in school-going children, according to statistics obtained by B.C.G. workers in tuberculosis.

The last part of this article is very important. It points out that even teachers in tuberculosis are divided in their opinion about the efficacy of B.C.G. since, recall cases in tuberculin-negative cases. It hardly seems, the infection by 2 per cent. It is, in fact, indicated in tuberculin-positive cases. For this small group of 2 per cent, about 10 percent of both groups had contacts and with a strong possibility that the fact that these inoculations are not from these dangers is already pointed out before. "Tuberculosis After B.C.G. Vaccination" in the *Journal of Hyg.* 71, 1953.

4 in 100

in 10

A prophylaxis against tuberculosis is under study in the hope of preventing the disease among persons who are "tuberculin positive". These persons comprise 20 per cent of tuberculosis cases.

The National Tuberculosis Association and the United States Public Health Service announced late yesterday that they had been making tests on a programme of prophylactic doses of BCG (bacillus of Calmette and Guérin) to tuberculin positive subjects since last February. The results will not be available for some time, but officials of the Public Health Service are so pleased with the indications that they are using the technique on their own laboratory technicians and others exposed to tuberculosis infection.

The report of the development was made yesterday afternoon after an all-day meeting on TB vaccination at the Henry Hudson Hotel, 333 West Fifty-seventh Street. The meeting was under the auspices of the National Tuberculosis Association and was attended by 132 leaders in tuberculosis therapy.

Dr. Carol Palmer, chief of tuberculosis research for the United States Department of Public Health, explained that the experiments on the INH programme was started among 100 children who had shown a positive reaction to the tuberculin test. Half of the children are

getting small doses of INH while the other half, as controls, are given more pills.

The official adoption of INH as a prophylaxis depends on the results of the tests. However, the data will not be available until the experiment. He said that in his knowledge not one of the patients under treatment had contracted another tuberculosis.

#### Would Offer Wide Protection

If the INH prophylaxis proved effective it could give protection to the group most likely to contract TB. Until now B.C.G. vaccine (bacillus Calmette-Guérin) has afforded a degree of protection to "tuberculin negative" persons, but it cannot be given to "tuberculin positive". A tuberculin positive is a patient whose skin reacts to a tiny dose of killed tuberculous bacilli. The dose is often called a patch test and indicates that one either has active tuberculosis or has recovered from what may have been a minimal infection.

Dr. Palmer estimated that there were 54,000,000 tuberculin positive persons in the United States. He said statistics indicated that three-quarters of the 100,000 new cases of tuberculosis each year came from the positive group. In New York City nearly half of the population is believed to be positive.

INH, it was explained, is a simple chemical that can be produced cheaply in comparison with streptomycin and sometimes also with P.A.S. (para-aminosalicylic acid). It is widely used for the treatment of active tuberculosis. It is considered harmless in the small doses given for prophylaxis. It was said that the prophylactic prophylaxis dose would probably be one small pill the size of an aspirin tablet once a week.

Dr. Palmer indicated that the INH prophylaxis might also be effective for negative persons. He and the Public Health Service was giving it to negative laboratory technicians.

The conference also heard reports on the efficacy of B.C.G. vaccine. Although there was a division of opinion on its value, it was agreed that it should be used only for "tuberculin negative" persons who come in close contact with heavy infection. Mass inoculation, it was said, seldom results in a decrease attributable directly to B.C.G. of more than 2 per cent.

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TWO ANNAS

## WRONG AND UNFAIR

(By Krishnaswami L. Mukher)

It is with considerable reluctance that I pen these lines. I have no desire to enter into a controversy with public men either inside or outside Government, when, in my view, we are all supposed to work for the same common cause. But certain statements made on and off, by the Commerce and Industry Minister of the Government of India do such grave injustice to a class of social workers who are engaged, despite great odds, to promote and extend the economic aspects of Mahatma Gandhi's programme that I feel compelled to draw attention to the matter. In an article published in connection with the opening of the Indian Industries Fair, Shri T. T. Krishnaswami has a ring at persons who "in a country where Ashrams are known to flourish" play Providence for all time, with a small number of people.

The denuding of persons who have an attachment to the ashram way of life, both for education and for pursuit of social service, apparently comes easily to Shri Krishnaswami. For, over a year ago he indicated the professions of workers in charge of the Khadi and Village Movements as Mahatmaphiles who sought to lay down the law for humbler men to follow. As I have not lived in Ashram, the appellation does not apply to me, and hence I can assert most unhesitatingly and emphatically that constructive workers in the field of Khadi and Village Industries are among the most receptive-minded of public workers amongst whom it has been my privilege to work. They hold fast, no doubt, to their ideals, they are keen about principles, and they have faith in a social order that harmonised with Gandhi's teachings. But they all believe in discussion and mutual exchange of views, prior to final conclusions being reached. It is far from their intention even to play at dictatorship which is what Shri Krishnaswami accuses them of doing.

In the same article, Shri Krishnaswami pours scorn upon the complaints that have been voiced about the effect of the vigorous campaign of the All India Handloom Board on the produc-

tion of Khadi. It is not only from one part of the country that these engaged in the development of Khadi production have represented that hand-spinning has received some set-back because of the various aids to handloom weaving secured under the programme of the Handloom Board. Reports to this effect have come from Madhya Bharat, Garhwal, Madhya-Pra. Chhattr Garhwal, Andhra and Uttar Pradesh. In the two first-named States, the State Ministers took steps to ensure that Khadi production was not adversely affected. Very respectfully, the attention of the Minister for Commerce and Industry was invited to the situation with the request that the Handloom Board set up by his Ministry, might take action to avoid conflict between its activities and those of the All India Khadi and Village Industries which, on behalf of the Government of India, has the responsibility of promoting the planned development of the Khadi industry.

The public response to this modest request is a paragraph in Shri Krishnaswami's article which not only ridicules the suggestion, but depicts those putting forward such views as agitations of the working of democratic processes in coming upon the Minister to play Providence. Unmoved though my colleagues and I are in public affairs we are not quite so devoted to communism as to realise a Minister in democratic India with a miniature Providence (sic) that apart, the fact is that the comprehensive all-purpose plans of the Handloom Board provide instructions in the way of an assured supply of yarn and a market of a type that the industry did not enjoy so far. Those who are engaged in the weaving of cloth with the use of handspun yarn do get a regular supply of yarn and have the cloth taken off their heads. But the various aids which are granted under the programme of the Handloom Board are for them, too tempting an inducement, occasionally, to resist. The consequence is, sometimes, a switch-over to the use of mill-yarn, making it difficult for the increased production of handspun yarn to be woven into cloth locally. The two Boards both work under the aegis of the Government of India and with the aid of funds provided by it. It is a simple proposition put forward that either the two





# HARIJAN

Nov 26

1955

## THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE COMMISSION

(By Mageswari P. Dasai)

The reader must have, by now, seen and gone through the highly thought-provoking address\* of Shri B. G. Kher, the Chairman of the Official Language Commission, D. L. C. I feel I have been rather late in introducing to the reader the Official Language Commission, which I do now.

The Commission was appointed by the President under Article 344 of the Constitution of India, which requires him to do so at the request of the House from the commencement of the Constitution. It is laid down therein that it shall consist of a Chairman and such other members representing the different languages of India specified in the 8th Schedule to the President may appoint. Accordingly the Commission consists of the representatives of each of the 14 languages of India mentioned in the Constitution.

The terms of reference to the Commission are as follows:

1. It shall be the duty of the Commission to make recommendations to the President as to—

(a) the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union;

(b) restrictions on the use of the English language for all or any of the official purposes of the Union;

(c) the language to be used for all or any of the purposes mentioned in Article 344 of the Constitution; and

(d) the terms of contracts to be used for all or any or some specified purposes of the Union.

(e) It is permissible at a later date to include matters to which the answer to which Hindi may gradually replace English as the official language of the Union and of a language for communication between the Union and State Governments and between one State Government and another.

As making their recommendations, the Commission shall take due regard to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India and the best interests of the interests of persons belonging to the one Hindi speaking area in regard to the public service.

The Commission immediately applied itself to the task allotted to it and issued a comprehensive questionnaire and it now goes round the country inviting witnesses on the points it has been asked to report on. These are generally put down in the terms of reference quoted above.

As the reader will see, the chief task allotted to the D. L. C. under the Constitution is to

determine the extent to which it should be progressively used for the official purposes of the Union and to prepare recommendations for it as to the terms of reference given above clearly were. It is not the direct task of the D. L. C. to determine as some people seem to think, the use and the teaching of Hindi in schools and colleges—a question into which the Official Language Commission I mean the Indian Language Commission for Higher Education and Research, the Commission for Secondary Education, respectively, are reported to the Government. However, para 2 above indicates that the Commission, in making their various statements about the points mentioned in para 1 of the terms of reference, shall have due regard to both the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India and secondly the public interests and the interests of one Hindi speaking persons in regard to public services. This might entail a side inquiry into some points educational and administrative, which the questionnaire issued by the D. L. C. has simply touched.

The Chairman in his Poona speech has well said that "it will be improper for me this preliminary, to express any view on any of the numerous points arising in the detailed consideration of this complex issue and both the Commission and I as its Chairman must continue to wholly open mind on the subject of this stage."

The rule applies to me also as one of the members of that body. This was one of the reasons which held me up till now to write about it.

As I said at the outset, this is just to tell the important points recommendation of the D. L. C. Chairman and to illustrate to introduce the Commission to the reader. I need not say that this is a most important body from the point of view of India's democracy and cultural progress and achievement. The S. B. C. has just reported to the nation regarding an equally important issue—the re-organisation of States of the Union—and this is bound to be on the basis of the language of India scheduled in the Constitution. The D. L. C. is now required to decide further how Hindi the official language of the Union should function in new India that is being built up as an all-India language of communication between the Union and State Governments and between one State Government and another. Thus functioning, it is obvious, Hindi will be a living medium for bringing out and bringing out unity as one people.

Shri Kher in his Poona address has well stated some basic principles that should govern such a process and development. The first is, as he said, "the eventual displacement of the English language from its present position in our society." As he mentioned, surely it does not mean that we do not study that great language. It is should rather have, as he said, a "sufficient command of English and/or other suitable foreign language or languages to serve as a 'key' "

\* See Harijan, March 26, 1955 and Nov. 5, 1955.

\* The purposes mentioned in Article 344 are (a) proceedings of the Supreme Court and every High Court, (b) Bills and Acts of Parliament and all State legislatures, (c) all orders, rules, regulations and decrees issued under the Constitution of India and any law made by Parliament or the Legislatures of a State.



[illegible]

Therefore, Sheikhs who preached that an uncomprehensive and superficial program, such as we have in Iran, cannot be expected to transform Iran into a free society, should be encouraged to do this, as it is the duty of every citizen of this country to do the best he can, and as the prophet of Islam has said: "Do the best you can." This statement is by no means new, so interest in the various forms of humanism, naturalism, and rationalism is not

Another important point that he brought to our notice was that the Commission has five first-aided simple protection and guarantees to all languages and scripts of India. The language problem therefore raises the question: use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union is "a problem of official policy which must be approached from various angles: from a religious or revivalist standpoint, from a national as distinct from a personal or communal standpoint, and from a pragmatic, as distinct from an automatic or ideological standpoint."

There are some of the main points that Shri Kher took care to place before the country. We might say, they are the main co-ordinates for drawing the graph of the Economic pattern for future India which the Constitution itself has generally defined for us.

1214

**John**     **John**     **John**

CHAND

[illegible]

Figure 1 consists of a 3x3 grid of small, square images. Each image shows a close-up of a person's face, focusing on the eyes and mouth. The images appear to be different stages or expressions of a single face, possibly used for facial recognition or expression analysis. The faces are shown in various orientations and expressions, with some showing more pronounced features than others.

I feel convinced that the revival of handicrafts and hand-crafting will make the largest contribution to the economic and the moral regeneration of India. (Gandhi)

The 4th, 5th + 200th Avenue Hwy 50-51 Roadside view Aug 1994

TSHU-ANNUAL NEWS PUBLICATION

Fig. 4.  $\alpha = 0.70$ . Rows No. 1-4-0. Bottoms are the 5

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#### EARLY COMMUNITY AND NATION

*The Washington Post*

John F. B. is a member of the American Chemical Society, which appeared in the *Directory of the U.S.A.*

Far more than the Christian people from Europe set their feet on trails and their influence began to work on Indian society—politics, economics, life of the community. The reason was that in a short and brief time of belief of the missionaries.

It is not to be supposed that there was no religious controversy based on religion at any time in the Church in matters of Europe. After the rise of Mohammed it began to advance and prosper, and the Christian nations of Europe had sided together to fight it. They had also been carrying on a struggle against the Jewish people before and with the advance of the modern forces of this world. Mohammed had already and retained the religion of Mohammedanism and a new school of Mohammedanism was born in Europe. When the Jewish people came to India they brought along with them their own religious ideas.

At this point of time the foundations of communism based on religious belief and of caste based on occupation for livelihood were firmly based on the principles in our country. During the period of British rule two new influences began to work on these traditions. The British Government developed a policy of consolidating its position in the state and trying even to in the third party. It dealt with caste by dividing them into different and further. With the communists they dealt by repeating them into Hindu Hindu etc. Both these ways of dealing with caste and communities which persist even to this day had their origin in early British policy. For instance we see the Backward Classes Commission being sponsored under. The psychology which we all can come across of peasant that he has backward is an advantage, look, change in their society.

The other influence was one working on the people as a whole. Contact with the new countries, as brought forth world reformers, amongst us, and they began striving to follow the instructions of each. From the angle of communism, communal politics came into vogue. Some leaders of the Maharashtra community separated themselves from the Indian National Congress to start the Akhil Movement and were responsible for its joining the ranks of separate religious communities were stratification in our body politic and politics themselves took such a curious turn that phrases like 'Nationalist Muslim' and 'Hindu Nationalist' which seemed strange to our ears now became current. That is to mean that though the sentiment of nationalism began to be cultivated, it was vitiated by a feeling of communalism based on religion.

Out of the blend of thoughts and feelings taking shelter under the wing of the third party, the SWP, a clever politician like Shri M. A. Jinnah nurtured the flag of two separate nations.





limited did not deteriorate during the period of Second Five Year Plan. It is assumed that consumption will increase at least one-third. Five Year Plans factor in about million gross boxes.

#### Allocation

Of the total output of 200 million gross boxes in 1964 'A' and 'B' class factories deliver them accounted for 98.7% while the 'C' class factories produced only 0.3 million gross boxes or 1.4%. As the number of 'A' class factories has been steadily falling and as the relative use of the quantities (relative to some demand) to 'D' class is larger, it is assumed that the operative 'C' class factories may incorporate themselves into 'D' class factories. The programme thus affects the total estimated demand as follows:

A Class	10 18
B "	8
C "	
D "	14 18
	<hr/> 28 36

The policy implications of this allocation of production are:

(1) Reduction in the production of 'A' and 'B' class factories to 80% of the total demand.

(2) The manufacture of 1418 million gross boxes by the new 'D' class factories to meet the balance of 40% of demand.

#### Programme

During the year 1955-56 the Board proposed to set up 300 'D' class factories. During the Second Five Year Plan period the programme outlined below contemplates the establishment of another 1,000 'B' class factories at the rate of 400 factories each year. Thus by 1960-61 there will be 3,000 'D' class factories, capable of producing 14.80 million gross boxes per year.

#### Investment

The cost of the bank and other equipment of a 'D' class factory with a daily output of 15 gross boxes is estimated at Rs 6,000. The capital requirements of 3,000 factories over the five year period works out at Rs 180 lakhs. As the existing rebates of excise duties in favour of these enterprises are available and as the costs of production relative to those of the larger factories are estimated to be lower with consequent increase in competitive marketability, it is expected that private enterprise and/or co-operative institutions may come forward with their own capital.

Of the total capital requirements, the Board proposes to advance Rs 75 lakhs to the 3,000 factories at the rate of Rs 1,000 gross and Rs 1,500 loans per factory towards the acquisition of capital equipment. Of the total expenditure of Rs 75 lakhs, Rs 45 lakhs will be thus recoverable.

#### Employment

It is assumed that in the manufacture of 1 gross box of matches 12 persons can find full-time employment. On this basis a 15 gross factory can provide employment to 180 persons. The nature of such manufacture is such that a large number of persons such as women, illing, boy making, bricklaying, packing etc. can be carried on in the leisure of the workers themselves as subsidiary occupation. In other words of the total employment of 180 persons in a 15 gross factory not more than 5 are required at the factory premises and the rest can work offside the factory side by side with their normal domestic duties. On the basis that a third of a day they devote to this work, the number of workers who can find part-time employment is 180.75-21. Thus employment per 15 gross factory works out to 5 full-time workers and 84 part-time workers. The implementation of the programme outlined above can provide additional full-time employment to 15,000 persons and part-time employment to 1,52,000 persons.

For the implementation of the programme the Board envisages to set up an organisational machinery the total expenditure on which is estimated at Rs 50 lakhs over the five year period. Moreover it is arranged to provide training for this industry. The expenditure on this item will be about Rs 3 lakhs.

To meet the research requirements of the industry it is proposed to establish two research laboratories costing nearly Rs 25 lakhs.

To ensure prompt sales of the output of the 'D' class units 20 marketing depots will be set up. In addition it is proposed to assist co-operatives by way of loans to set up similar depots.

It is also proposed to provide for publicity and propaganda for popularising matches made in villages.

Thus the total expenditure on the whole plan is estimated at 1,193.25 lakhs (Rs 1,193 lakhs non-recurring and 181.55 recurring) over the period of five years. To provide part or whole time employment to about 1.75 lakh persons at their own residence in the production of such a household thing with this much expenditure is quite desirable and proper.

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# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MANGALIA CHATTERJEE)  
EDITOR: MANGALMAL P. DEBBI



VOL. XIV No. 48 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1933 TWO ANNAS

## A COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY FOR ENGLISH (By Mangalmal P. Debbi)

The University Grants Commission of the Government of India have recently appointed a committee for a notable enquiry. Shri Hrishabh Kulkarni is its chairman, and Dr. Nand Lal Banerji and Professor Sridharan are the two members. They are asked to go into the question and find out to what extent the complaint that an imperfect knowledge of the English language has adversely affected the standard of knowledge in the universities, is true. I have not been with me as I was writing this the official papers which contain the exact terms of reference. I have stated above what I have learnt from newspaper reports.

If the terms of reference and the question posed for enquiry by the committee are as I have stated, the question is not properly formulated: it remains partial. Besides, if it is supposed that an imperfect knowledge of the English language adversely affects the standard of all knowledge that also is not true. True, an imperfect knowledge of English would affect the student's knowledge of the English speech. And it is also true, the standard of knowledge would deteriorate if English is blindly and footlessly continued as the medium of instruction as in the past. More precisely the question referred for enquiry to the committee should be: Please find out how the standard of knowledge would be affected if English is continued as the medium of instruction when students and teachers both do not know it well.

If the question for enquiry is posed as I have suggested, I believe, not much of an enquiry would be needed, because it can at once be stated without much trouble that the answer is the finding is obvious. On the contrary, the question would be from the other side. Why there is this unwarranted insistence on English as medium?

The truth, however, is that the rulers of the past generation have not been able to shed their indolence for, what they believe is, the revealing beauty of the English tongue. And there are a good many of them in this country who have formed the evil habit of measuring the standard of knowledge by a knowledge of that language

and, worse, who are in charge of the universities of this country. They have not the time to bring knowledge into their own language, nor have they the inclination to do so, they do not, in fact, care to do so. These people are still suffering from a strain for old standards. Otherwise, one naturally feels like asking what high or low that matter may stand there is today in our education, over whose deterioration we should feel so sorely grieved?

One wonders why the obvious is not recognised that if the movement of the standard on the inclined plane is to be reversed and reversed the student should now be begun to be taught in the language he understands. What can be expected if that obvious and natural truth of all education is not recognised and is in fact revealed for sinister reasons? Where this natural rule has been recognised and adopted as is evident, a welcome change has been immediately noticed. The real standard to be preserved and maintained is regarding the fundamental considerations we should have in all such institutions where enquiry has entered.

The Kulkarni committee may not, however, be dismissed as naive. It is certainly to the good of all concerned that the problem of the English medium of instruction has reached the all-India level and is involving the minds of the people there. It is, therefore, essential that the committee applies itself to the task assigned to it without feeling any over the natural objectives of the sway of the English speech.

English may be taught as a subject, but it must be removed from the place of medium of instruction which it has usurped and the rightful and natural occupant of the place, the student's own regional language, should be employed. Essentially, the standard of knowledge depends on the teacher's devotion for it and his practical application to his pursuit. Books can, certainly, be of help to him. English may be learnt and English books may be utilized for the purpose. There are some who are eternally searching for books. Where, they ask, are the books? But let them realize that people as students would read books only when you have created in them a thirst for knowledge. The reason why it is said that the student be compulsorily taught English

is only this that he may leave it for his needs of knowledge. If the Kamara committee were to look at the problem with the future in view it will be able to perceive this simple truth very easily indeed.

24.10.35.

(From English)

## WAR AND SATTAGRAHA

(By Gerrard Russell)

[Gerrard Russell was a famous pacifist at the start of the First World War. In one of his essays that he wrote during those years of the War is one which is interesting as testimony to growing, specially when our thoughts are governed by the Government on the question of war and Satyagraha in international affairs.]

Recent and this essay describes vividly how Satyagraha operation and Civil Disobedience can undoubtedly give us a weapon as strong and as effective as better arms, if we move. The non-violent conduct of war will also be desirable for its successful use. The virtues of strategy, courage and discipline as well as its armed tactics, if not more.

Recently we have heard that the Portuguese authorities in Goa are stopping the landing of Mahatma to advocate and order that of Portuguese. They are also asking the people to deliberately break the rules of the Nation and the National Flag etc. It will interest the reader to see in the following quotation from Russell's essay such things being treated are directly in the imaginary Constitution of a German Empire on our island England which has collectively relinquished arms and refused itself to make with one violent, Germany.

The illustration is reproduced from the essay "War and Non-violence" written in 1920 included in Russell's book *Justice in War-time* issued in 1914. The author will excuse me to reproduce here after 40 years when the world situation has radically changed and the author I fear might have been to think about us, but in a different way observed the history of the illustration vivid and told us it is in interesting indeed, and the world has not but it is the time of it to happen in spite of all having a look at how the world has used the same technique of resistance to injustice and war.

1935-36

M P 1

### I

Let us imagine that England were to discard its army and navy, after a generation of instruction in the principles of passive resistance as a better defence than war. Let us suppose that England at the same time publicly announced that no armed opposition would be offered to an invader, that all might come freely, but that no obedience would be yielded to any commands that a foreign authority might issue. What would happen in this case?

Suppose to continue the argument, that the German Government wished to take advantage of England's defenceless condition. It would be faced, at the outset, by the opposition of whatever was not utterly brutal in Germany, since no possible cloak could be found to hide the nakedness of aggression. All civilized countries, when they engage in war, find some decent excuse. They fight, almost always, either in self-defence or in defence of the weak. No such excuse could be found in this case. It could no longer be said,

as the Germans now say, that England's moral preponderance keeps other nations in line and threatens the very existence of any nation which depends upon imported food. It could no longer be said that we were oppressing India, since India would be able to separate from the British Empire whenever it wished to do so. All the usual pretences by which aggression is justified would be lacking. When America attacked Spain, it was to liberate Cuba, against whom Spain was carrying on a war. When England attacked the Transvaal, the Port of Spain, the Tynes, Messrs. Winton, Holt and Co., and the other imperialist magnates who represented the ancient traditions of the British race, solemnly asserted that our intervention was necessary for the safety of English women in Johannesburg, and for the liberation of the natives from virtual slavery in the Boer. These pleas deceived many people, who, though no doubt unwilling to be deceived would yet have shrunk from an aggression which could not be in any way justified. And it was said that the Boers stood at the conquest of the whole of South Africa, we were told that, if ever England found itself entangled in a European war, Cape Colony would be overrun and its English colonists would be subjected to tyranny. In any civilized country, arguments of this kind are always used as justifying even the most aggressive war.

If England had no army and no navy, Germany would be hard put to it to find a pretext for invasion. All the Liberal elements in Germany would oppose any such enterprise, so would all other nations, unless Germany offered them a share of the plunder. But let us suppose all these opposition overcome, and a force despatched to England to take possession of the country. Such a force, since it would meet with no military opposition, would not need to be large, and would not be in the state of mingled fear and ferocity which characterizes an invading army among a hostile population. There would be no difficulty in preserving military discipline and no opportunity for the rage and rapine which have always been displayed by troops after victory in battle. There would be no glory to be won, not even enough to earn one iron cross. The Germans could not congratulate themselves upon their military prowess, or imagine that they were displaying the stern self-abnegation believed to be shown by willingness to die in the fight. To the military mind, the whole expedition would be ridiculous, raising a feeling of disgust instead of pride. Perhaps a few important street-lamps might have to have their eyes boxed but otherwise there would be nothing to lead directly to the expedition.

However, we will suppose the invading army arrived in London, where they would seize the King from Buckingham Palace and the Members from the House of Commons. A few able barristers would be brought over from Berlin

to consult with the Civil Servants in Whitehall as to the war laws by which the reign of Hitler was to be inaugurated. No difficulty would be expected in managing so tame a nation, and at first almost all the coasting officials would be convinced in their offices. For the government of a large modern State is a complicated matter, and it would be thought well to facilitate the transition by the help of men familiar with the coasting machinery.

But at this point, if the nation showed as much courage as it has always shown in fighting difficulties would begin. All the coasting officials would refuse to co-operate with the German forces of the more prominent would be imprisoned perhaps even shot, in order to encourage the others. But if the others held firm, if they refused to recognise or transmit any order given by Germany, if they continued to carry out the orders previously made by the British Parliament and the English Government, the Germans would have to disarm them all, even to the humblest postman, and call in German talent to fill the breach.

The dismissed officials could not all be imprisoned or shot, since no fighting would have occurred, such wholesale brutality would be out of the question. And it would be very difficult for the Germans suddenly, out of nothing, to create an administrative machine. Whatever edicts they might issue would be quietly ignored by the population, if they ordered that German should be the language taught in schools, the schoolmasters would go on as if no such order had been issued; if the schoolmasters were dismissed, the parents would no longer send the children to school; if they ordered that English young men should undergo military service, the young men would simply refuse; after shooting a few, the Germans would have to give up the attempt in despair; if they tried to raise revenue by customs duties, at the ports, they would have to leave German customs officers; this would lead to a strike of all the dock labourers, so that the way of raising revenue would become impossible; if they tried to take over the railways there would be a strike of the railway workers. Whatever they touched would instantly become paralysed and it would soon be evident, even to them, that nothing was to be made out of England unless the population could be controlled.

Such a method dealing with invasion would, of course require initiative and discipline. But initiative and discipline are required in war. For ages past, education has been largely directed to producing these qualities for the sake of war. They now exist so widely that in every civilized country almost every man is willing to die on the battlefield whenever his Government thinks the moment suitable. The same courage and discipline which are now put into war could quite easily be directed by education into the channel of passive

resistance. I do not know what losses England may suffer before the present war is ended, but if they amount to a million no one will be surprised. An immensely smaller number of losses, incurred in passive resistance, would prove to any invading army that the task of subjugating England to alien domination was an impossible one. And the proof would be made once for all, without dependence upon the doubtful accidents of war.

In internal politics, in all democratic countries, the very method we have been considering is constantly practised, with constantly increasing success. Even in Russia it was the general strike which secured the Constitution of 1905. For a generation, terrorists had slavishly copied the methods of industrialists by bomb-throwing and assassination; they had achieved nothing except to afford the authorities an excuse for ruthless repression—an excuse not only to the public, but also to their own consciences since they appeared to themselves, as soldiers do, to be brave men facing death in the public service. After all the years of fruitless violence, it was the method of passive non-obedience which secured the momentary victory, afterwards lost through disunion and a return to violence. And in all the dealings of democratic governments with labour troubles or with irreconcilable minorities, it is this same power of passive resistance that comes into play. In a civilized, highly organized, highly policed State, government is impossible without the consent of the governed. Any object for which a considerable body of men are prepared to starve and die can be achieved by political means without the need of any resort to force. And if this is true of objects only desired by a minority, it is a thousand times more true of objects desired unanimously by the whole nation.

(To be continued)

By Nicholas Goodrick

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## HARIJAN

Dec. 3

1955

### THE CRISIS WE ARE IN

(By Keshabdas P. Desai)

I draw the attention of the reader to the article reproduced elsewhere in this issue, "India in Transition". It was written a few months ago. However, the factors that it points out, the points that it tries to make are not altered at all. They are serious enough to be noted by all who mind the trend of thoughts and events in present-day India. We are today in a transition the like of which our people had not had for a few centuries past.

As the writer of the article says, the question before us is not merely economic, though apparently it looks so, and our leaders in the Government are crying hoarse about our economic and industrial advancement through industrialisation. "It should now be realised that technology and modern economics in the West have given birth to a moral, social and political philosophy of their own, which has created in its wake a way of life all its own. Thanks to British rule and English education, all this has also come to us in India and is being badly implanted among a people whose way of life, culture and philosophy have a stamp and uniqueness of their own."

"Again, more than 90 per cent of us live in their filthy pits almost ignorant of this new age coming from the West. Therefore the industrialisation that is the order of the day now is quite a class-struggle and not an equally growth of the body politic as in the land of its birth, viz. the West. The 19th century problem of the West meeting the East is as if reflecting itself in the new context of free India. A serious question is therefore posed, how the endeavour to industrialise us in a Western manner will go. Will the impact of the West on an Eastern society tend to result in a happy amalgam or by some unknown trick of west-east exchange produce a dynamite that might be dangerous? These are questions that we are not answering in India. Are we aware of them? The signs of the times do not inspire us that way."

The correspondent from New Delhi in his article confirms this view. He wants three important social problems before us. "Well may we add a fourth one, the exploitation of the weak by the socially and politically strong, and the deep rooted nature of underemployment, misappropriation, bribery and corruption appearing off and on right from the deep perches carved up to the British Rajasthani society. Surely these tell us that there is somewhere a dangerous disconnect in the process of building Western economies and technology here."

The editor of the *Frontier* in the same issue, discusses the point raised by the correspondent and remarks,

"Whichever technology comes in, whether hand made or first, mechanical and then electronic, what can be done? The only reasonable response is to spread technical education that we know it is knowledge, earned by Gandhi but which knowledge may quickly induce a rush to industrialisation. I confess, as our Indian correspondents make clear, even the title of progress."

It remains for the time to "patience" as both material and industrial progress in terms of income, rates, efficiency and the state of their nations who have directed attention to the problem, large masses (people from the U.S., Vice-Ely Goldwater) has signed a proposition for the industrial sector. Morgan (the New York Times), the World Community has accepted the proposals for industrial technology (U.S. and Lyons, Lyons and Louis (London) have studied the question from the viewpoint of their nations."

The editorial remarks simply show that even in the West what goes on, is not left to be satisfactory or all to the good. Mindfully speaking, a material and spiritual crisis is slowly coming over the whole world, and the cause thereof are deeply human and spiritual and not economic or technological or industrial in sense of an superficially obvious. The Sarvodaya movement started by Gandhiji is therefore significant and is deeply meaningful. May we not typify it with using the new slogan — "a Sustainable Pattern of Society"?

9-11-55

### INDIA IN TRANSITION

(Using a letter from New Delhi by an Indian correspondent that appeared in the *Frontier* of April 20, 1955.)

India is passing through a period of transition, building huge power and irrigation projects and new industrial units, based, by and large, on economic and technological patterns evolved by the West. But this development of an underdeveloped economy has brought social and moral problems to which very little attention is given. A greater understanding of the "qualitative", the human, side of the problem is required to assess the social effects of this technological advance.

India has to meet three important social problems which, though not new, have assumed enormous proportions in recent years — problems of (a) student indiscipline, (b) increase in crime, and (c) mounting unemployment, particularly amongst the educated middle classes.

The present generation of students lacks restraint and respect for the teacher. With the breakdown of family life, the head of the family is not able to exercise a healthy influence, and with the classes unwilling to use any cane, teachers cannot give personal attention to children. But more than these is the intangible atmosphere prevailing in society which has upset all values. A sort of "code of honour" spirit prevails among the students, who go on strike if the college or university authorities do not listen to them. Not only their respect for law and order



but also their intellectual aspirations have declined.

No less serious is the problem of crime, not only in respect to its incidence but also in respect to its varieties. Crimes of violence and particularly dacoities (robbery by numerous gangs) have become more frequent.

Reliable figures of unemployment are not available, but unemployment, both rural and urban, is very widespread. Middle-class educated unemployment is the chief cause of despair. While there are some relief measures for unemployment, the individual has to manage the best way he can. The old system of charity have dried up and so little aid is given to the unemployed.

These three symptoms—among many—of social malaise are mentioned not with a view to criticism but to indicate that India cannot solve her problems by following orthodox Western remedies. Much of our social disorganization is due to the impact of Western technology on Indian society, which for the most part we copy blindly. The result is that old patterns break down. There is no studied effort to harmonize Western technology with traditional social patterns. Before Western technology is applied, its effects should be gauged on the social life of different communities, in all its ramifications. This is not being done adequately as yet. Hence, India is passing through a phase of social disorganization. It is not here suggested that technology should not be applied to improve the condition of man, but that man should not be remolded to suit technology; technology should be made to serve man.

When one looks around these days, one is not quite sure what is happening to us. One hears so much of "progress" and of raising the standard of living, of mighty river valley projects, of a great deal of nation-building work being done. But when one inspects the tangible results, be it in density and a lot of grumbling. In family life and in the sphere of community life, there is not the same cohesion and unity of purpose, and our manners wherever they were, have deteriorated. Life has become less secure, with mounting unemployment and increasing crime. In a sense we have destroyed many of the internal controls that a cultured and civilized life needs, and put much check in the Government. Although it is our own democratically chosen Government, the attitude of a large number of us is as if it were an alien Government.

Now why is this all happening? It is possible to explain it in terms of history, social psychology, and on various other grounds. The Government would probably say that we have misapplied the situation from the previous administration, and have not had enough time to put it right. Others who are adversely affected by the changes planned by the Government, blame misapplied and/or false ideas. Others blame

partition, Pakistan, communism and Hindu Mahasabha—according to them best. There may be some truth in all these points of view, but it is like half-truth which misleads more than it enlightens.

It is not possible to make a historical survey of our present position, but it can be safely said that the impact of Western culture and education on Indian society has been rather shattering. In the early stages, the Indian society resisted the impact and the impetus to change, unless it affected only the superficial periphery, but the cumulative influence of two centuries of Western contact has not been slight. Mainly during the present century vast changes took place in industry, gradually undermining our economic, social and ethical structure, and our whole ethos has become impregnated with Western values.

The values of Hindu life—and most Indians are Hindu—are in direct opposition to the values of modern scientific technology and statecraft. The highest value of traditional life—deeply entrenched in its social structure and life—are Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha. The supreme value is Dharma (ethic), which the other values support though the final and transcendental value is Moksha (liberation). However much the ancient Hindu social order may have decayed or been disrupted, even until some forty years ago, Dharma—as Indian understood it—was supreme, and not Artha, and the majority still aspired to Moksha. The Hindu way of life—Jatayam—was one whole and indivisible, each part interdependent. But when the West introduced its money based economy and power-based science, it gradually undermined and upset the Dharma-based stability of social structure. In the old system a set of inner virtues was important. In the modern, external appearances and appearances—clothes, money cars, houses etc. In the old system, virtues consisted in being free from Kama (lust), Krodha (anger), Lobha (greed), and Moha (attachment), and to conquer one's appetites and ego (Ahimsa), while the modern way gave full rein to appetites and ego, and success became the object of worship, however obtained. "Progress" is another deity of the modern world, though many of us do not understand what exactly that word means. The four "Nagas" (Kama, Krodha, Lobha, and Moha), which were considered undesirable and steps to degeneration, have assumed the form of desirable qualities. Power or lust and attachment has become desirable—almost a virtue—and its attraction boldly flaunted in the pages of newspapers and in the films, so that practically no one is immune from its influence. In much the same way other undesirable qualities like Lobha and Moha have assumed the status of goals. Lobha has become a virtue in the Capitalist Economy. Without it one cannot have money, and success is another name for having money.

Disease has become old-fashioned, if not actually undesirable. "Progress" has taken its place.

It would be difficult to convince many people that this is not a healthy state of affairs. There are many who do not believe in a life beyond the present, and who also do not believe in a social or moral law. To them their immediate needs (or more properly appetites) are paramount, with ever-increasing doses of satisfaction required to keep them happy. These people are mostly self-centred. But to a large number of people, the effects of such a social philosophy, — if it can be called by that name, selfishness would be more appropriate — are apparent.

No doubt there are other sociological and psychological factors responsible for the spectacular increase in crime. It is partly the last war, when thousands learnt the use of fire-arms, the partition and its aftermath, the spreading of epidemics, the working of various money counterfeits, disease flies, and to a small degree, poverty. But the main cause is the disappearance of traditional religion and moral values, while nothing has taken their place.

### GOVT COMMITTEE REPORT ON AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

Agricultural labour forms the largest single sector of India's labour force. It represents nearly 75% of the total population of our country. About 25 crore of our people live in agriculture for their livelihood. On the other hand organized labourers represent a maximum of 10 lakhs of workers or a bare 10% per cent of the agricultural labour.

A number of legislative and poverty regulations exist today in our country for the benefit of the workers employed in those organized industries, while for the agricultural labour, comprehensive aids or essential supports relating to their economic conditions are not even available.

This Govt Committee on agricultural labour has now presented a detailed report of the painstaking survey which places before the public authentic information on the economic conditions of the large masses of our country's population. The report contains many revealing statistics which tend to be carefully studied by every responsible citizen.

A few other salient points in this report call for a mention.

1. Agricultural families are employed only for 100 days in a year.

2. Average annual income per family is Rs. 483/- to Rs. 584/- per capita. This compares badly with the average annual income of each worker in the organized industry of Rs. 111-00.

3. The average primary expenses of each agricultural family are as stated below:

Food	Rs. 294/-
Clothing	Rs. 61/-
Food and Lighting	Rs. 52/-
House-rent and Repairs	Rs. 17/-
Medical and Miscellaneous	
Expenses	Rs. 50/-
Overhead	Rs. 15/-
Total	Rs. 480/-

Therefore it follows that all the agricultural labour families are barely living beyond their means. Every year they run into a debt.

4. It is a notorious fact that our rural families are starved. The figures recorded in the Budget on the matter are telling. The diet of the workers consisted mainly of cotton, jute and rice or chaplin made of wheat or millets or other cereals locally grown, supplemented by a little of pulses or vegetables. These caused no fat was concerned in the rural diet. The consumption of meat and milk products was almost negligible except in some States in the North and North West zones.

5. It was therefore no wonder that 50% per cent of the food budget of an agricultural labour family was spent on cereals alone. The remaining 50% per cent of the expenditure was spent over a number of items important amongst which were grass, oilseed and other oil-seeds, including for almost 10% per cent of the food budget. Another 5 per cent was accounted for by gun sugar, vegetables, meat, fish and eggs.

6. The Government has also taken pains to study the extensive content of the diet of many of the agricultural labour families and have found them to be far below the minimum requirement, as also protective food elements. These and such other valuable facts and figures in this report make it valuable. The Government after having obtained the detailed data should now seriously intend to consider the grave situation of our poor agricultural population.

It is stated that there are 100 clear days of labour available to every one of our agricultural labourers after allowing 10 weekly holidays and 15 extra festival days. It may well be asked how far these 100 clear days of labour are of value to the labourer as they get in agriculture many of these are days to sow a better standard of life due to the depending weight of field.

H Y

(From Green Village, Fardes, October 1945)

### THE SARVODAYA SCHEME OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY

(By Vaidyanathan L. Mohan)

As one who was associated with the creation of Sarvodaya Centres in Bombay State, I would like to offer some observations on the analysis of the Sarvodaya Scheme of the Government of Bombay contained in the article on "Patterns of Social Service" published in the issue of the Harijan for 18th November.

In the first place, it is not any Government-reserved programme of Sarvodaya which was sought to be presented by this experiment. The underlying objective of the scheme is not fertile in the Budget Speech for 1945, an extract from which I give below.

There is one great development about our reconstruction programme to which I should like to refer now. 'The foundation of the reconstruction programme', Gandhi often used to observe, 'is (a) honesty. Before anything is done in this conception of Gandhi's, Government which he envisaged in their place of development was destruction, before which would come to bring into production the positive aspects of the constructive programme that appeared to Gandhi. During the last five years Gandhi had come to believe that no individual part of the programme for improving the lot of the village such as the promotion of hand spinning, the revival of other village industries, the revival of co-operatives, the protection of the soil (and others) it was essential that they should be all part of an integrated whole. Service of the village community, he held, should be service in all walks of life. The basis of Gandhi's social philosophy was the good of

all, "Saravadya" is a name that is found in the Government scheme to select the all-rural satellite development—educational, social, and economic—in certain backward areas in the Province and treat them as semi-constituted areas. Each of these units will consist of a compact group of 30 to 50 villages with those or less homogeneous social and economic conditions in parts of the Province which are underdeveloped and mostly peopled by the backward tribes or classes. The details of the plan have still to be worked out. It is in Government's intention to make a beginning with the work early next year. For this purpose, Government have decided to make available a sum of \$2.5 million to cover a period of four years from 1955-56.

Secondly, the scheme is tied up in chains of affairs of Government. Before the scheme was to be inaugurated the Government of the day first applied their mind to the selection, in every District, of a Sanchalaka drawn from the ranks of social workers, engaged in the pursuit of Gandhi's constructive programme. It is the Sanchalaka who had a determining role in the appointment of his co-workers and in the drawing up of comprehensive programme of work.

No set pattern was recommended to the Sanchalaka to adopt. All that they were requested to do was to take a comprehensive view of their duty to promote socio-economic development in compact groups of 30 to 50 villages. The details of the programme were left to them to settle in consultation with local workers, so as to suit the special requirements of those whom they were expected to serve. The intended programme was so far as possible, to touch all the aspects of rural life: agricultural, cottage industries, education, health and hygiene, and, lastly, social organisation, recreation, and cultural activities.

The details of the schemes were, however, to be worked out by the Sanchalaka, these details to regulate the number and remuneration of the full-time workers to be engaged. There were, however, two or three limitations under which the programmes had to be executed. A ceiling of Rs 1,00,000 was placed on the expenditure to be incurred in a year. During a year, expenditure could be incurred, subject to a certain amount of relaxation, only on approved schemes. Besides, there was provision for the periodical audit of accounts by Government through a staff working under the Registrar of Co-operative Societies. However, neither the Registrar nor the staff could interfere with the working of the schemes. But the schemes had necessarily to be got approved by the State Saravadya Committee, consisting, mainly, of Ministers of Government.

It may be that the pattern of working does not conform to what may be termed a Saravadya form of organisation. I should like to point out, however, that it differs essentially, from the normal functioning of rural building agencies spearheaded by Government, as also from the new method or the new agency represented by the Community Development Projects and the National Extension Service Organisation.

## LOGIC OF DOUBT ABOUT BHODHAN (By Desandanka Bhodhan)

It was due to the bhodhan circumstances in Kanyak that Bhodhan on such a big scale was possible. You cannot expect that phenomenon to be repeated easily where? The logic of such a remark is not due to Bhodhan. On Bhodhan's return to Wareru from Thilapana three years ago people raised the same sort of doubts regarding Bhodhan's mission in other parts of the country. According to them, but for the services of the Government which provided in Thilapana, Bhodhan even in that part, would have been out of question. Bhodhan had even then expressed his scepticism at such an argument which pronounced "Saravadya" to be a mere description as a generalisation to Saravadya.

The objections and doubts, however, have been and are being constantly raised and repeated at every new step that entails the preparatory development line of the movement. According to those friends whose criticism has done more service than harm U.P. and U.M. have responded because there were big mistakes due to the existence of the Bhodhan system there and a similar response was out of question in other parts of the country. But what about the Bhodhan in U.M.? The objection was inevitable in that case in their only reply.

It has also become a fashion to whiggle that the area being inhabited by the Adivasi the villages must be big ones and the buildings very small. As if some villages do not form part of the far fabric of the total number of villages in India! The fact is Thane Ghodhan village, like other villages in the country are average ones, both big and small. I was myself present at many a village in the country. I have seen where villages ranging from ten to hundred families with a maximum population of one thousand people and with area measuring from one-half acre to the hundred acres and even more. This fact was not the Governor of U.M. Bhodhan (and) others in this area in four figures. I have witnessed the villages formerly be possessed of 25 acres occupying only 1/2 to 1/3 in return in the process of reclamation according to the will of their landlord Bhodhan Bhodhan. In two bulletins, however, how in Bhodhan's the fact of the village who all the other day owned 25 acres had the next day having become a member of the village family, gladly accepted only 1/2 acre, the share according to his quota. The whole village, with one voice and mood, sincerely requested the State to accept at least a few acres more than the rest. (How can I take more? I asked the reply "You have made out the land of the village; when he himself to accept my due and not mine and that, too, in the end after many and also has received" his bright eyes while that Bhodhan only reflected the joy and peace within and revealed how blessed he felt that evening. And such illustrations were being daily multiplied at the land reclamation ceremony.

As to the all-repeated contention regarding the operation of the movement Bhodhan pointed out that in Bhodhan the object was not achieved, one was often shy in acknowledging that the subject was within the range of doubt, but, but even it was established, it was also suggested that nothing else could have happened, the reality of those that are believed to think that, may look closer, the then who possess insight and their sincerely think differently.

It will not be out of place to recall in this connection that Lokamanya's analysis of this phenomenon. After long in his second Poona speech, said "When that Lokamanya. This collected one idea of reason for expediting public work during those days, it was not a recommendation to us. And Gandhi's call to the nation to mould how one were to the (Gandhi's) Point and the two points our action gave to that call and diffused the demand which the premises that first, was behind a country, and now there was the Bhodhan movement, imagine the state to state of the 40 lakh crore of land which could be easily wanted in terms of reason, apart from the moral

rights and duties which are important for both sides to establish and define." The Lathapians in his analysis have come to the same conclusion which is correct, it was often expressed by Vinodaji. "Our people" while then Aryan are due to the highest stage of civilization provided the due regard to their rights. The transposition of waters, step through Hindustan and Kanyakumari, the establishment of voluntary labour through Hindustan and the various conditions made by our men in Can—will go to prove that our feet, that the heart of this country is still Indian."

Appeal to the Honour, but to the Honour.

And Vinodaji has not made any secret about it that it was more through the appeal to the Honour than to the wisdom of the Lathapians that they finally understood the idea of villagehood and constructed their community rights in favour of the society.

#### The Only Way

And it has been now understood, and rightly so, not only to the lack of individual but to that of community possessing the voluntary surrender of individual rights to the only, already the act of the will of the day including exploitation, oppression, manipulation, poverty, inequality, illiteracy and injustice. This manipulation alone can lead to the adoption of God that is to say, And this transformation within is the one basis of the transformation that we want to bring about in the society. The answer we realize from the way for all of us.

### FEARLESSNESS, SHARAJ AND SELF-RELIANCE (By Vinodaji)

(From the private journal of Shriyugamp Camp, District Kottayam, District 21-24-35.)

#### II

The leaders of the world today are afraid of one another and are manufacturing huge bombs to frighten others. But surely you cannot win a peace by frightening or being afraid of others. But can you have any other kind of danger today? Today's newspapers carry the news that America declared it was the biggest to have ruled government in making America. People who have been gifted with intellect should realize that they have no other, the gift was for the civilization but for the good and wisdom of society. If those who have received the gift of intellect from God will use it for the protection of others but gifted they will destroy the law. If those who have strength were to know the way, God's wrath shall descend on their heads. The house of the who does his best and works to do it with every will and to be used, but he who will within his head and wealth in the service of others will be blessed with life here. Those who have been given the gift of the strength to perform a task will be blessed by the love of God. If they use their gift in the service of others but if they were to keep their strength to do better only for themselves. If they do not exercise it out of their knowledge or if they use it for their own self-interest, they shall not receive the love of God.

God has given intelligence to the intelligent or that they, they are it for their for the good of the world. Let scientists therefore endeavour to make inventions which will give more steps to the world or which will save diseases to which men fall victims. Let them find out ways for harnessing the plant of life by means so that the world could be persuaded to give no eating meat. If they feel inspired to work on the three suggested fields knowledge and energy will descend on them.

Then (Hindu) or freedom does not exist in any of the countries. The England, America, France, and Russia, (India was known) in fact freedom everywhere should be able to be even more. Every child will promise under his freedom that it could not be promised by any one. (Only freedom) the spiritual child will have the strength to find out, and the vision of others, to provide to create a new nation. The society in which men's power who will be provided through their hands to support the independent control against the whole of it for the protection of mankind is, that is to say on the side of truth it will

stand in opposition to the whole of society even if it were against me and I were weak, to declare that the way society has adopted is wrong.

We shall not stop the great work if he persecutes us physically we shall not be afraid of anyone and we shall not receive from truth but shall willingly suffer hardship — a nation whose children are not their words is truly free. The society which values the land and wisdom of its members in the same way as it values its big personalities is free. There it is now every child has been given the right to vote. Every child, person whether great or small has now one vote for himself. The age during the right of land does not mean (Hindu) (Hindu) will come into being only when all are united equal, all are honored equally and all are equally held equal. But money is not that does not exist in any country of the world. The world is surely hankering for such things and to realize this way is it. It has not yet been able to do it. I therefore believe that the Hindu possession of the money has opened the way, for the world is still Hindu. A revolution is taking place here (transformation of the land) in the same spirit in material revolution and we have here the model presented to us.

We wish everyone of our workers to go in every village to carry the message of good peace to every person and also to tell him that in certain things for private use or enjoyment he is worth money and as much as this as it is to do. But as when thinking that in every there is no price in the there is no price when things and goods are privately collected. Those who collect goods and wealth for private use are persons of desire because they give birth to the law. But the order of society which holds every man to work that the desire are possessed by the whole there who give birth to them by raising society to achieve wealth for themselves have also to be made members of society. Those who give weapons to others are greater thieves. The poor man who sends them to under him at night has more others who collect wealth to it freely by day. India has not made of education to call the man but has put an end to it and removed himself with another. If a person were to approach India to tell him that by his, he died it is to believe that a day is past with the one he is working himself.

When some land has been distributed the villages should start without hindrance. If we wish this way and these movements to disappear and peace be established our villages will have to be self-reliant. Our villages will then be able to tell the other that any people can be created on their own. They will declare with each degree that the way had to be established for them. They will then be able to say that there are no temples in the villages because they did not collect goods. Therefore, they would say they do not need the police the courts, the lawyers, the army and many such other things. If a policeman were to take a village boy which he comes to the village the boy will certainly wear him out to do so because he has not received any crime. This is the way of doing we want to enter in it every one of our villages.

(From Kashi)

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**HARIJAN**

(FOUNDED BY BHAKTMA GANESH)

(Editor) BHAKTMA P. DESAI



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THE AMER

**SCIENTIFIC TERMS AND TEXT-BOOKS**

(By Bhaktmata P. Desai)

One may not expect that the biggest hurdle in the passage to the change of medium of instruction from English to Indian languages is the want of scientific terminology in the languages. If we could overcome this hurdle we could as well say that we have nearly solved the great problem of the change of medium of instruction in the universities.

The problem of a scientific terminology is not ultimately merely one of changing words from one language to another, but is truly speaking the fundamental question of the cultivation and development of the Indian language itself. This work was not carried on at all in our languages as it did not respond to its suitable done till today. Therefore now when we think of taking it up, our brains feel almost disabled or numbed as if for want of proper exercise. We may as well say they are suffering from a sort of palsy. We have now to make up our minds to free ourselves from this disease, because the palsy is not our original infirmity but a something which has been accidental. Nor is want of a scientific terminology in the language an inherent disability of the language as such. We may well remember in this connection what Gandhi told us in his speech as president of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad, quoting the words of the first grammarian of the language Be- Taylor

"One very often hears it being discussed whether Gujarati is a perfect or an imperfect speech. The proverb says—just as the king, so the subjects, or just as the master, so the disciple. We may as well say just as the speaker, so the speech—*ajee vee, aje vee*."

It is not our experience that poets have hesitated to express all their various thoughts and feelings in the speech because they thought Gujarati was an imperfect language, indeed, they so attained their objective in arranging words old and new that whatever they said or wrote has become immortal gold.

The normal tendency of language is that it conveys the thoughts with which the minds of its users are filled. If the people are wise and

discreet, their speech is naturally full of wisdom and discretion. If the people are foolish, so would be their language. An English proverb even that an ignorant carpenter quarrels with his tools. Even so those who quarrel with their language are like the carpenter. The students who have received some smattering of English and some smattering of knowledge through it are likely to be misled into feeling that Gujarati is an imperfect speech. The reason is transition from English is a difficult process. But surely it requires less labour to acquire proficiency in one's own language than in another's. Before you have done otherwise in Gujarati you are likely to feel that your language is imperfect. But once you have gone through them you will find it is perfect. If the student and his students are imperfect his language will remain imperfect. But if one who employs Gujarati puts in full endeavour, his language will be perfect. Why, it may turn out well ornamented too! Who will dare to call Urdu or the language which belongs to the Aryan family, which is the daughter of Sanskrit and which is related to so many excellent speeches? And is not Gujarati all this?"

Those who know about it inform us that English has thousands of scientific terms for every single branch of science and that new ones are being added to them everyday. This is also equally true of other branches of knowledge like history, geography, philosophy, sociology, economics, politics etc. The problem of terminology is serious not only in the case of science, it is equally serious for arts also. The only difference is that while we have been pursuing knowledge of arts to some extent in our own languages, we have not been able to do so in the case of science and have been entirely depending on English for it. That is why we feel confident of being able to carry on our teaching study in one case and difficult of doing so in the other.

We had better bear in mind that the beauty of the English language is not of the language itself but of the culture which employs it. The dictionary, *ajee vee, aje vee*: (just as the speaker, so the speech) is absolutely true. If we look at the cultivation and progress of our speech

during the period of transition, we get full proof of the truth of the doctrine.

Some require a few whetters there would not be emergency in the field of terminology if the work was not done by one agency. The fear is true, however one need not entertain it, nor need one be scared on that account or get panicky either. In fact there is no cause for such panic. There cannot be any room for such fear if all who employed themselves in the task were to observe and be acquainted with one another's efforts, even with a generous mind ready to teach, understand and were to avoid mutually rivalries. But if in spite of all attempts with such goodwill and co-operation some rivalry were to creep in, it should be regarded as an interesting manifestation of a living process and the rivalry would surely turn ultimately to uniformity and resolve itself into it. This has been the experience of all who have undertaken the job till now everywhere and it seems to be unavoidable to a certain extent. We may remember with profit the words of the Gita that new beginnings cannot be expected to be free from blots— but if one were to pursue the task with a will and pure eagerness the blots, are sure to diminish themselves and vanish to go on increasing.

Another reason why we need not despair of achieving good results may be noted here. Almost evolving a scientific terminology we have not to begin from scratch. Our secondary schools have already covered some way in the direction. The terminology they need has more or less been achieving uniformity. The Gujarat Vidyapeeth and several others have published it in a book form. The terminology it is book is at the moment. Students from secondary schools who will enter the university will come ready with the knowledge through use and practice. We have, therefore now simply to go ahead in the same direction as similar lines. Besides, teachers in secondary schools who have been employing the terminology can do much in making a valuable contribution to evolve the terminology further for use in college classes. Professors of science who teach in colleges should not hesitate but should welcome their help in this common task.

Again, we know we have certain guiding principles to be kept in view while evolving a scientific terminology. Some of the principles can be used to have general ideas of acceptance.<sup>2</sup>

The main thing to be noted is that if professors were to begin actual working keeping the principles in view we could go forward with the confidence that practice will surely lead us towards perfection. That the students and the people understand and begin to think about science in their own language is ultimately the true test of the usefulness of the terminology. We

can progress in the same task by applying the suitable test of our conditions and progress.

The problem of books or rather text-books remains. The problem however is one which follows that of use and teaching and should therefore be reckoned as one of secondary importance. Because the medium of instruction we had to adopt was a foreign language we had to depend on a method of teaching and learning only through books in our colleges. The method, we know to our cost, has resulted in mere memorizing of books by students. Learning science mostly became a matter of verbal exercises and memorising terminology as a consequence, the percentage of true knowledge of the subject got less and less. The fear about terminology which bores the teachers is due mainly to this cause. If we removed the cause and made school teaching true and effective we shall surely be able to carry it into words through the notes used by the professors in the initial stages and we would be having reliable books and text-books which will have passed the test of experience. Besides, these books would be coming into being much earlier than some people seem to fear. We would do well to regard ourselves of the experience we have had in this connection as our secondary education.

But what one may ask about the interim period? Really speaking we would hardly have to pass through any period without any books because if we had the will we could surely prepare and publish a few books even to start with within the year. Again English books which are helpful would serve a very useful purpose. Students can be asked to take help from them. Because the language is given up to teachers, it surely does not mean that it ceases to be a source of knowledge. Instead, that is the reason why the university desires some knowledge of the language essential for a student seeking entrance to its portals.

A suggestion before I close. If we intend to go on the undertaking with mutual co-operation and in an organized manner we had better do one thing. All the branches of knowledge and sciences should immediately prepare and publish a list of English terms employed by them. Such lists would make it easy for those interested in the various branches to be of mutual help in the exchange of new terms. If we could perform the job this way to bringing uniformity would also be smoothed and an easy opportunity for organized effort for progress would be available.

30-2-56

(Transmitted from Gujarat)

By Mahatma Gandhi  
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<sup>2</sup> This has been described in a previous article, 8 KUTUB "Terms for Science" (Kutub, 12/1/55)

## WAR AND SATYAGRAHA

(By Richard Russell)

### II

But it may be said that, even if the Germans could not actually take over the government of England or rob us of internal self-government, they could do two things which would injure us vitally—they could take away our Empire, and they could levy a tribute by the direct or depriving us of food supplies.

The Germans could not take away the self-governing parts of our Empire; still they would strip us there the same liberties as would prevent them from governing England. They could take away those parts of our Empire which we hold by force, and this would be a blow to our pride, the oppression of subject races is one of the chief causes of primitive rebellion, and one of the chief things for which Germany argues us. But it is not a source of pride to any nation or Empire that European rule over unwarlike races is, in fact, a very cruel affair. The best of the men whom it employs are those engaged in the attempts at government: who live in exile and usually die of fever, the rest grow rich selling guns to natives as making them work to death. Meanwhile the natives degenerate; some die of drink, some of diseases caught from white men, some of consumption in the cities, those who survive realize the loss of civilization without having the vision of barbarism. It can only be a blessing to any nation to be deprived of this source of pride, which is a source of corruption and immorality in the life of democratic communities.

That the Germans could levy a tribute on England by threatening our food supplies is obviously true. The effect of such a demand would be exactly the same as that of the high-treason who demands "your money or your life." The same reasons which would lead a reasonable man to give his money rather than shoot or be shot would also lead a reasonable nation to give a tribute rather than resist by force of arms.

The greatest sum that foreigners could theoretically exact would be the total economic cost of the land and natural resources of England. In fact economic cost may be defined as what can be, and historically has been extorted by such means. The rent now paid by landowners in England is the outcome of the exactions made by William the Conqueror and his heirs. The law courts are the outcome of those set up at that time and the law which they administer, as far as land is concerned, represents simply the power of the sword. From inertia and lack of imagination, the English at the present day continue to pay to the landowners a vast sum to which they have no right but that of conquest. The working classes, the shopkeepers, manu-

facturers, all merchants, the literary men, and the men of science—all the people who make England of any account in the world—have at most an infinitesimal and accidental share in the rental of England. The men who have a share are their lords, in luxury, political corruption, taking the best of lands and depopulating and enfeebling the rural districts. This way of life is that which almost all English men and women consider the more admirable than what are elsewhere seen as lowering it struggle to attain it completely, and those who are more remote read rural stories about it as their ancestors would have read of the joys of Paradise.

It is this life of the life rich which would be exacted if the Germans exacted a tribute from England. Everything in England that is not positively harmful would be untouched, wages and other earned incomes could not be diminished without diminishing the productivity of English labour and so lessening England's capacity for paying tribute. Our nobles' incomes, if the life rich were abolished, might be driven, by want of other outlet, into the administration of real work. And if the Germans could effect this for us, they would well deserve their tribute.

It is very doubtful, indeed, whether the Germans would exact from us a larger tribute than we exact from ourselves in existing form. There is no knowing what this war will have cost England when it ends, but we shall probably not regret it if we place the cost at a thousand million pounds.\* This represents an annual payment of forty million pounds. All this, together with the annual expenditure on our Army and Navy, we might have paid to the Germans without being any poorer than we shall be when the war ends. This represents an exceedingly large tribute than we derive from India, yet the Germans argue us that we are half of commercial ruin, and that we govern India solely for our own profit. If they believe this it is hardly to be supposed that the receipt of such a tribute would fail to satisfy them. Meanwhile we should have avoided the death of our young men, the moral degradation of almost our whole population, and the lowering of the standard of civilization slowly achieved through centuries which were passed in comparison with our present condition.

\* It is not (September, 1938) evident that this is not understated.

By Mahatma Gandhi

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# HARIJAN

Dec 18

1953

## TWO DISTINCT WAYS OF ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

(By Jagdishan P. Datta)

A correspondent from Ranchi sends the following news-cutting and thereby wants to draw the attention of all concerned to the direction our country is taking in economic development:

"Ranchi 16. According to official news yesterday here a plant for turning out milk-powder, which will be the second largest in Asia, is to be erected in the Ranchi-Chandla and Vishakhapatnam of the Southern Railway District, and the powder will be ready for sale in the market by the Month of 1957.

"Two schools belonging to a differentiation institution of the United Nations Organisation have already completed the survey of the proposed new milk-powder plant which will turn out milk powder which cost millions rupees in preparation."

The correspondent goes on to discuss the use of news along with the topic of vegetable — in the following manner:

"Hence there are to inform you that food workers who sell the are comparatively supplied with various kinds of milk-powder which are imported from India from foreign countries. As a result the general mass of people are dependent on the drop of pure milk which has had a chance to suffer in their use. As if this was the strange movement to set up a milk-powder plant is about to be launched. If milk was to reach the protesting millions of tons of milk powder we had better had confidence in the hope of making in the near future that kind of Singapore under which we had seen proof of glass and milk in Ranchi. Why then the talk of preventing our dependence?"

Various kinds of vegetable glass are manufactured in the Indian field and all these kinds are bought by the people turned of glass under the name India. When the failure of the market, various countries and countries in your paper the International, published an article on the topic pleading that the number of about thirty-five such factories which existed in India be gradually reduced so that pure milk and glass could really be available to the people. As a result, on the contrary, we witness an increase in the number of all of which means that the hope of getting pure glass and milk in this vision are unworkable in (perhaps) used for and a programme of self-reliance is undertaken actively in India.

What the correspondent says is absolutely true. Government will I assume, forgive me for stating that when they began to import milk powder in India their intention, along with supplying milk, is the class was to start a foreign trade in milk powder and to set up a centralized profession of milk supply. That if milk-powder had to be imported from foreign countries to serve the purpose indicated above, it would naturally strike anyone in course of time to set up milk powder plants in areas producing plenty of milk in order to manufacture modern milk-powder. Proceeding on these lines the Five Year Plan would have a ready-made programme, we

would gradually turn the working up to the next age by opening factories for industrial developments and the nation, too, would of itself go ahead in the direction of a scientific pattern."

Conventional types and plans are carried on in these glass and milk of converted as rather even as all but new thinking and half-baked ideas. And every day we see on them the water it can be taken with that wholly irrelevant things and ideas are being encouraged in this way instead of the true and true welfare of the nation.

An example in milk-powder plant is at present being erected at Ranchi District Khondra Development Fund which are in such people's own money are being expended thereby. And more instead of making arrangements to make available plenty of the true wealth of the people like milk, glass food grains etc everywhere in the country, it is being bought up by offering favourable prices and taking under the umbrella and rigid control of a money economy by employing tricks of finance taught by the science of economics. People will earn with money in this manner, and new trades and professions will come into vogue to work it back, eliminate it will be started to spread and develop culture, and as that way the rest of what is the new economic terminology is called a 'progressive economy' will be spread further and further. But we must not at least easily be able to see that the way is one of unhappiness and restlessness and beset with new troubles and hardships because the fundamental consequences of this way of progress and properly developed in the West are now those for everyone to see.

If the class ruling group is leading poor India on this road it is committing a grave error. The ways of the village culture of India are quite different. We have to study them and develop them again to suit the times to establish true (Gaura) for and of the people.

For whom is the trade and supply of milk-powder meant? Is milk in such plenty in Ranchi that there is a surplus left after everyone getting it so that this proposal is being considered? And if there is a surplus of milk, have not our people created and perfected clean and honest ways of converting it into ghee? Would it not be a sounder economic policy if the technique yields way and other by-products of milk which can be utilized at nominal prices or entirely free by the poor?

And does not starting such mechanized programmes for converting the raw product of poor man's labour mean that a new class of modernism will be created so that in effect the middle class will again be pocketing the wealth belonging to the poor?

If it is said that the professor will be carried on on co-operative lines are from that the co-operative society these days converts itself into a worthless hanged company.



The above applies to communities well. It has contributed much to drive down pure ghee down as its fatness makes the poorer middle class rich and give Government easy revenue. But the health of the people suffers in the long-run. Only recently the Health Minister of the Bombay State used bitter language about vasat-pas because of the adulteration of ghee which it makes and makes easy. Are we to believe that Government is helpless in prohibiting the manufacture of vasat-pas so that even its own minister has to condemn himself by taking only "bitter words about it?"

Now when the trade of milk-powder will grow, pure milk will also become scarce like pure ghee. In Bombay the population is better taught and encouraged to drink adulterated milk known as toned milk. Gradually one feels certain, this adulterated stuff will begin to be appreciated by the people. The milk powder trade will prosper and then we will be told in all circumstances that there was no help to the people through natural and demanded adulterated milk!

This aggression by the machine on rice, milk, ghee and such health giving articles is to signify an attack on the health, true wealth and true welfare of the people. Ways of depriving the people of facts of their work and employment or making them entirely dependent on the cities are concealed behind these pure forged trades and professions. The industrialists are not tired of repeating that they will absorb everyone in the various factories, mines, etc. and the new jobs necessary for administering them in place of the honest jobs which produce true wealth and Government, by its silence mean either to nod or half or full consent.

If we probe deeper into all these considerations it becomes clearly obvious that there are two distinct ways open to us for our economic reconstruction. One, the way of the economics of Sardarji which Gheddi indicated is to find the other, the way of the economics of socialism which is pursued in the West and along which the Government proceeds today. In other words one is the way of leading the country ahead by small-scale cottage and village industries and the other by mechanized large-scale industries. Sardarji's views by the latter and would concede a place to the former by way of an experiment. The recently published report of the Kharve Committee also does not go outside the limits indicated of it be judged by the standard of original facts and fundamental principles. What should truly be accepted as of fundamental importance is that industries for the production of food and drink and cloth should be decentralized village industries entirely in the hands of the people because they constitute the very life of the nation and isolate if the people were deprived of them and given all sorts of socialism instead, they would stand betrayed and there would be no hope of removing their economic

oppression. That is the guiding truth for the reconstruction of our new economy. Unless the Government recognizes the truth and accepts it without any reservation, we will not be able to avoid, while working progress, the twin dangers of capitalism and a State functioning through a bureaucratic holding centralized authority. Plants and factories for milk and milk powder do not work for cow-breeding but for creating new professions of middle men making profits as mere agents, for artificially raising the prices of essential commodities and for turning life-giving pure milk into worthless powder. They do not work for the benefit of the people but for centralizing the industry and to drag the innocent people to the dazzling illusion of prosperity of the new way of life by slaying them with currents in huge amounts. So if the people of India have to take a true and vital decision now it is this: Which of the two distinct ways of economic reconstruction they would choose to take? It is possible to have a synthesis of the two, but Government does not approve of it. Otherwise it would come out with the frank declaration that machines and factories shall not have place in the national sector of the India-trust of the country which would produce food and drink and cloth and that though the industries will be carried on on a decentralized village basis research will be undertaken to bring knowledge and science in their aid. As it is the vast laboratories of scientific research are today useless for this national point of view. Like the foreign policy of India, indeed to stabilize and strengthen that policy itself we will have to pay special and intelligent attention to our policy of economic reconstruction. Government can be made to see that truth only by the will and strength of the people. To cultivate their will and to strengthen them is the true constructive work of today. The Congress could hope to revivify the national power it was till now only if it seriously undertakes the constructive service of the Indian people as indicated above.

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## IS THIS 'DISTRICTING POVERTY'?

(By Anthony Sankin)

The Malacca movement which started in April 1951 in the small village of Telukemping has now well and truly become spread to all parts of the country. Some critics, however, have said that the distribution of land to poor people in Malacca would be worse than the national point of view, as they will not be able to cultivate the lands for want of resources and of implements. Sankin and P. N. also pointed out that at the time it was being distributed in small fragments it would be of an economic value in the district. The following facts would show how these facts have actually happened during the past few months. It is a story full of hope and promise of a happy future for hundreds of poor families who used to starve and a miserable existence formerly as tenants.

The facts relate to the District of Teluk in Malacca. The total land cultivation in this district have been 10,775 acres in the 1951 census and of these have already been distributed among 4,694 families. There are a few typical instances of what has happened during the past few months following the distribution.

(1) In village Kelumpang 14 families 11 of whom were Muslims received 2500 acres in small holdings. Among two families who own a pair of bullocks each and a third who own only one bullock, all others had no resources. Almost all of the land was (young) rubber in the 40-acre plots area. About 75 acres out of this have already been brought under cultivation with the help of village boys. Bullocks and ploughs of big farmers helped others. Only one family has not been able to start cultivation and one has left the village. All the other 11 out of the 17 houses have broken new land. The road—200 yards of gravel—has already been completed out of 4 acres, while the rest is standing bare in the fields awaiting its turn.

(2) Similarly in village Melak, Kelumpang 1400 acres of better land out of 2500 distributed among 14 families has been brought under cultivation, and in other 1100 acres out of 2500 acres donated to 14 families in Kelumpang 100 acres of rubber have already been gathered out of 4 acres in the latter village.

(3) In Kelumpang, Teluk, Sankin a great dance was given 1952-53. Sankin had previously (1949) followed by his own musical band without the assistance of other people and pair of bullocks invited one person from almost each class in the village to participate in a dance out of the first fruits of his labour which he could sell his own. He got this lot of land only in April 1951.

(4) When the owner of a land in village Teluk put of Kelumpang, Teluk, the owner himself had previously (1949) followed by his own musical band without the assistance of other people and pair of bullocks invited one person from almost each class in the village to participate in a dance out of the first fruits of his labour which he could sell his own. He got this lot of land only in April 1951.

(5) When the Governor of Malacca, Sir R. B. Christie, visited the village Kelumpang in 1950 to distribute Malacca land to the landless, the land looked like a circle of gold. The poorest were people. Some about their lands, but ultimately they were persuaded to the district Malacca Governor, Sir R. B. Christie's Personal Secretary to see right the land. On 28-29-30 that Christmas night passed through the spot. It was covered with green crops. The village changed had done the land. The workers from the 1949 had deposited enough all in the land 1951 'covering seed and gold'.

(6) The field of Melak, Teluk is now unable to stop during night. The people are busy to protect the crop for has grown on Malacca land. He has to remove himself from the occasional ways during the day.

The above are a few glimpses of the change being brought about in the lives of thousands of previously Malacca. Sankin is, hundreds of his villages. Sankin

look, have land, better life, green fields. Lack of resources (land, bullocks, ploughs) has given rise to the rise of a bullock and a cooper and a carpenter among the poor. The inevitable conflicts between have become Malacca. They produce collective labour in the fields of crops in water. This cooperation has already been incorporated in working standing crops from going from the head of Malacca and profit with individual farmers at harvest time. Many houses have earned as much as Rs. 1000. This means from their small holdings they are giving them to buy a pair of bullocks, ploughs etc.

Thus the Malacca movement has been a distributing power in bringing happiness to many families. What is more it is also bringing a new spirit of co-operation and confidence in the countryside which in the past had, but, through this process are being led the beneficiaries of giving prosperity and strength to the peasantry.

## THREE CLASSES IN SOCIETY AND SARVODAYA

(By Pincho)

[From the preface of a book in Malay Camp in Kowloon, District, before 44 (1953)]

Whatever differences there be amongst us regarding religion, language, race, caste etc., we are all children of One Father. This means that we are all related to each other as brothers. Unfortunately however we have forgotten that our father from days. This is the reason why our nature is not influenced with a spirit of goodness and we lack happiness. Present-day society is broken up into three distinct divisions. Some are called the upper class, some middle and some the lower class. Those who belong to the upper class despise those who are of the lower class. I do believe there are exceptions. Still I can be safely stated that though members of the upper class and of the lower class come in daily contact with one another the former have generally a feeling of disgust for the latter. The upper class people believe that only they alone of the lower class are capable of any kind of work, are big, warm, able, while at work and spend too much time the time needed to them to satisfaction unless we of the upper class keep a close watch on them. Indeed they are the bullocks. So even if we of the upper class paid them well they would get above the means to use the money paid to look after them. They claim to be and they do not show any signs of it being the truth.

Now those of the lower class are of the commonest opinion about those of the upper class that the latter are all rogues with evil intentions. Those of the lower class work in the fields, harvest and crops belonging to those of the upper class and deliver them to their hands but never feelings of jealousy and envy against them in their hands. That is why the lower class always speaks ill of the upper class behind their back. They seek help from those of the upper class and when it is not forthcoming they get at all bullocks to abuse them. And when all things fail to make matters they say that though money has been paid them in order to help us, still God knows what tyranny we would be made to undergo. At least we would be made to pay through our taxes for the little we obtained. And the common saying is related each other and yet we despise the other and the other despise us and every against the first.

Those who belong to the middle class suffer from mutual rivalry. They have neither enough money nor the strength to labour. The upper class has money. The lower class has the strength to labour. Therefore, those of the middle class join hands with those of the lower class in order to oppress those of the upper class and with the latter to oppress those of the former. They will be the worst class agreement when you talk of taking land from the upper class and when asked to give land to lower persons argue that the gift would result in degradation of landless Malacca class people are better than poor mutual rivalry. Our chief is to eternal rivalry with another. This is the

such as hold their positions by sometimes joining one party and at other times the other.

These you will see that the chief finding in the upper class is one of disgust in the visible use of material wealth and in the inner use of anger and jealousy. These also we witness society divided into three separate planes. We want all three united into one where and that society stands truly on these three legs just as the tripod does. If all the three were in cooperation with each other society would certainly emerge because we are trying to achieve this strength through the Bhakti Yoga. We perceive that to realize that as they have the strength to know they should give it to go to the masses, where the masses would be prepared to give it to go for the use of the two leaders. These who own land or property we ask to abdicate the right of private property and to meet all wants of land.

Though society has been separated into three divisions to fulfil all the three laws a human body, as a result of the complex life may all join for the good and the unity of all people we strive to understand and engage and to be awakened of the truth of what we do. When we thus repeatedly explain a truth to the people we are in fact carrying on a campaign of temple work. We shall go on explaining all the people fully understood the truth. One and the teacher go on explaining the lesson to the student till the latter has grasped it. In the same manner we believe that it is our duty to explain the truth to the people constantly so that one by one, instead of our repeated efforts they will ultimately grasp it. Any idea which is true enters the subconscious of all the people when it is carried and explained to them with love. The truth and love which induce one like such the hearts of the people so that they are not able to resist the influence and consequently our society is our controlling life.

Days when when people used to not make others' friends and that for a short time of time. Today we do not see these things happening though there are yet some very rare exceptions. Any way, we are the founders of society undergoing a change. That is why people give land to give otherwise what power have I to force people to do so? Indeed I do not possess any power whatever except the strength of truth and love. In this very spirit of power people have given us two hundred whole villages in my country. Other villages have given a share of the land to them. There is not much of a difference between the gift of entire villages and of a share part of the land to them. When entire villages are given away to give the big use to them of course. Let it be worth more but the corresponding advantage is also greater. When the whole village transfers itself into one family it creates immense strength. When the state of the land is divided to give all the land to the village entire land has more value than land and more less. When the entire village is given to give the whole right of property is abolished.

When entire villages have been given to give the upper class will be free of the feeling of disgust for the lower, the lower class will be free of its feelings of anger and jealousy against the upper and the middle class will be freed from its feeling of internal rivalry because there would not remain any upper or lower or middle class. All will be equal. A small difference may remain but it will resemble the difference in friendship between the five fingers of a man's hand. We know that the difference between fingers is not much. And because they cooperate with each other or rather function together they are able to perform thousands of jobs though they be only five. We wish to bring about the cooperation and equality in society which exists between the five fingers of a man's hand. Let all people in society live together in the unity of the five fingers or of the five elements which go to make the physical world. We will have a society free from hatred, jealousy, anger and desires which has a state named about. We wish to turn a society

wherein the main feelings are those of love, respect and cooperation. That, indeed, is what we have found the Sarvodaya society.

(From Book)

## INDIA AND WORLD PEACE

(By A. P. Potluri)

[Shri A. P. Potluri kindly sent me a copy of a letter he wrote to the American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia (from India) on the subject of world peace, with permission to publish it in the *Harjian*. The letter is from that interesting letter.

5-11-25

—A. P.]

1. Gandhiji once wrote "In this age of the when force was glorified non-violence is the only force that can conquer all the tricks put together of violence." Non-violence is, this, and the scriptural, word is a definite step in evolution. It is the path of modern science and the speedily gained variety of power, in the evolutionary process. By way of distinction I once narrated a Samskrit parable to a friend and since he has described the incident in his book I quote it here.

"The story concerned a Brahmin who, one evening, descending in a char to be rid of the heat. Three times he tried to change it and three times the creature along the road which would have helped him. Yet that creature was a man who was watching. Don't you know that it is the nature of a creature to creep? The Brahmin observed that his own again. You're right, and it is my nature to creep to life."

Potluri Sahib finished the story with his usual flourish. I don't pretend to follow it, he said, but I suppose that's a good parable of justice. I can't see the strength to tell you whether it will work, but I can tell you that our war has failed. If the world doesn't find some other way we are finished. I am old, and it doesn't matter to me that you are young enough to experience. Good luck to you.

2. Independent India has made her humble contribution to peace. "That our Government has been able to do this without "preparing for war" or joining the side war in which both sides wish to "regulate through strength". It is due to majority of people's faith in "Ahimsa parama Dharma" (non-violence is eternal duty). Agents, the fact that religious and secular institutions, statesmen and politicians, declare and strive for peace and nations recent strikes on promises of peace or "war to end war", all show that most people want non-violence though they may not be capable of practicing it themselves under all circumstances. That they make their contribution to it in lesser or greater degree was seen in India, and also elsewhere, from the way people followed Gandhiji. It is true that for the greater part of people our Government has been obliged to use force, and also lesser arms, but compared with other parts of the world the force used here has been negligible.

3. The majority of world's population suffer want and poverty. These are the great "Violence", the cause and effect of most political and social evils including colonization and war. They can and must be abolished, through inter-

"In Love in War" (12. Quest for God) by Ragnvald Heyerdal, p. 146.

national co-operation in the U.N.O. as the first practical step to pacific resolution.

4. From the time man first became conscious of an all-pervading Spiritual Force that he could "feel"—above physical forces that troubled, frightened and killed him and also beyond his intellectual comprehension—he has been striving to come near and have his being in that Spirit.

"Christus Dei" of the Bible and "Sat-Yug" ("Age of Truth") of Sanskrit Scriptures (popularly "Hindu Raj") cannot be conceived as a world of hate and untruth, that pretense was and is as false and truth. It can be fulfilled, also, in the path of love and truth only. Striving for both, consciously and sub-consciously, the primitive, self-reliant, individual hunter developed into a family unit, families into village life, villages into States, and States into nations who today are reaching out with hostility for—"co-existence" but more abundant happier life. People of U.S.A. whose democracy like that of England and Canada is of complete Anglo-Saxon origin are in a position to render great help in this work world-wide areas.

#### BACKWARD COMMUNITIES AND QUALIFICATIONS FOR GOVERNMENT SERVICE

(By Magdalen P. Dood)

A Harijan friend from Bombay writes the following differences in policy in the States regarding recruitment of Harijans to Government jobs states:

"It would not be wrong to say that Harijans do not receive special benefits in the Bombay State. For instance, the first one to hold such applications looked to, the Public Service Commission for advertisement are the same. In the State for the Harijans to work on other communities. The standard of work has not done for it in Public Service Commission in the 1st 4th in December it has the the Harijans.

"This is not all. The Government State Government has taken a progressive step in the matter of qualification (or recruitment) in its services. When in the case of Government jobs, while the standard of qualification for communities other than the Harijans is that they must be the the Harijans it is just then and in some where the standard for others is just then in the 1st 4th a reservation is 1. intermediate year for the 1st 4th in the Bombay State however need qualification for all are reserved year and above need as persons.

"There is of course no harm in the Government of Bombay not keeping such big difference as two years in the Government State. But the Government of Bombay would be doing the right thing by the Harijans and would be helping their progress by making for them or second above marks than intermediate other than they and giving an opportunity for recruitment to those Harijans who have second marks only for the year class."

It would not be wrong to believe that other Harijan friends feel the same way. I believe the matter deserves deeper consideration.

Ms. Sec. 224 the Constitution of India lays down that for Harijans and other scheduled classes and tribes special facilities and relief may

be provided in the matter of services and such provisions shall not be considered as discrimination between states as such (Section 15). But the Constitution lays down a limitation regarding the exceptions that such provisions should not be such as to affect the efficiency of the services.

There cannot be any difference of opinion that the condition laid down is very vital from the point of view of the good of the nation as a whole. So the question to be considered would be how much relief in the qualification of services for Harijans would affect their efficiency.

Another provision of benefit for the Harijans generally laid down is a fixed percentage of their recruitment in services. This is a good provision. In the same manner a certain proportion of seats for them is laid down (for ten years) by the Government in the case of legislatures. But it has to be seen that the standard of qualification does not suffer. Therefore, the percentage fixed for the Harijans should hold a certain minimum qualification. This means that the Harijans too should reach a certain standard of qualification without being forced into a competition with the so-called superior caste. Such minimal and unexceptionable qualifications have to be determined after proper consideration and it is obvious candidates not having them cannot be recruited to the services.

If the complaint by the correspondents is against rules of this kind it is not proper. For instance, suppose graduates are to be recruited, then they have to secure a certain proportion of marks of the examination, and it would not be proper to reduce the standard for the Harijans. It is not, however, improper to fix a percentage of recruitment for the Harijans or other backward communities. This would mean that candidates from the Harijan and other backward communities should, as a matter of course, be given preference, if they possess the requisite minimum qualification, to other candidates who have passed their examination with a high percentage of marks. This practice would lead to a safeguard to them in the recruitment to services without in any way affecting their efficiency. And it is just that they should be allowed such safeguards.

4-11-55

(From *Ujjanak*)

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TWO ANNAS

## MAN AND MACHINE (By Jacobarief Nohri)

(From the summary of his recent speech appearing in *Shankar's Journal*, Nov. 24, 1954)

The world today has to find a balance between the god and the devil in the machine, according to the god-like qualities in it and set aside the devilish qualities to overcome it. We are living in an age of rapid change, in an age when enormous power is at the disposal of man. We cannot run away from the machine which is unstable because only the machine can solve the problems of today. If we have to have the machine that we trust have the best and best machines, technologically and otherwise.

But the machine is rarely for the betterment of human beings. If by any chance, the machine, instead of bettering the lot of human beings, brings suffering and misery to them, we will lose in every direction. The only way, therefore, in which the machine can be tolerated is if it is allied to humanism, tolerance and compassion. Otherwise the machine will cease to have as driving force, when the machine or the efficiency mind, which is just another word for the machine or the one-track mind, dominates.

While the more advanced countries, having satisfied the primary needs of their people — food, clothing, housing, etc. — are thinking of other things like India and other countries in Asia and Africa have still to satisfy those primary needs of the people. The fact that the countries of Asia and Africa have necessarily to think of their primary needs, while the countries of Europe and America have satisfied those needs by and large makes a great deal of difference in the approach of the people in Asia and Africa and the approach of those other countries.

While we have to keep certain ideals and objectives in view, ultimately everything has to be measured by the test how far it has satisfied the primary needs of the people. I have no doubt that India will be able to make progress and satisfy the primary needs of food, housing, clothing, education and health, which every person must have.

## MAKE BOMBAY SECOND CAPITAL OF INDIA (By Mangesha P. Desai)

In my previous note on the question of reorganisation of Bombay State, (see *Haripras* 18(11)-55 — 'Maharashtra Must Feel Satisfied', p. 297) I had suggested that Maharashtra should feel satisfied with the scheme of organising three separate units out of present Bombay State, which the Congress Working Committee devised after mature consideration of the problem from various standpoints. This scheme each reader has flown down for years in Bombay which I do not desire to discuss here. An item total of all those happenings and developments thereafter, the suggestion of the Working Committee again emerges as the best way out of this tangled chapter in the history of Bombay State. This shows that the Working Committee's suggestion for resolving the problem is on the whole good for all, and all should now accept it as the best compromise and bring of one mind work together and go forward to implement it. The ultimate thing which none can allow oneself to forget is that in the good of India lies the good of all her constituent States.

As all of us know, the crux of the problem is obviously the place of Bombay city in the new set up of States reorganisation. It is in the country's advantage to make the city a separate unit rather than include it in any one State. Its reorganisation therefore must be thought out keeping this main consideration in view.

What arrangement for Bombay should be done in this behalf becomes the question. At present, there is a simple suggestion that Bombay may have the status of a separate State like Jammu, Sikkim, Kerala, Madras, Gujarat, Maharashtra etc. This proposition must be further considered and its exact nature finalised now.

The S. R. C. had not recommended a separate unit for Bombay, therefore naturally it did not go into this question. Rather, it had recommended (vide its para 414) — "Having regard to the population and the size of the area as well as the fact that it is particularly a city unit, it will not, in our opinion, be entitled to be treated as a full

Sumner" (H.C. 1100). On the other hand, Greater Bombay was the hub of the political life of a dominion-ally advanced State and its administration is a central nucleus may be regarded as a "bureaucracy".

Both these arguments are valid to some extent. Obviously, Bombay as a City State would be a small one. It is also true that if it is going to have the status of a full-fledged State, i.e. with an legislature, ministry etc. there will crop up a variety of questions peculiar to its urban conditions.

As to the elements regarding Delhi that the H.C. report has done to its dispute on Delhi throws some light on the problem of Bombay's status also and some of its remarks, port parts, apply to Bombay's case as well.

Considering all this, it is apparent that we must at least keep Bombay City, that although it may not be included in any one State, it may not suffer the sort of difficulties noted above. Therefore, the best way out of the position is that Bombay should have the status of a second capital city of India rather than that of a separate unit as a City State. Even today some central departments have their important unit in Bombay. This may be given formal recognition by giving Bombay the status of a capital. For example, it may be made the Winter Capital of the Government of India who may come over to Bombay for some stated time. The President also may, at a time, have his residence in Bombay for some time.

If this is accepted, I feel, it will satisfy all sections of the State and the importance which it is feared Bombay might lose if it became a separate unit, will also continue as before, if not increase the more. Thinking that the present situation is not well for maintaining such a suggestion which has been with me for some years, I hereby declare it in the hope that the Congress and the Government will examine it for what-ever its worth.

7-12-55

(From *Supra*)

#### ECONOMICS OF AMBIA CHARAKHA

[The following item by A.I.C.C. Economic Review December 1, 1954, will give the reader an idea of what the All India Khadi & Village Industries Board has suggested to do in the next Five-Year Plan and what the State Committee of the Planning Commission has accepted the general proposals.]

The All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board envisages the introduction of 25 lakhs of Ambia Charakha during the Second Five-Year Plan period and the production of 412 million pounds of yarn required for their production of 1,360 million yards of cloth. The details of the production of yarn and cloth during each year of the Five-Year Plan period are shown in the following table:

#### Programme of Production

Particulars	1st FIVE YEAR PLAN	2nd FIVE YEAR PLAN	3rd FIVE YEAR PLAN	4th FIVE YEAR PLAN	5th FIVE YEAR PLAN
1. Charakha yarn* required (in lakhs)	1.25	2.15	2.75	3.25	3.5
2. Yarn production (in million lbs.)	20.5	32.5	36.5	39.5	42.5
3. Cloth production (Ambia Charakha Cloth) (in million yards)	75	125	135	145	155

The Khadi Board hopes that the introduction of 25 lakh Ambia Charakha will provide part and full time employment to 50 lakh persons in the country in the spinning of yarn, 5 of lakh weavers and 4 25 lakh assistants in weaving, besides providing full employment for 75,000 carpenters and their assistants and about 20,000 persons in administration and supervisory jobs.

The implementation of the Second Five-Year Plan for Khadi which the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board envisages, will provide, including all extra, employment for 24 lakh persons, ensuring employment in terms of full time employment for eight hours a day.

The implementation of the Khadi Board's programme for the Second Five-Year Plan will raise the average level of earnings of the spinner on the ordinary Charakha from about rupees 8 50 about rupees 12 a day or by 180 per cent. The Ambia Charakha can produce on an average 15 hanks of yarn of 50 counts or against the average of three hanks of yarn of 50 counts on the ordinary Charakha. The yarn on the Ambia Charakha is comparatively more uniform, with greater tensile strength, and consequently the weaving difficulties as it is compared with ordinary Charakha yarn are fewer. Apart from its higher productivity per hour, the Ambia Charakha yarn, wherever it has been tried, has proved to be relatively superior and consequently more acceptable to the handloom weaver. It is, therefore, natural that the handloom weaver, as a whole, will prefer to use this yarn in being unemployed for a longer or a shorter period during the year.

Of vital significance to the economic conditions of the handloom weaver in the country is the income increase that the Khadi programme implies. The Textile Enquiry Committee calculated that the average income of a handloom weaver today was about Rs 1.50 a day. The Khadi Board programme will enable such handloom weaver in the country to earn a minimum of Rs 1.50 a day, and where his efficiency is greater or his skill higher than the average weaver's, his earning can be between Rs 1.50 and Rs 3-00 a day.

Consequently, considered from the point of view of diffusion of employment, in the country

\* The Charakha are produced on Ambia (25 extra) and the Darning and Carding Machines.

wrong the sections of population and the urgent need of improving their economic conditions or the planned improvement in the standards of living of the workers and their assistants and the very large number of blind spinners in the country the programme of the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board is of utmost economic and social significance.

## WAR AND SATYAGRAHA

(By Keshava Dasgupta)

### III

But of course all that I have been saying is fantastic, dogmatic, and out of touch with reality. I have been assuming that men are to some extent guided by reason that their actions are directed to ends such as "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." This is not the case. Death, slavery and misfortune (for others) are the chief ends pursued by States in their external relations. It is the performance of such ends to men's own happiness that constitutes patriotism, that shows a man to be free from materialism, and that raises him above the commercial money-grubbing level of the mere shopkeeper. The Prussian feels himself noble because he is willing to be killed provided some of other nations are killed at the same time. His nobility and his freedom from commercialism consists in the fact that he desires the misery of others more than his own happiness. And there is a Prussian lurking in each of us, ready to make an unjust and national advantage which is not purchased by injury to some other nation. It is thus lurking Providence in our instincts who assures us that a policy of non-resistance would be lame and creatively unworthy of a great and proud nation: a failure to perform our duty of chastising an exactly weaker pride in other nations.

Pride has its place among virtues in the lives of individuals as well as in the lives of nations. Pride, in so far as it is a virtue, is a determination not to be turned aside from the ends which a man thinks good, no matter what outside pressure may be brought to bear upon him. There is pride in Candorist, sentenced to the guillotine spending his last days in writing a book on human progress. There is pride in those who refuse to consent their religious convictions under persecution. Such pride is the noblest form of courage: it shows that self-determination of the will which is the essence of spiritual freedom. But such pride should have as its complement a just conception of what constitutes human welfare and as its correlative a respect for the freedom of others as absolute as the determination to preserve freedom for ourselves. Exactly the same kind of pride is good in the life of a nation. If we think of it, while some other nation thinks well of it, let us show our national pride by living without war, whatever temptations the other nation may put in our way to live according to their death rather than ac-

cording to our own. The Germans, we are given to understand, hate us with a bitter hatred, and long to believe that we feel towards them as they feel towards us, for unrequited hatred is as bitter as unrequited love. They have made it amazingly difficult not to gratify their desire but in so far as we can keep our resistance free from bitterness we win a spiritual victory over what deserves to be considered in the evening, which is far from important than any victory to be won by arms and bayonets.

But this kind of pride is not the kind which patriots exhort us to display. The pride that they advocate is the kind which aims at defeating others. It is the pride of power. It may surprise that the Germans desired Moscow and Mongolia, we were proud of the fact that we prevented them from acquiring either. Having found that the Boers desired independence, we were proud of the fact that we made them submit to our rule. This kind of pride results mainly in love of dominion. Dominion and power can only be conclusively shown by compelling others to doings what they desire. By a natural consequence, those in whom the love of power is strong are led to inflict pain and to use force against the perfectly legitimate desires of those whom they wish to subdue. Among nations, those who make the nation's history are not those who have benefited mankind, but those who have injured other nations. If we judged ourselves upon the good and not the harm that we have done, we should have put Shakespeare on the Nelson Monument, and given April's House to Darwin. But the nations whom every nation honors most are those who have killed the greatest number of foreigners.

It is this pride of power which makes us unwilling to yield to others in matters of no historic importance. The Germans cherish a desire to own African empires, of which we have a superiority. No one in England benefits by the possession of these except a few financial magnates mostly of foreign origin. If we were reasonable, we should regard the German desire as a curious whim, which we might gratify without any real national loss. Instead of that, we regard the German desire as a crime, and our resistance to it as a virtue. We teach school children to rejoice because so much of the map is painted red in order that as much as possible may be painted red, we are willing to sacrifice these ideals of freedom in which we have believed, and, if necessary, to adopt all the worst features of the Prussian spirit. This is because we fear the external enemy who kills the body, more than the internal enemy, who kills the soul. The soul of a nation, if it is a free soul, without servitude and without tyranny cannot be killed by any outward enemy. And if men would realize this, the panic fear which the nations feel one toward another would be replaced by a better pride than that of diplomats and war-lovers.

# HARIJAN

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1955

## ANAND CHAKRA

(By Majumdar P. Sen)

To effect an economic revolution through Khadi was one of Gandhi's many dreams. He had arrived at the idea of Khadi as the spinning wheel as a corollary to his broader principle of Swadeshi Dharma. He used to repeat that the principle applied to the whole world and it was his confirmed view that without its practice peace in the world was but an empty dream.

Many there were who argued against the spinning wheel that it was hardly a profitable proposition in this age of textile mills and machine spun industries. Still, the remark some one has made is true that in this instance Gandhi had not only warned the tide but turned it back. Tipped skeptics against the spinning wheel are to be found even today the truth embodied in the idea is as valid now as it was then and has come to be recognised as such, though of course in its own way.

The earliest objection raised against Khadi was its being opposed to the machine. The argument is still being repeated by some. But Gandhi had replied to the objection thus without number that he did not oppose the machine nor however did he worship it blindly. He insisted that it should be utilised only for the welfare of man and in fact and there was no question of discarding it but of recognising its limitations.

This was why in early in 1928-29 he had an account through the All India Spinners' Association a prize of one lakh of rupees to be awarded to the inventor of a suitable spinning wheel there had come out with their models to compete for the prize but no one succeeded because no model could join the tests laid down in the requirements. The simple that stated intention that the economic philosophy of Khadi is not opposed to the machine but has a faith in domestic suitable machinery which can serve man and his needs. It is a matter of sorrow that hardly any one of interest has till now come forward to help invent a spinning wheel or a carding machine satisfying the view. Like the battle for Swaraj Gandhi fought this one also through men who may be called almost illiterate and pushed on his message of Khadi and the spinning wheel.

So Gandhi was always anxious for the invention of a suitable spinning wheel. Even while leaving Swaraj for good in the year 1946 he had exclaimed: "Why are we not able to invent a spinning wheel in which people would take willingly on their own without being coerced on its advantages? Surely our brains

are needed. It is not impossible otherwise, to invent and make such a wheel."

Fortunately the hope for such an invention is fairly on its way to be realised. The credit for the fulfilment goes to an unknown peasant youth from Tamilnad. About five years ago the young man began directing his mind to devising a model of a wheel which could be employed for spinning as it is done in a textile mill. He presented the model as perfected by him to the Spinners' Association. The Association in its turn began experimenting with it and has now after improvements and additions prepared a workable model. After the name of the inventor the model is called the Anand Charkha. It promises to prove the beginning of immense possibilities in the industrial reconstruction of India.

The wheel has four spindles. It is estimated that it could be applied to spinners at a cost of about thirty to forty rupees. Equally simple instruments for ginning cotton, carding and preparing slivers have also been invented along with it. It means the whole unit would be available at a cost of about a hundred rupees. If facilities for wholesale manufacture of the unit are available and of technicians and government more to help it is certain the cost could be reduced still further.

The wheel yields two strands of hanks of yarn per hour. The strength and evenness of the yarn are found to be very good and the Khadi woven out of it is sure to be very strong and durable. It is expected that the Anand Charkha unit will help a long way in achieving self-sufficiency and self-reliance in the matter of cloth and in the removal of unemployment. This is why the Khadi and Village Industries Board has given it a prominent place in the second Five-Year Plan and it is being discussed at the highest level in Delhi at the present moment.

The dangers are fraught with startling consequences for the future. If they end well the idea of a revolution through Khadi is sure to invigorate all its potentialities. That is the reason why all the forces opposed to it have arrayed themselves against the Anand Charkha. Second, the conscious members of the Central Government, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, and advocates of the textile industry interests have joined hands with them. That a quiet peace-loving man like Shri Vallabhbhai Mehta had to write publicly in protest against it hardly has article on page 355 of Harijan of 26-31-55 proves how far Shri Krishnamachari has forgotten all sense of decency and propriety while discussing the topic. To say the least, Shri Krishnamachari has, by doing so, not done any credit to the high position of power and responsibility he occupies. He has besides, demonstrated the grossness of consciously or unconsciously at perhaps more likely in the ignorance and blindness that power brings, of striking at the cause of India's industrial re-



construction. If the minister is responsible to the Central Government, as I believe he is, someone should ask for an explanation from him for his recently varied views in this connection.

A small incident will easily explain what has befell the Amber Charika. I have mentioned earlier the announcement of a prize of rupees one lakh to be awarded to the inventor of the new Charika made by Gandhi. He had appointed a well known mill-owner from Ahmedabad as one of the judges of the competition. The inventor was awarded the prize because even the best model submitted was not good enough. But on looking at it the mill-owner remarked to Gandhi: 'be the effort that the success of the experiment would require, and the textile industry and de-combustion cloth-production.

Gandhi had found the spinning wheel when he was working for remedies for the removal of unemployment. And now the Amber Charika has shown the way to the destruction of the textile industry and its transformation into a village industry and has also unexpectedly refreshed our memory regarding the mill-owner's prophecy. This is really so as the root of the vehement opposition shown to it. I hope the fact of the committee department of the Central Government having joined the forces of opposition is the result of the individual policy of one of its members and not its own. But if the Government has joint responsibility a single minister should not be able to insist on carrying out his individual policy. If the machinery of government is not well ordered and disciplined in such matters it is sure to have an evil influence on the future of the nation. All attempts at obstructing or strangling the potentialities of the Amber Charika instead of its developing them, will be deemed as betrayal of the cause of the true economic development of the nation because on the way of the Amber Charika is to be found the gate to the economic prosperity or the freedom of the poor dumb millions of India.

5-12-55  
(From Gujarat)

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#### STANDARD OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

(By Mahatma J. Datta)

The following is from a P.T.I. message from Karnal, November 10

Very few of the candidates who appeared for writing tests recently in the Junior Education Board (JEB) 1954-55 test, as usual correct and also made English states the administrative report of Junior Public Service Commission for 1954-55.

Given in the case of proper means about all the candidates coming from the Indian University 1954 were going to receive from which was Secondary School-leaving certificate, students were reported to 1955. The report was:

Some of the English teachers, for which History teachers working with Parents as their special subject were responsible were "Parents in the Europe", "The State in the of the important political parties in India. Another in a military State". "The is going on between China and Russia". "Representation among taking care of security and preserving modernity". "Gandhi is in Africa and belongs to France". And "High-school curriculum must be a political organization where there will be only one theme in the high school."

The report points out that many of the candidates in their were not aware of the First World War, one thousand students had no word of Karl Marx.

History students. The report also was typical of India's history and the teaching of history.

A Physics Honours student in his answer stated that a microscope is a microscope of a report and that the length of a body is its mobility to work, according to the report.

The report was. The performance of almost all the candidates was most disappointing in their own special fields. In general knowledge their level was very low. Secondary School-leaving certificate candidates who apply for school posts.

It is remembered that the majority of the middle class were from the University and that most of the Science candidates had no degree. —The Honours and B.A. degrees — and that quite a few were actually working in various colleges and schools and that all of them had First Class or Second Class degrees. The report is definitely surprising. Surely any of the prospective teachers gave the impression that they were suitable for the teaching profession as they had no marks in any subject in the department, or in the case of higher education. There had been some students who were reported the best among the candidates but not one of them gave the impression of satisfactory ability — they are all mediocre.

The pertinent question is how to remedy this dismal state of our educational affairs? If teachers are to be like the ones described above, what can we expect of their students? A drastic remedy is necessary indeed. I suggest that the multiplicity of universities must be set aside as soon as possible. This will open the way to a more higher education from the cream corner education to which it is a prey these days.

5-12-55

By Mahatma Gandhi

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## RISE HAND-POUNDING INDUSTRY

(By P. M. Barford)

In an agricultural country like India rice is cultivated in 37% of land and also it covers 45% of the total cereals produced. It is the main item of diet of a very large section of the population. It provides 80% of the calory and also it stands high amongst the food crops providing more calory per acre.

Taking into consideration all these factors it is necessary to consider as to how much calory also, necessary and important the hand-pounding industry is. For that purpose the Indian Government appointed in October 1954 a committee for rice-milling industry.

This committee, after an extensive enquiry arrived at the following facts:

1. In India according to the census taken in 1950 there are 1424 pounding mills registered according to the Factory Act. In 1953 553 mills are licensed. It is difficult to find out the number of small roller type of machines as they are spread in the rural parts of the country. Such big mills require machinery worth Rs. 25-30 thousand and it employs 500 hand pounders each. Each roller type of small machine employs 40 persons.

2. Presently in the country 45% rice are hand pounded while remaining 55% are processed by the mills. From all the points of view there is no reason why this industry should be mechanized. On the contrary the facts reveal that it must work as a village industry.

3. A survey, made by All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board clearly shows that in hand-pounding 33% more rice are recovered than the mill-pounding. This crinkled waste of the national wealth should be immediately stopped.

4. Rice contains protein, minerals and vitamin B etc. Vitamin B is the most important content of the rice, which is destroyed due to mill-pounding and whose deficiency creates disease like Beriberi. To prevent this disease attempts are being made in Malaya and Philippines to add this content artificially and externally. The Food Fortification Committee of the Indian Medical Research Commission has studied the whole problem and has come to the conclusion that there is no need of any such artificial addition as vitamin B is sufficiently preserved in hand-pounding, which can be easily resorted to.

The Inter-Governmental conference of the Eastern countries held under the auspices of League of Nations has strongly recommended that under-processed rice (hand-pounded) only should be supplied to all the Governmental institutions and attempts should be made to popularize it by propaganda and education.

America's Food and Nutrition Commission of the National Research Commission has also

suggested to develop the trade of the unpounded rice. F.N.C.'s nutrition committee has also suggested that in rice at least 13 Microgram vitamin B, should be preserved. And the preservation depends upon the extent of pounding.

India Government's Food and Agriculture Department after consultation with the experts has decided that rice remains edible till 5% of husk is removed. Again the Health Minister No. 15 of the Government of India clearly shows that from the nutritional point of view the hand-pounded rice are better and superior.

5. The husk of the hand-pounded rice provides the ideal food for the husbandry. That of the mill-pounded rice is injurious to their health and breeds many diseases.

6. Machines run by natural power have led to de-mechanization and close domestic, which has resulted into growth of markets on the international scale competition, imperialism and war.

7. According to a survey by the Labour Department of the Government of India 78.2% agricultural labourers have no extra occupation.

And when we think in terms of full employment a very large section of the womenfolk in the villages should also be taken into account.

Hand-pounding is such industry which can cope up with both of these needs.

Thus it is clear that from all points of view mill-pounding is in no way better and more useful than hand-pounding. Hence the question is how to develop it. Presently the rice pounded by the mills can be taken over by hand-pounding. But what steps should be taken for the same?

For that Rice-milling Committee has given the following recommendations and suggestions:

1. For hand-pounding the following implements are in vogue in the country:

Feeds & Motor	Price Rs.	10	Mls. daily
Wooden Chakki	20	1 to 1½	540 per hour
Stone Chakki	40	2 to 2½	540 per hour
Clay Chakki	nothing	1½	540 daily
Flints	20 to 40	3	Mls. daily
Wheelspoon or Chakki	700	30	Mls. daily

From these Board has selected Stone Chakki and Flints for popularizing them in the villages and to produce them on commercial basis.

2. No new mills should be given. The licensees and others should be no more expansion of the present productive capacity of existing mills and also they should be asked to work only six hours a day. In the villages also the roller machines attached to the water pumps should also be prohibited.

3. Mill-pounding can be allowed only for the rice to be exported, and that also should be done with the consent of and under the supervision of the Government. That too with the

cheaper type of machines only and must work the Hathi type.

4. Rs. 9-4-6 cross should be imposed on every munda that is mill-pounded and the amount collected should be utilised for research in and subsidy to the hand-pounding industry. Present subsidy of Rs. 5-6-0 per munda should be increased to Rs. 9-4-6, and should be distributed through recognised co-operative centres.

Hand-pounded rice should be accepted from Sales tax and the Government should assist using it in all its departments.

5. The State Governments should take steps to organise this industry so that it can replace the mills in the shortest period. They should draw plans for the next five years for expanding this industry on the co-operative basis with the view to provide more employment in the village, and every year they should review the last year's achievements.

6. The nutritional value, the employment possibilities of hand-pounding and the proper method of cooking rice should very much be propagated in the various development blocks and social welfare areas, with the help of co-educational and extension.

To implement these recommendations the Khadi and Village Industries Board has suggested the following programme, for incorporation in the Second Five Year Plan.

1. 14 million tons of rice which are presently mill-pounded should be branched to hand-pounding before 1960-61.

2. Rs. 15-4-6 cross should be charged per ton of rice pounded in the mill. At this rate even if we subtract 4 million tons for the difficulties in collection during the plan period Rs. 32.5 crores can be collected.

3. To distribute 17 lakh Chaldas and 2 lakh Dharas to the hand-pounders, with the subsidy of 75% in the price, for which 3-47 crores of rupees shall be expended.

Again per ton Rs. 18 as per panna munda Rs. 9-4-6 subsidy should be given, which will cost Rs. 22.50 crores. Thus the total subsidy shall be Rs. 27 crores.

4. Even then the surplus of Rs. 4.5 crores shall be utilised for the organisation and training for the industry. And it can also be used for giving 55% loans for buying improved implements.

5. During the last year of the plan at the rate of Rs. 1 per panna munda 24.5 lakh persons shall get work for 121 days during the year. And Rs. 57.4 crores shall be distributed as wages. 3,000 persons shall also be employed in manufacturing the various implements.

If with all this programme is implemented it will be a great help to mitigate the problem of unemployment and also the waste of national wealth by the mill-pounding.

## INDIA'S CULTURAL HERITAGE

(By Fanchai)

OPENED THE PROCEEDINGS AT AMBALA, DISTRICT KANGRA, GURGA, ON 19-12-64.

It is a little known circumstance that to give up something of his own for the sake of seeking job is present when it falls an opportunity to migrate and move. During the English regime, however, such visits began to be not so many. Arts, crafts and industries in the villages were destroyed and people began to rely on their own skills. Then, because they became slaves of money they forgot how. And now these people have realised a wisdom of money and have started to work. This is a nation which creates poor but is creative money in your own home. This, though, is not a nation but the nation. With water makes a land of water, water is necessary for creating a land of water and it is not in water and not in the mountainous land. When water makes the land it makes the land of the land in which water has been to stay.

We do not see that crops in our villages increase, that the agricultural work in every house that, every family has an own industry and even so that all children get plenty of food, and even more than his own, and even more that every house has enough food and food so that children who come to the village are not poor, that the people just know and work, and that they also supply various kinds of vegetables. Let all these things be created in the village but in money to create. Money has been created for the convenience of the people, the land and the water. Any that can easily run away with a few hundred rupees economy are in the pocket, but he would not find it so easy to run away with one with the money.

The positive thing is that the rich do not even have anything else but money. They do not have the land, the job of how to labour in the field, nor how to work the land, nor the idea of how to work in the field. They do not, therefore, have even get so they have food and vegetables and work, nor give, nor share. But they do possess some pieces of paper and some stones. By showing these pieces of paper they can see signs of everything that the poor village folk, for these days, have been taught by these pieces of paper so that they will be able to think they produce in exchange. Paper cannot be eaten, nor can it be drunk, nor worn on the body and the signs of money has spread in every village. That is the reason why the value of everything has come to be reduced in money. There was when people used to believe that it was a bit of gold and silver. They used to give it to whoever wanted it, but now even the value of gold is reduced in money. This is entirely wrong. Land is our mother. It is a gift from God to us. His children, and everyone of us has an equal right to it.

There is a bit of secret in the world today. There is a bit of money in India. But the money has not been compared to the money. The money is the mind of the people of India are filled with power. As a result of the situation which have given to the people during the past ages their minds are not used under money. Compared to the position here the money in the world is great power. Nations of the world are afraid of our money and go on giving up resources. They are manufacturing money which can destroy millions of men.

There is a bit of secret and lesson of India. That is why people here are not disturbed when overruled by hardship. But if we could remedy the money and remove poverty from the land, would be truly said that the people would grow in unity. This is why we should take care of all our children in India who are more education and power than we. If people in each village started to cooperate and action an education period would be found in it. That is why I have declared



# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MARGARET GANDHI)

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TWO ANNAS

## FALSE ALARMS

(By Franklin S. Koppell)

Fear on the heels of a recent handloom to the Press by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry on the present position and prospects of the Dhoti Textile Industry in the country during the Second Five Year Plan, came the reports of two important agencies of Sri T. T. Krishnamachari, the Union Minister for Commerce and Industry, on the same subject, delivered a few days ago at New Delhi, before the Export Promotion Council and the All-India Handloom Board.

### His Thesis

In his considered view, the present policy of limiting the mill production of cloth at 5000 million yards is wrong because: (i) the country cannot plan ahead for a steady increase in the volume of exports, with all its attendant beneficial results as the country's foreign exchange position; (ii) the handloom industry, as it stands today, does not have the capacity to produce the estimated additional requirements of 1700 million yards, which is itself a conservative estimate of domestic requirements; and (iii) the present trends in the stock position of the mills show the need to take appropriate steps well in advance to avoid the emergence of scarcity-consciousness in an essential consumer good as cloth. He therefore, considers it necessary to permit an increase in the mill production of cloth by at least 500 million yards.

As regards the production of yarn to manufacture the required volume of cloth as well, he considers the recommendations of the Karve Committee to defer increasing the installation of additional spindage till the results of the field tests on the Andar Charkha are known, as "an impediment in the way of providing adequate supplies of yarn to the handloom industry". In fact according to him, "the recommendation (of the Karve Committee) in favour of postponing mill production of yarn is a thing, which is not in the interests of the handloom industry". He, therefore, desires to set up 3 spinning units, each with 1,00,000 spindles in the public sector to ensure adequate supplies of fine yarn and also to regulate the prices of yarn, produced in the private sector of the industry. The decision of the Handloom Board as reported in the Press, is that

spindage must be increased, but that the increase should be in the public or the co-operative sector. It may be added, however, that the Board favours the decentralised method of production.

### Scope for Exports

The target for the exports of cotton textiles from the country by 1955-56, prescribed by the Planning Commission was 1,500 million yards. The trends in India's traditional as well as new export markets over the last quarter of 1951 show increasing international competition, due partly to the recovery and re-entry of Japan in the textile market and partly to the increased availability of rayon and other substitutes for cotton textiles. The world wide recovery of cotton textile exporting countries, on the one hand, and the increasing production of staple fibres, artificial silk and rayon products, on the other, have steadily worked against increased exports. Consequently, despite the setting of 1,500 million yards for exports, India's cotton textile exports have averaged less than 800 million yards in view of the probable continuation of these trends in India's export markets, on the one hand, and the probability of increased availability of substitute textile products, on the other, the Textile Enquiry Committee observed that export requirements of cloth by 1960 might not exceed 1,500 million yards. Nothing has happened since to warrant Sri Krishnamachari's view that export markets may improve.

### Capacity of Handlooms

Secondly, he view that the handloom industry cannot increase their production beyond 1,500 million yards is altogether erroneous. The progressive replacement of the three-shuttle loom by the fly-shuttle loom, which has been going on for nearly a decade, has raised the productive capacity of an average handloom from about 2 yards a day to 6 yards a day, although even today, quite a substantial number of handlooms in the Western and Eastern Zones of the country produce 8 to 10 yards a day, (vide statistical data in the Textile Enquiry Committee Report Vol. III). At an average daily production of 4 yards and 300 working days, the productive potential of 20 lakh handlooms is  $(4 \times 300 \times 20 \text{ lakhs})$  2,400 million yards or a capacity to pro-

duce 2,180 million yards with the present self-served production at 1,560 million yards.

#### Yarn Requirements

Shri Krishnaswami's reported statement that the Yarn Committee have recommended "petrifying mill production of yarn" is a palpable mistake. Instead, the Yarn Committee have specifically considered this question in great detail and at great length to show that with the full utilisation of the capacity of the existing and recently licensed spindles in the spinning mills and composite mills, yarn requirements for the production of the probable additional requirements of cloth up to the end of 1937-38 can more than fully be met, and there is absolutely no danger of any shortage of yarn in the country. It is, therefore, a plain mistake to accuse the Yarn Committee of having recommended "petrifying mill production of yarn".

The Yarn Committee estimated that with the production of yarn by the spindles in common with all types of mills and the percentage of the additional 41 million spindles licensed to be installed, yarn requirements can be fully met. In other words, due allowances were made by the Committee for the number of mills that might not be working and for the probable shortfall in the installation of the additional licensed spindles. The view of the Committee is thus based on a clear, careful and objective analysis of the probable increase in the domestic demand for cloth and the probable availability of yarn from the spindles in common use and the spindles likely to be installed during the period ending 1937-38. In other words, the Committee envisaged as much increase in the mill production of yarn as was possible at achievement with the installed spindles and the additional that were licensed and most certainly did not recommend "petrifying production of yarn." The move to discuss additional spindles because of a probable shortage of yarn does not appear an objective or an impartial assessment of the situation.

What deserves to be repeatedly emphasised is that alarmist views such as those expressed by the Minister may precipitate the very crisis that he seems to desire to avoid by proving to be a powerful disincentive to the business to install the licensed spindles as well as curtailing additional production of yarn.

Shri Krishnaswami's suggestion of setting up immediately three spinning units in the public sector as a means of checking prices of yarn charged by the private sector, goes counter to known and varied experience. The prices of yarn manufactured by the co-operative mills are substantially higher than those of the trading mills. Additional mills may probably raise the prices of yarn still more, particularly as consumption of mills in the public sector today is not an easy problem. It may defeat the very objective the Minister has in view, and confound an already confused issue.

#### Alarmist View

That these are alarmist views and help to prejudice the possibilities of the Amber Charkha, which has a socio-economic objective, is further supported by the facts of the situation. Of the total number of composite and spinning mills, 18 composite and 8 spinning mills or 26 mills in all are idle. Their productive capacity can, with appropriate measures or directives, be certainly devoted for the national purpose. Secondly, in case an emergency arises, an improbability as has been shown above—fuller utilisation of the existing 11.8 million spindles can be secured. Today only 20 per cent in the first, 75 per cent in the second and 50 per cent of the spindles in common use are actually utilised, and it requires no argument to see that these spindles are capable of fuller utilisation. Moreover, it certainly is possible for the Government to discourage or ban exports of yarn in the interest of domestic handlooms and/or mill looms.

Of a similar nature are the idle looms in the mills, estimated at 25,000 in the first and 45,000 in the second shifts. If a crisis does occur, there are adequate means available in the spinning industry to meet it fully in the worst interest.

To sum up, the repeated attempts on the part of the Ministry and Minister of Commerce and Industry to create an atmosphere of crisis and alarm in the cotton textile industry and in the country serve no purpose at all except that of propagating the very sober, objective and well-balanced views of the Yarn Committee, on which two of India's foremost economists served.

#### WAR AND SATYAGRAHA

(By Jeevesd Ramani)

##### IV

The armies and navies of the world are kept up by three causes: cowardice, love of domination, and lust for blood.

If it is cowardice that makes it difficult to meet invasion by the method of passive resistance. More courage and discipline is needed for the successful practice of this method than for facing death in the heat of battle. But I am persuaded that there is in England enough courage and enough capacity for discipline to make success in passive resistance possible, if education and moral teaching is directed to that end instead of to warlike prowess. It is worthwhile also that makes men prefer the old method of trying to be stronger than your adversary (in which only one party can succeed), rather than a new method requiring imagination and a readjustment of traditional standards. Yet, if we men could think outside the well-worn grooves, there are many plain facts which show the folly of conventional statecraft. Why has Germany invaded France? Because the French have an army. Why has England attacked Germany? Because the Germans have a navy. Yet people persist in thinking that the French army and the German

may contribute to national safety. Nothing could be more obvious than the facts; nothing could be more universal than men's blindness to them.

The stated reason for keeping up the armies and navies of the world is love of dominion. The Germans, in the Marocco controversy, announced that nothing of importance was to happen anywhere without their being consulted. We regarded this as a needless arrogance, but for two centuries we had advanced the same claim as a matter of course. The matters about which diplomacies raise a pother are usually of only microscopic importance to the welfare of ordinary citizens: they are matters involving national "prestige", that is to say, the power of the State to prevent other States from doing as they wish. This power is sometimes partly based on money, but in the main it rests on armies and navies. If our navy had been smaller, we should not have been able to defend the German desire for an Atlantic port in Marocco. It would have done us no harm if the Germans had acquired Cambores, but we enjoyed the thought that our fleet kept them out. The procuring of such pleasure is the second purpose served by armies and navies.

The third purpose of armaments—indeed their primary and original purpose, from which all others are derivative—is to satisfy the lust for blood. Fighting is an instinctive activity of man, both individual and human. Human males, being gregarious, naturally fight in packs. It has been found that the pack tends to be more successful against other packs when fighting within the pack is as far as possible prevented. For this purpose, the lion and the police have been institutionalized, but the shedding of human blood is still considered the most glorious thing a man can do, provided he does it in company with the rest of his pack. War, like marriage, is the legally permitted outlet for a certain instinct. But the instinct which leads to war, unlike the instinct which leads to marriage, so far from being necessary to the human race, is wholly harmful among civilized men. It is an instinct which really becomes strangled in a civilized community; many men have hardly a trace of it. Unfortunately, as men grow older, their affections and their powers of thought decay. For this reason, and also because power stimulates the love of power, the men who have most influence in government are usually men whose passions and impulses are less civilized than those of the average citizen. These men—the great financiers, the Ministers, and some editors of daily papers—use their position, their knowledge and their power of disseminating misinformation, to arouse and stimulate the latent instinct for bloodshed. When they have succeeded, they say that they are reluctantly forced into war by the pressure of public opinion. Their reactions are exactly analogous to those of men who distribute indecent

pictures or produce indecent plays. They ought to be viewed in the same light, but because of the notion that a war is kill foreigners in petticoats and ritzmas, they are homologized as men who have deserved well of their country. They provide an outlet for the impulse to homicide. To gratify this impulse is the third and ultimate purpose of armies and navies.

All these three motives for armaments—overriches, love of dominion, and lust for blood—are no longer inevitable in civilized human nature. All are diminishing under the influence of modern social organization. All might be reduced to a degree which could make them almost innocuous. If early education and current moral standards were directed to that end. Passive resistance, if it were adopted deliberately by the will of a whole nation, with the same measure of courage and discipline which is now displayed in war, might achieve a far more perfect protection for what is good in national life than armies and navies can ever achieve, without demanding the courage and waste and welter of brutality involved in modern war.

Nevertheless, it is hardly to be expected that progress will come in this way, because the imaginative effort required is too great. It is much more likely that it will come as the result of law within the State has come, by the establishment of a central government of the world, able and willing to secure obedience by force because the great majority of men will recognize that obedience is better than the present international anarchy. A central government of this kind, well conceived, would, not as a purpose, but as the representative of the interests of the whole. Very soon, resistance to it would be seen to be hopeless, and wars would cease. Force directed by a central authority is not open to the same abuse, or likely to cause the same long-drawn conflicts, as force extracted by quarrelling nations each of which is the judge of its own cause. Although I firmly believe that the adoption of passive instead of active resistance would be good if a nation could be convinced of its goodness yet it is rather to the ultimate creation of a strong central authority that I should look for the ending of war. That war will only end after a great labour has been performed in sharing man's moral ideas, directing them to the good of all mankind, and not only of the separate nations into which men happen to have been born.

(Continued)

By Mahatma Gandhi

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# HARIJAN

Dec. 24

1935

## HAND-LOOM & SPINNING-WHEEL

(By *Mr. K. K. K. K.*)

The reader is likely to find that the handloom is rather curious. He would begin wondering how the handloom would be in opposition to the spinning-wheel? But one is invited to witness the strange sight of some people believing and trying to make others believe that the two are opposed to one another in the new economic history of India shaping itself at the present juncture. I am writing under the compulsion in order to bring out and demonstrate the strangeness of the phenomenon.

The reader will surely remember that the Central Government had appointed, about two years ago, a committee under the chairmanship of K. K. K. K., the present Deputy Minister of Industries, to enquire into the state of the textile industry and that the report the committee submitted to the Government had arrived a bad name. The reader will also remember what I had written about it in the *Harizan* of 18-10-34.

The K. K. K. K. Committee had gone into questions regarding textile mills, power-looms, fly-shuttle looms and the simple three-shuttle pit-looms plying by the hand. The notable point with regard to the enquiry was that it concerned itself only with looms which employed mill-pure in weaving cloth. That is to say, it did not concern itself with hand-spun yarn and Khadi yarn from K. The report however contained a general statement to the effect that the Committee had not taken Khadi into account and that the question deserved a separate enquiry. But the Department of Commerce and Industries did not set up such an enquiry and the K. K. K. K. Committee did not give any place to Khadi in its report or in the scheme it submitted to Government for consideration.

From this sort of the report of the said committee it could be plainly seen that the Industries Department of the Central Government was of the opinion, if it could have its way, that the spinning-wheel, hand-spun yarn and its looms be ignored or avoided in the scheme for production of textile goods and articles. If the department just mentions a thing called Khadi, it seems, it does so because Khadi could not easily be ignored or avoided, being conscious that it could not hope to further its schemes and plans by daring openly to ignore and condemn an idea so potent to the nation by Gandhi, the Father of the Nation. But the double the minister at the head of the department, named against Khadi is now clearly proved. He deserves congratulations

for coming out with his frank attitude of aversion to Khadi. The same thing could not, however, be said regarding the want of conviction, intelligence and understanding in the statute.

The Industries Department of the Central Government seems to want to create favourable conditions in which along with the mill the power-loom thrives as its wing in the textile industry of the country. That seems to be the reason why it wants to transform the hand looms operating today into power-looms. It wants also to utilize the houses provided for planning to the purpose. It is trying to do so through the Hand-Loom Board functioning under it.

Such procedure would result in gradually but surely transforming the simple hand-looms into power-looms and in accelerating the growth of spinning in the textile mills, that is in setting up new textile mills. But if the idea is to be achieved the existing prohibitions against starting new textile mills have to go. The Industries Department seems to have set its heart on getting these removed.

Because the Industries Department has this tendency it was proper deserving encouragement to the weaver turning from hand-spun to mill pure.

Now, the fact of the situation is that, 300 pure is not lying idle or unused to such an extent that weavers should begin buying it more and more for weaving. The fact is quite the other way. The textile mills are not able today to supply as much pure to the looms employing mill-pure as they need. It is therefore quite clear that the production of hand-spun pure should be increased as much as can be done in order to encourage the Khadi industry. The Government Planning Commission has lost its weight and authority to do this. But the curious part of the business is that the Industries Department is willing and eager to set up new textile mills instead and does not seem to realize the idea of the spinning-wheel getting into vogue and prospering. The attitude that is being shown by the minister at the head of the department to the *Ambedkar Committee* clearly proves this.

There cannot be any reason to doubt that his attitude is the result of an honest conviction. He seems to believe that the utilization of the machine and power-driven machine industries is an ideal one. There may be many who in the country who have the same belief. Industrialists in the country seek not only to keep an order favourable to their interest permanent in the country but to further it and stabilize it on the strength of the support of this class of men. It is not to be supposed that all these trends have suddenly dropped on us from heaven. The situation and tendencies show themselves only more clearly in the plans for the economic reconstruction of India are taking shape and developing.



Industries which developed during the British regime not only seek to go ahead now and demand State aid and patronage for the purpose but want recognition for a place for themselves in the new view of the nation's development and progress. People like the Commerce and Industries Minister of the Central Government who occupy positions of power and who can therefore not only influence the current trends of the nation's economic development but rush into unsteady attempts at deflecting those who advocate Khadi and the other ideas which are opposed to them are vainly endeavouring to assert themselves. They have cultivated an aversion to the spinning-wheel which prohibits an effective programme for removal of unemployment. They do not only feel that the direction in which the programme takes the country is quite the reverse of one of progress but see in it a danger to the mill industry which is very dear to them. And it is an established truth of the science of psychology that a sense of fear or clouds the minds of men that they lose all sense and fall a prey to illusory dangers. It can be proved from the recent utterances of some vocal people of this class that fear has had such paralytic effect on their minds.

The original weakness of the line of thinking of this class of people lies in the fact that their method of ordering the economic affairs of the nation cannot remove the vast and chronic unemployment in the country. Indeed, unemployment increases in proportion to the increase in the industries they favour. The Karve Committee has very aptly described it as "technological unemployment" as one resulting from mechanized and centralized industries.

How can the nation afford a policy which tends to increase unemployment in that way? Removal of unemployment is the main task facing the country and its government. We had better realize sooner rather than later that the very existence of a government which did not recognize the urgency of the task would be in danger. This is the reason why Khadi and Village Industries have come to occupy an inevitable or integral place in the new plan of the nation's economic reconstruction.

The Industries Minister, Shri Krishnamachari, does not openly oppose the policy. He cannot, however, one can understand, like it. One may hope, though, that just as Shri Dadasaheb Phalke, the greatest propagandist, was able to convince him of the significance of the hand-loom to which he had an intense dislike, he will ultimately swallow the bitter pill of the spinning-wheel which follows from the hand-loom as a further natural consequence. Today, however, he seems to feel uneasy while mauling it. That also seems to be the reason why the department in his charge proceeds on the assumption that the hand-loom is opposed to the spinning-wheel and seeks to implement the conclusions of the Karve Committee in order to defeat or nullify the conclusions of the Karve Committee.

There is hardly any need to say or prove that the attitude of the Commerce and Industries Minister is, to say the least, strange. Truly speaking he should be able to see that the expectations of the Karve Committee that another committee should go into the question of Khadi and the spinning-wheel has been fulfilled by the Karve Committee and should be pleased on that account. But at the present moment the reports of the two committees seem to be waging a war with each other in his mind.

If the Karve Committee's findings may be called a report favouring mechanized industries and the power loom, those of the Karve Committee can be called a report favouring Village Industries or the Jharkha Charkha. Truly speaking the two are not opposed to each other but are mutually complementary. And the Government as well as its Planning Commission have accepted the policy of dovetailing the two into one integrated whole. If the Industries Department proceeds without a true appreciation of this fact it will have proved to have entirely missed the right direction in its task.

The direction of the economic progress of India does not lie in imitating the West with the blind imitation of superior knowledge but in finding old and following the path of a peace-loving humane Sarvodaya economic order. What Shri Krishnamachari ridicules as the whimsical and the conservative or orthodox methods is really one which has the true's prophetic faith that the welfare of mankind lies in that direction, it is, of course, true that the dazzling but blinding and killing light of the West has not found its way in the thinking of this school.

It would, therefore, be well for the Industries Department of the Central Government to welcome the efforts at making the spinning-wheel a better implement and to appreciate them as a good beginning of an attempt to plan an instrument which the textile industry lacks. The department should be made to realize that without such an implement all attempts at removing unemployment would be vain. And the industrialists should also be able to see that their true welfare lies that way.

9-12-65

(From Gujarat)

By Mahadeva Gadhvi

KHADI

(Hindustan Club)

WOL 2540 1964

"I feel convinced that the revival of hand-spinning and hand-weaving will make the largest contribution to the economy and the social regeneration of India."

—Gandhi

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## RACIALISM AND RELIGION IN SOUTH AFRICA

(By Mabel Molyneux)

In this article, I want to bring to the notice of Christians and peace-loving peoples of the world, the conditions of the Africans in South Africa. I shall use the terms Africans and Europeans to enable the reader to understand that by Africans I mean the black people, and Europeans the whites.

There are eight-and-a-half million Africans and two-and-a-half million Europeans in South Africa. The country is rich in minerals of many sorts, and grows crops of all kinds. The control of the country is exclusively in the hands of the Europeans. There is a strong colour bar in every walk of life in South Africa.

The Africans occupy thirteen per cent of the land and the Europeans eighty-seven per cent. Africans without land live on European-owned land as squatters, and work three months a year for the landlord for the right to live on the land. Men, women, and children are required to work for the landlords. In some areas the Africans are required by the landlords to work the whole year round without pay. In some areas the Africans instead of working only three months a year as provided for by law, are forced to work four months a year.

Because of lack of land, Africans are always faced with years of starvation, and have to go about in search for places to live in, and for work to earn wages in order to support themselves and their families.

Every African male child of sixteen years of age and over has to carry a pass with him wherever he goes. His pass must be issued by his chief, headman, a European Native Commissioner, or his employer. Under the pass laws, an African cannot leave his employer without the employer's consent. This is proved by the employer signing his pass off.

Since 1948 a system known as Indian Control of Natives into European towns and cities has been introduced by law. Under this system only the Africans wanted by Europeans for work may be allowed into European cities to take up employment. The unwanted must be sent out of the towns and cities. Any African found in a town with his pass endorsed 'refused entry into the urban area' is liable to arrest, and after being convicted he is sent to one of the farm prisons back all over the country, and from the prison sold to a farmer.

Africans living in towns and cities or those allowed to take up employment are not permitted to seek work of their own choice. Labour Bureaux are set up in towns, and employers go there for the workers they need. If an African worker refuses to go to an employer with whom he is told to take employment his permit is cancelled, and he is ordered to leave the urban area within twenty-two hours. If he is found there by the

police after the expiration of twenty-two hours, he is arrested and sent to prison. The law gives the Indian Controller wide powers to refuse or cancel an African worker's permit if he thinks the African an undesirable in the urban area.

An African coming for the first time into an urban area is given conditional employment; that means, he is allowed to work for one employer only, and if the employer dismisses him, or he leaves that employer, his permit gets endorsed 'not allowed to work in the urban area of'.

The Europeans in South Africa say that they are superior to the Africans because they are white and have education. They go further and say that because they are Christians everything they do is for the Africans' but God's blessing, and God gave them the power to do it. They say they are God's chosen people, and as such they are the master race. They claim that God made the Africans for them to rule over as an inferior race, and to work for the Europeans without rights, for ever. It is therefore the duty of real Christians and peace-loving peoples of the world to investigate this doctrine of Christian law and human rights in South Africa. It is not a domestic issue, but a world-wide problem.

OFFICE FOR PEACE, Vol. 12, Number 2, 1946

## SOIL AND MEAT

(By Lady Eve Salfner)

(Organizing Secretary, The Soil Association)

If nutrition is a cycle—a flow of vitalized materials from the soil and back to the soil again—then it must be studied as a whole and any superficial study of the part must be recognized as a study of the part. Its relation to all other parts must never be lost sight of. Given that our major contention is correct, we may in fact be led seriously astray if we attempt to diagnose cause and effect, in any manifestation of living organisms, without taking into consideration their relationship to this wider whole. It is therefore of great practical importance to discover if this cycle is purely hypothetical, or if it exists in fact.

I have recently come across strong supporting evidence for its existence in a summarized report, by Dr. F. M. Pattiniger, of a feeding experiment on cats, printed in the *American Journal of Orthodontics and Oral Surgery*, Volume 32, No. 3, August, 1948. The experiment extended over 30 years and involved 200 animals.

The main purpose was a comparison between cooked and raw food, though there were various sub-divisions using different combinations, such for example as groups of cats fed on raw meat with pasteurized milk, and others on cooked meat with raw milk. The animals who received an all-raw food diet, both milk and meat, remained healthy and had normal healthy litters from generation to generation, while all those of which cooked food formed the major portion of the diet, whether this were meat or





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(FOUNDED BY MARSHALL GANDHI)  
Editor, BHAKTANATH P. DESAI



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TWO ANNAS

## OUR BASIC ECONOMIC APPROACH

(By Jacobus J. Veld)

If you permit me, I will say something about the Harrier Report, because it seems to me there has been a great deal of misunderstanding and apprehension and confusion on this score. The difference of opinion may come as to regard to certain emphases at a certain time.

Now, what are our basic approaches? One is that we want, naturally, to add to production, to add to the wealth of the country, to make the country more and more industrialised. I do not think that we can advance in a big way without having industry as a big scale and without adopting the latest techniques. By big scale I mean not only big industry but also more widespread one. If we want to develop iron and steel plants, we must have the latest type of iron and steel plants. If we have a locomotive factory we must have the latest type. If we have anything, say cement factory, fertilizer factory, defence factories, or the most basic and most important of all—machine-making industry, they have to be of the latest type. We cannot have out-of-date techniques and be able to compete or be able to produce as much out of them. That is our last of approach.

The other and equally important line of approach is about employment. We cannot afford to have unemployment in the country, specially large-scale unemployment. To provide employment is not only a duty but a social necessity. If we do not, there is trouble, either way.

Now, we have to balance these two, and in balancing them, there are many other factors too. There are many other social factors to be considered. Of course, a big objection to the old capitalist form of industrialisation is that it does not care at all for the social unhappiness caused by it, although finally it increases the production of the country. In fact, the whole of Marx's "Capital" deals with the growth of industrialisation in England and the terrible misery it caused. In fact, the whole basis of the Communist outlook is based on what happened in England in the 19th century. It is rather out-of-date. One cannot repeat that and one does not want to repeat that in any country. We cannot afford to

repeat it, because people just do not put up with it. And, of course, we do not want to.

Therefore, while adhering to the principle of adopting the latest techniques, we have to temper it, all the time, by considerations of the effect of it on the employment situation. If something causes unemployment, then, we have to think what to do, because looking at it even from the capitalist point of view, it should be our business, to give a date if we cannot give employment. That is what countries like England and others have to do. Out of the abundance of their production, they give a date to their unemployed. We just cannot afford to give a date to 50 million persons. It is also a bad thing to give a date. It is far better to give work than a date, even though the work may be uneconomical. We cannot have lower techniques and compete in this world, and we cannot have high techniques in our big industry and our middle industry and out-of-date techniques in some other industry. But it is worse to pursue a policy which does not help to us solving, not suddenly, but as far as we can, our unemployment problems. Apart from the social unhappiness caused and even from other points of view, it is far better to have employment spread out, and when spread out, purchasing power makes the economic system go faster. According to these principles have to balance them. We have to do that all the time.

As far as the Arthur Charles is concerned it has not been, if I may say so, finally appraised. There are two ways of appraising it. One is that experts should work it for a few months and give their opinion. The other and perhaps a better way is that hundreds and thousands of persons, ordinary people should work it, and we should find out how they have done it, because that is the real test. Now, this is being done. The results thus far obtained are, on the whole, satisfactory. As I said, we are in the middle stage. But they give hope, a fairly good hope. The Arthur Charles is being distributed to some thousands of persons, and their experience of it and their reports would be very helpful. Apart from the technical reports from some technical people who are examining it, even now it does appear to be a hopeful thing and indeed, if I may say so, somewhat better thing than we expected.

But the Anker 1 first is a problem but not a problem on the subject. As it is, even the Anker Charika, *ghumast*, can be improved obviously, improvements can be made with practice and use, and it can be made a space and more effective instrument. There is a question why the Anker Charika or any such small household machine should not be electric, please, when the time comes, so that, gradually, technical efficiency is achieved in that small machine too, subject always to other considerations of unemployment. It is quite conceivable, indeed possible, that with somewhat slightly improved design of Anker Charika, if not with the present one, we can really approach the big production technique. There is one advantage of the small production technique, that is, we do not have to transport goods and therefore cost of goods is lowered. Undoubtedly, it will be less efficient, I mean to say, economically less efficient, than the big machine. We shall have to balance them. It really becomes a question, not of arguing as to the merit of considering all these factors and seeing and giving the highest precedence to the employment factor.

The Board has made out some kind of a programme for the next five years. It is a good thing to have a plan before us to discuss, to have some idea. But, as a matter of fact, it is based on a number of uncertain factors. At that point, say in the next six months, we will be in a much better position to talk about the Anker Charika. Next year having known its productive capacity over large areas, and how it can be improved technically, we shall be in a still better position. The programme we make now will only be a tentative programme which should really be expanded and varied after 12 months or two years. In short, we should see two years ahead and judge from year to year.

There is another aspect. It relates to estimating the consumption of cloth in this country. The consumption of cloth is going up in this country—going up fairly fast, even if it goes up slowly, in the initial a becomes big. If we make an appraisal—whatever our appraisal may be—and calculate accordingly, it is all very well. If the demand is much greater, then there is a lag. Then, prices go up and difficulties come and inflation comes. We want to avoid that. We do not want to take a risk in that matter and allow demand to outstrip supply of both sides and thereby create other conditions which affect not only our cloth problem but our whole economy. Therefore it is to be considered how rapidly the Anker Charika can produce.

In regard to Anker Charika, the main difficulty is not the working of the Anker Charika. It may be good. But the main difficulty is in spreading it out over thousands of villages. The main difficulty is with regard to the organisation. It is relatively easy to organise a huge arm and steel factory, but it is difficult to organise something which is spread over more than fifty thou-

sand villages. The working of it, if something like goes wrong is another problem. The group of raw materials and the collection of yarn is a tremendous job. If this machinery does not work satisfactorily, on one might aspect, then there might be a lack of production. Therefore, one should rather err on the side of over-production rather than under production. It is from that point of view, therefore, that one has to think of what spares might be required in the mills as elsewhere. If by calculation we have enough, then there is no difficulty. If we have not enough, then one has to consider as to what extent we should encourage them. All these matters, then, become questions of careful consideration of the facts and not of theoretical arguments or principles.

It was understood to us that there is quite enough capacity at present in the mills plus, if necessary, a third shift, plus if necessary, the spindles that are standing idle. It is a matter that has to be considered. My point is that the question is not one of high principle but of careful consideration in details of the position, so that we may spread the Anker Charika as rapidly as possible, see its results and go on spreading it and at the same time seeing to it that no risk of shortage arises because of the growing consumption and demand in the country. I do not want merely an argument about high principles because, as far as I know, there is no difference in our basic approach. There might be differences like emphasis here and there. We have to proceed by method of trial and error, keeping these principles before us and not taking any major risk in the operation.

The Anker Charika must be given every possible opportunity to develop, to develop in both ways. The present Anker Charika should firstly be tried in the widest possible way. Secondly, to develop it, all necessary technical improvements should be made. That is necessary. Having said that, another point arises, how far one should encourage any additional spindles in mills? That is a matter of calculation and appraisal of estimates. Our calculations will become more and more accurate as we know the functioning of the Anker Charika. It is no good discussing it in the air. With principles I agree, and one of the principles is that we have to push the Anker Charika to the utmost. The argument that is advanced is—what is the good of pushing the Anker Charika if you cannot absorb the yarn that is produced by Anker Charika? That is a very valid argument. We must strenuously guarantee the absorption of the good yarn produced by the Anker Charika and then spread the Anker Charika.

Further we are fortunate at the present moment, having what is called an expanding economy. But we are apt to think in terms of static economy. The expanding economy means more wealth, more purchasing power and more

goods production. If we think in terms of the whole economy, then, we put a check on department of economy. All these difficulties arise. It is no good merely discussing some rather vague approaches. The vague approaches are all right, but we must also get down to hard facts and figures.

There is one other factor, I may mention, which we should not forget. There is great strain on our finances in spite of our growth because of our big development schemes and there is a big gap between our estimated resources and what we intend to spend. Well, normally one looks to gap to fill it, may be, by some greater effort and possibly and largely by some external assistance. The external assistance may come, but I do not think we should be too sure of relying on external assistance. And, as various development projects are taking place in the external world, it may possibly become not desirable for us to ask for external assistance.

*Clipped from A.T.C. Economic Review 2412 24*

### Breasts of Irrigation

Dr. Bhabendra Prasad speaking at Madras on 18-11-55 bemoaned of one thing that is painful to so many others also, in the following words:

"It is really astonishing how soon after Gandhi's death we have forgotten so many of the things which appeared to us to be absolutely clear and open and almost self-evident while he was living. It is really astonishing how these things now appear not only to require proof but also appear to us to be wrong in many matters."

"What was the fundamental thing which Gandhi said? Of course, he has often stressed the importance of the economic condition of the people, removal of hunger and distress. He has not stressed it as sufficient to all these. In fact he did his best to convert these. They are the same thing to build up the whole thing upon the solid foundation of the spirit and morals. This foundation we are not able to lay today but if we build upon it, we shall be able to build correctly and strongly to follow."

In a similar strain, the Congress President, during his last tour in Amara, said that the first and the most poignant casualty to post-independence India seemed to be the disappearance of the spirit of self-sacrifice and renunciation — an asset of our people with which we strove and won our independence. The latest witness thereof is what we see today about the States reorganisation and the mood and the mind with which we approach it. Looking at the sad picture, there are a few who say we should rather postpone the issue. This is obviously a counsel of despair — an unhelpful negative. Delay will not solve it for us because whenever we take it up again, we will have the same difficulty, if the mood and the mind are the same as we exhibited today. Therefore we must change them and boldly face the issue with the strength of collective wisdom and sagacity at our command, and come to a decision that may be a stepping-stone to the further and onward march of our people to the cherished goal. We must rise above narrow or irredentist provincialism that seems to have overwhelmed us today.

22-12-55

R. P.

### MILL : ANBAR CHARKHA

*(By Khushi Chakha)*

I may say I am in the cloth trade and its production the whole of my life. I have also travelled all the countries of the world that produce cloth. From my experience of about 25 years, I may say that the Anbar Charkha is the most effective instrument for the removal of unemployment at our villages.

Even as an old cloth factory-owner I may say that the Anbar Charkha means decentralisation of mill cloth industry.

As I am one of them, I understood the reality of mill-workers in this matter. The introduction of Anbar Charkha will surely affect the mills. But if we intend to give work to our millions of the unemployed, it is comparatively nothing to worry about.

Those who compare the prices of the mill cloth with those of the Anbar Charkha cloth, naively forget to note that the mill industry of India is protected to the extent of 100 per cent import duty and that foreign cloth import is banned.

I am sure if the Anbar Charkha is helped by similar protection or even to a lesser extent than the above, it will be proved that decentralisation of cloth industry is a sure remedy of our country's evil of unemployment.

The mill industry is asked to diversify ways from Government, viz. through providing it with such facilities as electricity, water, land, capital, protection etc. It diversifies like the Anbar Charkha which give employment to the millions of poor people in India are helped even to a lesser extent if not equally, the country is bound to go on the way to prosperity.

If our villages are supplied with electricity, good roads and means of transport and communication etc. it is certain that contrahed industries will see the end of their unnatural existence in nature. Is it therefore that people who are for the latter cause delay in such supply in villages?

The Minister of Commerce and Industries, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari must look at both the large-scale urban and the small-scale village industries with equal regard. Instead of that, to openly favour contrahed mill trade is unjust and unbecoming.

Those who compare prices of mill cloth and Khadi should always remember that if Khadi production is helped suitably in the same way as mill cloth production is helped with facilities like electricity, water, cotton, leather etc. then the contrahed mill industry will never stand competition with the decentralised village industry. It is therefore that talks of throttling down the latter at its very inception seem to arise at present. This is surely not in the true interests of the country and millions of its rural population.

*(From Gujarat)*

# HARIJAN

Dec. 31

1955

## THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY

(By Rajagokul P. Srinivas)

I draw the attention of the reader to Sri J. Jawaharlal's speech published elsewhere in this issue. It is an account of an unpublished speech delivered by him on December 3, 1955, at the meeting of the Congress Party in Parliament. Undoubtedly it is a very important statement of our present economic policy. It shows us the attitude and approach of the Prime Minister in the present juncture of our economic thought and development. The juncture is very critical and consequential indeed. Therefore what we decide about it has far-reaching importance and bearing on the future of our country.

The issue of economic progress of our country has polarised itself under two slogans—first, increasing production through industrialisation; second, increasing employment through expanding semi-urban village industries. The Prime Minister naturally wishes to be cautious in his approach to this difficult situation. He says that there is no quarrel about the basic principles involved in this matter. As he says, "With principles I agree and one of the principles is that we have to push the Ambar Charkha to the utmost." The other is to adopt latest techniques and assure production "in a big way." The two have to be reconciled in a co-ordinated economic drive.

The problem therefore is, how to balance them? There is the obvious need for increasing production. The West has shown its technique, and it is being improved almost daily. But there is a catch here in our Indian conditions, viz., the problem of what is called "technological unemployment." "If something causes unemployment then we have to think what to do," as the Prime Minister admits. Therefore, we must read the second and equally—if not more—important principle of providing for increasing employment.

The Constitution has directed that

"The State shall endeavour to secure by suitable legislation or economic organisation or in any other way to all citizens, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, work in a living wage condition of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities and in particular—"

"The State shall endeavour to promote villages to function as self-sufficient co-operative units in social areas."

This is a constitutional responsibility of the State. As the P. M. says, "looking at it even from the capitalist point of view, it should be our business to give a dose if we cannot give employment. That is what countries like England and others

have to do. We just cannot afford to give a dose to 10 million persons. It is also a bad thing to give a dose. It is far better to give work than a dose, even though the work may be unorganised." It is worse to pursue a policy which does not help us in solving not suddenly but as far as we can, our unemployment problem."

To secure harmony and balance between this apparent paradox of industrialisation on one side with the consequent "technological unemployment" involved in it and on the other side the social, economic and even political necessity of increasing employment or of reserving our industrial under and an employment is a problem unique to modern economic thinking. It requires an equally unique solution. The way to it lies through developing diversified techniques of exploiting our immense manpower through implements like the Ambar Charkha. It is the Gandhian way of an agro-industrial economy of decentralisation spread out in the millions of houses of our villages. The speech of the P. M. reproduced here bears ample testimony to the various issues involved in this question. Let us polarise apply ourselves to solve them without prejudice or pre-conceived notions born of Western economic or technological orthodoxy.

(1-12-55)

## REFORM IN EDUCATION

(By Prasad)

(From a speech delivered at the School at Benares District Hospital in Benares, on 23-7-55.)

History has been created into two distinct sections, since the advent of the British in India. They gave English education to some few and left others without any adequate education. Only the poor part of the people that were educated by them and the rest were left behind. Hence, as a result of the education they imparted those who received it were incorporated into living in harmony with the others and segregated from the villages to the towns and cities. How could English education be of any use to our villages? As a result society is split into two parts in one of which people do not work at all with their hands but do so only with their heads, and in the other they work only with their hands because those who did so there could not be any production. But the system could not develop the highest of the latter. There was no room for more developed human to find a way out, the whole of those who work with their hands in open air are sure to be exterminated in mass epidemics. But if they had the traditional advantage of receiving formal education they could have improved their implements and tools and developed their crafts and industries.

The very failure of the education imparted these days is such that those who receive it learn only reading and writing and nothing more about. As a consequence some few do not work at all and others do, day and night. Education has come to mean learning words or labour. It is called present time to be advanced of working with their hands. Now it is a very dangerous position and not towards the mind and body are separated from each other. And the given hands to everyone as also brains. Therefore hands should be given work and brains should be educated. The educated should be able, and allowed to work with their hands and those who are labour should be educated. Thus when a knowledge and work, education and labour are brought together will the industry be prosperous and varied. Otherwise it is sure to be divided into mutually exclusive sections.



In the conditions obtaining today some people are blind and some are lame. The lame are not able to walk but are able to see and the blind are not able to see but are able to walk. When society is divided into sections of the blind as the one blind and of the lame as the other it cannot function properly. But society has to carry on. It is better the lame ride on the shoulders of the blind. The blind walk while their followers are not able to see lamps on walking and the lame stand while others on the shoulders of the former show the way. Because the lame walk is aided on his shoulders the blind man feels the lamps in his pockets. Those living in the villages who labour feel in the same way that those living in the cities are superior because they ride on them. In these lanes will have to be asked to get off the shoulders of the blind in the first instance and to be told that God had not made them lame but that they themselves had done so. That is why the blind should tell them they were compelled to ask them to get off to the ground because only then could they learn to walk.

We of the villages pay money, in those of the cities and buy their things and articles and then stand up in the markets. The first thing we have to do is to listen to the draping instructions in the villages to take a cloth to buy things and articles produced and made in them, and to receive not to buy things and articles manufactured by machine in the cities (only then will these city people who are lame and are riding on our shoulders get off to the ground). Then if they begin to stand and walk with their hands their bodies will be stronger and healthier. Today as they do not work with their hands they do not feel their fingers. But they would not give up eating sweets, fat oil or a roast and are compelled to take resort to physicians. Such condition is not good for them. They should, therefore, learn to work. Knowledge should be imparted to all but should be given along with work. That Krishna was known was a man of great knowledge. He gave knowledge to others and taught the title to Arjuna. But he used to serve cows and horses. He also used to water the ground with cowdung made and to call out leaving from leaves and as dinner after dinner was over. We should always keep this ideal of that Krishna before our eyes. If we were not before we are sure to attain knowledge as he did.

I am glad to learn that a school is run held for the Ashrams. I am told some schools are always taught here. For myself, however, I shall test the education you give from two things. The first test will be that you will have land attached to the school where you will produce all the food needed by all persons living and working here. I would not be satisfied if you wanted on a little farming just to show as a sample. The other test will be that all the students and teachers and their families who live here will not depend on the Government for rice also given by Government. It means that up to the success of your experiment will be their living here producing their food and cloth by their own labour. They should also produce the fuel and vegetables they need. Your vegetable garden should also grow herbs needed for curing diseases you are likely to fall a prey to. All students should be produced in the art of cooking. You should do average things that both teachers and students work and learn together. I would like to test your work by the success of the advertisement you adhere to in the matter of food and cloth.

The test of the education you impart here will be all your boys learning the Sanskrit, the Gita, the Bhagavata and the Manusmriti and their enthusiastic pursuit of knowledge. If you could witness all this I shall verify that a school exists here. Also to see the work of Bhoomin is going on all over the country all schools should provide for a proper study of the Haradaya Manu and Gita.

(From Madras)

## VANASPATHI RAISES ITS HEAD

(By J. C. Kanchappa)

We have been constantly warning the Government and the people about the dangers lurking behind the Vanaspathi industry. It kills the ghee trade, ruins the ghee oil industry, and checks the consumers out of nutritious food by providing an adulterant for ghee. At long last the Government seems to be awakening to its evils.

The Directorate of Marketing and Inspection, Union Ministry of Food and Agriculture has brought out a pamphlet entitled *Standards in Ghee*. A sample survey recently carried out in 34 towns by the Directorate for the Government of India disclosed that there is a widespread adulteration of ghee sold in the markets. It is responsible for an average consumer to test the "ghee" offered by appearance, taste or smell. Thirty-three per cent of the samples collected contained practically no ghee at all. Twenty-five per cent were found to be adulterated to the extent of fifty per cent, and thirty-three per cent contained only traces of ghee. It is reported that the most common adulterant was Vanaspathi, and much of the ghee used is made from buffalo butter mixed with that of the cow.

Only eight samples were found free from adulteration but 7 were of poor nutritive value having less acid fatty percentage beyond three per cent.

Out of the 34 samples collected from July to September 1935, 28 were adulterated with vegetable fat and another 23 were reported of doubtful quality and there was a suspicion of goat and sheep ghee.

These analyses were carried out by the Central Food Technical Research Institute, Mysore and by the Central Laboratories of the Directorate of Kharif and Rajahat.

Adulteration with Vanaspathi is stated in the report to be the most prevalent form in almost every part of the country.

The Vanaspathi manufacturers form a caste bias and jointly obstruct their work. We have been advocating the control of all advertisements dealing with food and allied products being made subject to the approval of the Ministry of Health. These advertisements should state clearly the constituents of the articles offered for sale.

Such steps are imperative in the interests of the unsuspecting general public. The food of our people is extremely poor in nutritive value and to make things worse the Government encourages further exploitation of the ignorance of the public instead of protecting them. We hope at least some proper measures to safeguard the consumer will be taken up seriously.

(Reprinted from South Indian People, Dec. 1935)

# DECIMAL COINAGE

(By M. S. Karbaker)

Though in complete agreement on principle of decimalisation, I am afraid, the procedure by which it is sought to be introduced in India cannot but create confusion amongst not only the retail consumer, but urban intellectuals as well. Even the Indian Government and the learned I.P.A. thought of the idea in light-headedness, as well as repeating:

In due course of time the people will have in their pockets both the new and the old coins. The smallest common coin being a four anna coin, the exchange between the new and the old below that denomination, i.e. between 25 Naya Paise and 18 pie is will be very difficult. The merchant class which sells, will naturally give equivalent prices in new coins by rounding off the fraction of the Naya Paise to the next higher Naya Paise. The rural illiterate will not be able to comprehend the equivalent value of Naya Paise with the old pie, especially when equivalent values are not given at all.

For example: How much will the past offer change for a new anna stamp in new coins? Not 10 Naya Paise but, probably 7 Naya Paise. Again, how should I pay for a cigarette packet costing 10 anna if I possess one eight anna piece and the rest in Naya Paise? In short, if I carry Naya Paise I will have to pay more.

Hence I have made suggestions to make which I hope will simplify the matter very considerably. I hope due consideration will be given to my suggestions.

Finally, our foreign exchange rate with the Rupee should be maintained.

Then new notes and coins worth Rs 14, on the obverse of which are printed '100 Naya Paise' and 'One Nishka', should be issued. Naturally the obverse of the Rupee note or coin will have letters '20 Naya Paise'. Similarly letters '40 Naya Paise' on the obverse of a half-rupee coin, '10 Naya Paise' on the obverse of a four-anna coin, '18 Naya Paise' on the obverse of a two-anna coin and '5 Naya Paise' on the obverse of an anna coin should be printed. With this arrangement, without any disturbance in the economic field the smallest common coin will be one anna worth 5 Naya Paise or 4 pie. All the coins being familiar nobody will be cheated.

It should be noted that four Nishkas make one five rupee note and eight Nishkas make a ten rupee note. Again no hesitation.

This change will make any person, illiterate or literate, understand the relative values of new and old coins and no confusion is possible.

After three or four years the Government on a fixed day should replace the rupee by 25¢ making the exchange value with the Nishka. It should then withdraw one rupee, two rupee, five rupee and ten rupee notes and introduce five

Nishkas (500 N.P.) and Ten Nishkas (1,000 N.P.) notes.

I am sure by this method the change-over to the decimal system will be absolutely smooth.

The names 'Nishka' and 'Naya Paise' are provisional.

The introduction of Naya Paise and withdrawal of old pie and half-anna coins afterwards is taken for granted.

Only two new coins will be required.

## ROLE OF INDUSTRY IN MODERN INDIA

(By Anand Kumbhar)

Eight years of freedom have secured for India an honourable place in the family of nations. She is recognised as a nation anxious to live at peace with every country in the world without exception. Even towards South Africa, she is seeking to evolve a peaceful way of righting the wrongs of the oppressed people, and towards Iran and Iraq imposed a super-human restraint upon her citizens. This avowed endeavour to retain a peaceful state of mind in the face of deliberate provocations, as in the case of Portugal and Pakistan, has earned her respectful attention of the world. But we have to go a long way before we can enjoy the light of freedom as enjoyed by our leading nations. We have not yet been able to reduce the pledge we made to our village-dwelling masses.

Let us have a look at the situation. Seven out of every ten Indians are villagers. They are the real India, not our English-speaking twenty sector. In the political sphere the village does possess the right to vote. By her preponderant numbers has well expressed through the ballot-box its coverage. But it has not become a reality to him and he may even look upon it as a legal fiction if this coverage Indian citizens were to measure his right in terms of old earthly goods. Politically he is almost invisible. Formally he is tied to the rule of caste and faction. Culturally he is caught between a receding tide of spiritual values and an aggressive urge for spicing the town and its ugly ways.

Economically, he has a fascination for riches and the pleasures that riches yield. Only he is so crushed that he cannot lift his head up. Also the current economic system does not consider his needs as primary. It gives more importance to production of things rather than to the needs of man who uses these things. The growth of unemployment—both urban and rural—has aggravated poverty and social differences. The continued collapse of village industries has made the problem of economic integration between town and village more acute. For instance, during the period of the first five-year plan, the prices of iron and steel goods have gone up by nearly ten per cent, while the prices of the peasants' food-grain has threatening floor have gone down

by ten per cent, thus creating a disparity in the price-structure of nearly twenty per cent in five years.

Further, the gulf between manual and mental labour persists as fearfully as ever. The higher the emoluments or earnings of an individual, the less the amount of manual work he does. The wages of our most skilled craftsmen, say the carpenter or mason, are far less than those of an engineer, a judge, a professor or a minister. Manual skilled work commands less prestige than clerical skill-driving.

Freedom has come but old stagnant values, crippling standards do hold sway.

It needs little reflection to state that if conditions remain the same as they are, the village, and with it the whole country, is doomed. Even our land was freedom is likely to fall into perdition.

All this calls for a change—a transformation of the standing order and a new reorientation of values. Not less important than the need of change is the method of effecting this change. If manual means or unorthodox methods are adopted to bring this change, it will create far bigger and more intricate problems than it will solve. Again, a stress on moral means unaccompanied by rapid social change will not catch popular imagination and prove futile.

In short, there is need for immediate social change together with change in outlook. This cannot be achieved by straining class differences and evading class hatred. A wiping out of the few have's by the many have-not's is not a difficult task. But it will not usher in the required equality and justice. Hatred of possessor and love of possession cannot go together. Possessiveness should not be mistaken for wealth. The really rich are those who have risen above the sense of possession and all those who nurse possessions as sacred are poor, whether they be reaped or not. Unfortunately, possession is as deep-rooted in Indian life as the caste system. Like caste, possession is a formidable obstacle in the evolution of social unity and advancement of human consciousness.

The land-gift movement is an attempt to strike a straight blow at the evil of possession. Taking first things first, its author, Acharya Vinoba Bhave, has begun with land. He says it can be more-belong to an individual than can do his, water or sky. As private ownership should be reduced and it should, therefore, belong to the village as a whole. The ownership of the village land must rest with the village and it must be distributed, by common consent, according to the needs of the various members. It is easy to see that if land comes to be a marketable commodity, it is owned by the village and is equitably and evenly distributed among all residents, it will shake the standing structure to its depths and pave the way for a new one. The whole village will thereby fall into a family and its struc-

ture will undergo a metamorphosis. Division and trade will cease to govern the village itself or disappear. Principles of self-help and mutual aid will govern its life. People will grow the requisite crops and turn the raw material into finished goods themselves. Village industries will flourish and the village will cease to depend to the tune of anybody without. Economic disparities will vanish as also the social. Life would be shared as in a family and family values will pervade the village air. The village would thus come into its own and achieve its life according to its own free will and taste. Only then would a true democracy follow or people's rule be established.

Obviously no law can bring about this transformation. It can consolidate pieces of land but not fragments of hearts. It can set right the soil of education, but not the soil of mind. Land-gift is not an agency of land-breakers. It is the creed of crusaders resolved to replace old values by new, to establish non-possessions as a social aim and to demolish the wall between manual and mental work.

Village movement attracts attention not because it offers a panacea for all ills but as the first wedge hammered into the existing class divide to tear it up. It is the basis of all reconstruction in reform. Various constructive measures can increase food production, revitalize village industries, and infuse a sort of life in the village. But they will fail to change the climate of the village mind which will continue to adhere to old rule and values. The land-gift movement, therefore, needs a sincere trial.

The response that it has evoked during the last four years and a half testifies to the soundness of its philosophy and approach. The donation of more than six hundred villages in a single district of Orissa speaks for the depth with which it is penetrating the heart of our people. The other day I met a small gathering in a countryside of Bihar. I gave them an idea of Vinoba's mission. A white-haired veteran, about seventy-five years old, got up, came forward with his dhoti and remarked: 'I follow what you say. Hindustan is the way to establish true freedom in our country. And I want to assure you that I would refuse to the total true freedom is established.'

The millions of hearts are now on the move and a new era is in the offing.

(By Chaitanyo, 23 Loka, Delhi)

By Prabhu Bhave  
SHUDHAN VAIJNA

(Land-Gift Mission)

Page viii + 124. Price Rs. 1-3-6. Postage etc. As 2

By Mahatma Gandhi

KHADI

(Hand-Spun Cloth)  
WHY AND HOW

Page viii + 228. Price Rs. 3-0-6. Postage etc. As 14  
NAVABHAR PUBLISHERS, BOMBAY  
P.O. NAVABHAR, ANANDWADI-14

## SECOND CAPITAL OF INDIA

(By Mookund P. Desai)

I am glad to see that the suggestion of making Bombay the second metropolitan city of India (vide Harlan of 17-12-52 "Make Bombay Second Capital of India") is gaining ground and has reached the high quarters at Delhi. Papers report that Shri Varma favours this idea and has conveyed his mind on the matter to Delhi. I thank him on behalf of the people for putting this good idea before the High Command.

Surely this is a better proposal than the one of making Bombay a mere city state. Those who favour a three units formula for Bombay State re-organisation will surely prefer this to the idea of a small city state. I feel that the mind of Maharashtra, if it has to choose between the two, will lean towards Bombay being planned to be India's second Capital. The people of Bombay also will like it.

Such an arrangement will make for soothing estranged feelings and bridging over the inter-faith divisions, bitterness and violent frictions that have unfortunately overtaken the mind of the city.

Sparrows from some quarters in Bombay come and whisper in my ears that Bombay city politicians might perhaps feel that they will stand to lose the advantage of having a separate legislature and ministry etc. But, I am sure, they will not cling to this narrow view of a personal nature and stand in the way of securing for their city a unique prestige and position which it highly deserves.

In my previous note on this subject I had referred to the S. R. C. Report's chapter on Delhi. In para 183, it considers "the argument that a denial to the people of Delhi of the benefits of popular government at state level would be a retrograde step." And it replies that "people residing in national capitals enjoy an advantageous position and they must be prepared to pay some price for it." It must also be remembered that their representation in the Parliament and consequently in the Union Government is to be there. Again, the civic life of the metropolis will be mainly governed by its Municipal Corporation armed with larger powers and duties and in close alliance with other bodies like the Port Trust, the City Police Comptabulary, etc. A suitable form of unified government machinery for the metropolis might well be thought out, which may give full scope to the people to manage their affairs in an equally important and serious manner, if not better.

In para 184 the S. R. C. Report discusses the area necessary for the metropolis and says that "rural areas to the extent that they are not indispensable for the future urban expansion and

development of Delhi can be retroceded to the parent state or states." If Bombay is to be second metropolis, this argument might probably apply to the area retroceded for Greater Bombay city state.

We must be clear that if Bombay is to have a status of a state, — and this is increasingly getting clear even after the debate in Parliament wherein Maharashtra sponsors added more reasons why the S. R. C. proposal was unworkable and should therefore be rejected, — we should better not give it a state status but make it the second seat of the Central Government which it is really today, and is growing more so after independence.

15-12-55

## An Eternal Life Process

By,

I have read your leader "Orthodoxy and Revolt of Youth" with care. I consider the previous article "Fear, Immaturity and Indiscipline" more important because people of all ages should guard against them.

There is always a conflict between old and new that begins with time itself. That is not death nature's way of changing the old order and every birth nature's gift of new strength to build, if we dare, a better life."

Let us have more faith in the life to come and pay greater attention to R. A. society's future depends on its education.

Yours etc.

A. P. P.

Bharanagar,

16th November, 1955

[The old separates itself with the advent and influx of the new. The result is something as eternal with this between the old and the new. But really it is an eternal life process, — one of evolution, which must be carefully nursed and duly destined to be strong and healthy. Education may be said to be the way to do it well.]

The correspondence remarks that people of all ages should guard against "Fear, Immaturity and Indiscipline" is noteworthy. The old also suffers under them, — which gives but strength for them and the truly politic correspondence.

16-11-55

A. P. P.]

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TWO ANNAS

## LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND STATES REORGANIZATION (By Ambedkar's Visitor)

(I read the press report of his speech in the first before on 12/1/36.)

One must not lose oneself in passionate excitement as to where the boundary of a State should be provided. We have this fuller conception of India, provided we have a constitution, a convention or otherwise the fullest guarantee that whether a person lives on this side or that side of the border of the State, he will have the fullest rights and opportunities of progress according to his own way. In this sense, I try to approach this matter. I felt that perhaps this larger outlook was sometimes lost sight of.

Some people stated that the principle of languages should be extended more and more. "May I say quite frankly that I dislike that principle absolutely 100 per cent. I want to make it perfectly clear that this does not mean that I dislike language being a very important matter in our administration, education or culture. I do think that the language of the people is a vital matter for their development educational or administrative. But I do distinguish between the two things.

"I dislike this passion for putting oneself in a linguistic area and putting walls all round and calling them borders of a State and developing the language to the fullest, though I do not think that people can really grow except through their language. I accept that completely. But that does not follow in my mind that in order to make them grow through their language, you must put a barrier between them and others."

"It is my privilege, however unworthy I might be of being the president of the Sahitya Akademi. There we deal with all the languages of India and try to encourage them. The more we discuss these matters, the more we see that every encouragement development and growth of one language results in the other Indian languages also getting some advantage and growing. I go a step further and say that the knowledge of a foreign language helps the growth of an Indian language.

"If we are cut off from foreign languages, we are cut off from the ideas that come in those foreign languages, not only from the ideas but the technology which is part of modern life.

Therefore, let us not think of excluding a language.

"I do not understand, for instance, if I may be quite frank, the way some people are afraid of Urdu. I am proud to speak Urdu. I just do not understand why in any State in India people should consider Urdu either a foreign language or something that crosses their own domain. I just do not understand it. Urdu is a language mentioned in our Constitution. Is it mentioned only to live in the upper atmosphere or stratosphere without coming down to earth? It is this narrow-mindedness that I object to."

"It is so good going into argument in regard to philology. Take Pargali language. We have learned arguments about the origin of Pargali in the Devanagiri script, how far it is akin to Hindi, how far it is independent of Hindi, whether it has descended from Sanskrit and so on, as if that has the slightest significance. What matters is what people do today.

"Let scholars go into the past of Devanagiri, Hindi or anything. If people in Pargali or elsewhere are accustomed or they wish to speak a certain language and to use a certain script, I want to give them every freedom, every opportunity, every encouragement to do so.

"As a matter of fact, speaking from the strictly narrowest, practical and opportunist point of view, the more you try to suppress it, the more opposition there is and the more it survives that suppresses. Everybody knows that.

"In regard to language, there are rather technical, grammatical ideas connected with it in people's minds. I can understand the passion for any language—Hindi or any other, but the person who feels passionately about a language must also remember that the other fellow also feels passionately about it. That is the difficulty. Therefore, the secret and the only course is to give full freedom and opportunity to all of them.

"Let them develop. In the natural course of events, they will adopt themselves. They will affect each other and influence each other and others grow more and more important, if they have the capacity, or remain less developed.

It is not for me to go about saying that any particular language, let us say, Pargali and Devanagiri is an undeveloped language. It may be but it does not matter. We should try to develop it then. Allow natural forces to improve the use and importance of these languages. Any at

tempt to draw an artificial language to bed and only from their knowledge of their own, but from the point of view of this discussion, and those who use the other languages.

The question of language has somehow become associated with the question of State organization. Say he would report that while he attacked the utmost importance to language he refused to associate it intimately with a State.

Inevitably at home, in India, as it was, there were bound to be States where one language was predominant. "That is so. Let it be so and we encourage that there. But there are also bound to be ones where two languages abound. We should encourage both.

We should make it perfectly clear that the dominant language of that State should not try to push out or suppress or spread in any way the other languages of the State. If we are clear about that, then the language issue at any rate does not arise. Other issues may arise, economic, and others.

With language, of course, come other things like cultural issues, which are connected with that. These too should be treated on the same basis as language, that is to say, every culture and every manifestation of culture should be encouraged.

"Culture is not an exclusive thing. The very definition of culture is that the more inclusive you are the more cultured you are and the more things you put the more uncultured you are. Therefore, naturally too we should encourage every aspect of culture.

It is the world develops and changes, another, fall-out-of sleep well, a little out. Let it fall out. But if you try to push it down as push it back that you are probably not likely to succeed. You only bring a trouble which is gone from the culture, possibly.

## GIVING EYE-SIGHT TO THE BLIND

(By Sarojit R. Ghose)

London John Bull newspaper (referred from England by the English word which arrived at Bombay Sat. Friday, 23-12-32) has published the following letter from an Englishman who first gave God thanks for his good health, eyes and ears:

"I feel that I should like to broadcast my eyes to anyone who may need them, since do I go about it?"

And the Editor of John Bull replies:

Doctors and hospitals all over England will make arrangements for the service. The Board, to ensure the world's portion of a private eye institute has been of itself. The question is not disposing. The donor should give his or her eyes of his and ensure copies of a man with the same and address and the request that after death my eyes did be used for therapeutic purposes.

There are in India unfortunately, thousands of blind persons whose strength can be restored to them by the operation of grafting the cornea of a dead man's eyes on a blinded eye by an eye surgeon.

It is to be hoped that many eyes in India lying buried in the soil, at their death, in their

will be made history, since that right to the blind as sighted persons.

In their "The Eye-Sight" of the King Edward Memorial Hospital at Pond Road will be pleased to give extended domains of their open necessary information in this matter.

Governments should arrange to use healthy eyes of lonely beggars found dead in streets for the purpose of giving sight to the blind and making the blind able to see.

## DECENTRALIZING CLOTH INDUSTRY

Resolution passed by the All India Spinning and Weaving Industries Board at its meeting held at New Delhi on Dec. 10-11-12, December 1932.

Having considered the Report of the Looms (Village and Small Scale Industries) Second Five Year Plan Committee, the Board wishes to express its general approval of the principal recommendations subject to the modifications indicated on the Planning Commission by the Sub-Committee appointed by the Board at its last meeting with which the Board is in complete agreement. The Board particularly endorses the emphasis laid by the Looms Committee on the importance of the industry of national economy as a whole, of ensuring that the future development of the consumer goods industries of the nation be based on largely on a decentralized basis and that in various spheres steps should be taken to give the maximum of the productive capacity of the large scale industry. The Board endorses all the specific recommendations made made in this regard by the Looms Committee, particularly the steps of the transfer of some looms from the textile mills to the village and small scale units.

It is the considered view of the Board that in the past the development of various village and cottage industries has suffered from lack of adequate attention in the absence of a single Ministry both at the Centre and in the States responsible for their progress and the Looms Board supports the proposal of the Looms Committee to set up on the Centre and Ministry which should be entrusted with the development of various village and small scale industries and with the supervision of the activities of the different All India Boards constituted by the Central Government.

Among the recommendations of the Looms Committee the Board considers those relating to the cotton textile industry as of outstanding importance. Principal among these is the recommendation for the handloom industry of the entire additional demand for cloth during the period of the Second Five Year Plan. This involves the maintenance of the present policy of not issuing any license for the introduction of additional looms to textile mills or also the non-shipment of the production of powerlooms. The production capacity of both the cotton of the industry should be the opinion of the Board, be limited as recommended by the Looms Committee, to 1,000 million yards and 200 million yards, respectively.

The Board notes that, pending the results of the trials now being carried out, the Government of India the Looms Committee has not decided if proper to maintain the present programme for the supply of yarn for the handloom industry. Through the long-term interests of the Indian textile industry, the Board is of the opinion that it will take some time to ascertain the facts and to consider the possibility of the use of the handloom weavers. The Board concurs with the view of the Looms Committee that the decision on this part of the Board's programme may be deferred till the end of April 1933. In the interim, however, the Board will not be deterred in the pursuit of developing and extending the decentralized method of yarn production. The Board agrees with the recommendation of the Looms Committee that no further license for the introduction of new looms be issued by the Central Government.



I have had a little talk with the Board. The present programme of the All India Handloom Board as laid in its proposal for the Second Five Year Plan involves the payment of a corresponding rebate of the rate of the loan and a hold in two cases in the rate of handloom cloth. On the rejection of these two programmes according to the accepted policy will have to be incurred outlay of a large sum. The financial provision that the Board has submitted as required for its Andhra Pradesh programme has already well represent the additional income that would be needed to supplement the payment of rebate upon the two schemes. Since the policy of granting a rebate on the sale of Khadi and handloom cloth was decided upon by Government, the question of providing for supplement on an increasing scale has created special difficulties as discussed in planning. The Board would urge therefore that the additional funds that have been asked for should be treated as expenditure incurred on the provision of an essential element of social security for the most depressed class of our society.

## HARIJAN

Jan. 7

7

1952

### ILLUSION OF PROSPERITY

(By Nageshwar P. Desai)

Advocates of modern science and mechanised industries have begun issuing these days that if we took to encouraging small-scale cottage and village industries our productive will suffer, with the result that we will be distributing poverty among our people instead of prosperity. Some responsible ministers of Government also seem to have got themselves involved in the argument. We should try to find out and understand whatever truth the argument might hold.

The argument is based on the assumption that factories yield goods on a large scale because machines are employed in them and that village industries which are supposed to be run on a small scale cannot do so. If a machine or the man who tends it is compared to the handicraftsman or his tool the point stated above seems obvious. Because the machine is driven by the power of coal, oil, etc., its operator produces much while a handicraftsman who operates his tools by his hands certainly cannot produce as much.

But here we have to take one fact into account. The strength of the handicraftsman lies in his numbers. If, therefore, we multiplied the produce turned out by one handicraftsman by the number of the innumerable unemployed in our country, the output of the produce would work up to the desired limit. So, the main argument in favour of the machine does not hold when it is viewed from this angle.

But one can object by asking whether the large number of the unemployed would engage themselves in production and what the state of affairs would be if they did not do so. And it is generally taken for granted that they would not do so.

So the argument proceeds a step ahead and declares that we would then suffer from an acute shortage of goods. Therefore, it is further argued, production by mechanised industries should not be restricted, handicrafts and village industries may be allowed to work, nay, may even be encouraged, but let there be no restrictions on the machine and its products.

If we extended the truth of the argument for a moment, another big difficulty crops up before us. Where are we to find the huge capital we would need in order to set up and work the machines? Besides, the machines are also not known to work in order. And the labourers too, are not as docile. The other and the real difficulty, however, is that the machine does not engage men in sufficiently large numbers. And modern scientific trend is towards creating machines which would require the minimum of hands to work them or rather would be automatic — requiring no hands at all to do so. What would be the fate of the hordes of the unemployed in the country in such an eventuality? How long could mere production of goods by machines be maintained and on what strength if the population were not painlessly exploited? Exporting goods produced to foreign lands has its inherent limits. And how could such exportation help the unemployed? The best each expert may achieve would be to push a few industries and bring some revenues to government, but how and what would the common people of the country profit thereby?

The industrialists and the advocates of large-scale mechanised industries have no reply to this dilemma. And here their whole chain of argument goes away. They then avoid or ignore it altogether and repeat the argument stated above that there would be a shortage of goods if the unemployed could not be organised into working the so-called village industries and that, therefore, production of goods by machine industries should not, under any circumstances, be restricted. And these friends have confidence that they are sure ultimately to succeed in a competition between the two. They earn double credit by arguing thus in that they seem to have the credit of favouring village industries advocated by Gandhi, and also secure the development and continuation of industries which have profited them as well as us!

The problem which faces us today is therefore different. Orthodox economists and industrialists assert that prosperity lies the way of increased production. The argument is flimsy proceeded on that basis in their planning. Those who have say that Prof. Mahalanobis has prepared the new Five Year Plan on that orthodox basis. He has been good enough to add one thing more, however. He has conceded that it would be advisable to take recourse to small-scale village industries in order to increase the supply of goods necessary for domestic consumption under the present conditions. That still





## "NOT BY BREAD ALONE"

By Margaret F. Doran

The reader of this paper knows Mr Wilfred Wulfsch from his deeply thoughtful writings reproduced before in these columns. He has recently issued a brochure<sup>1</sup>, *Not By Bread Alone*, which is a study of America's expanding economy. As he notes, "during the last 38 years I have undertaken four lengthy tours in U.S.A. The last one has just terminated and the previous one was five years ago." The above study is the result of the last of these.

### I

#### A Very Apt Question

The brochure poses a very apt question:

"It is said that the American way of life is the standard to which all should aspire, the world's hope for the spread of Civilization. But who can value life the consequences of a world struggle for the earth's resources, were every nation to attack on an economy after the American pattern? Would twenty years the world would be in a garden of economic perfection such as had never been known? Were invading Americans are now asking how long can the world support America's present living standards?"

The question which must be asked, and answered, is: America's way of life, the good life for men? Does it require and require much capitalistic technique as completely as his physical existence? Does it yield that deep satisfaction which the thinkers and poets of all ages aspire with followers of life? Does it promote kindness, neighborliness, co-operative activity and general goodwill? Or does it encourage selfishness and individualism, unscrupulous materialism, profit-making and the view of abundance?

"How does not live by bread alone and when it comes to the innumerable masses of human experiments and European peoples large numbers of British and West Europeans still see a few Americans and the latest trends in American life as contradictory and too large too beautiful and too seductive. Too many quiet familiar values which make the rest of life are being swept away. If today the urgent needs of the East are satisfied, those of the West are satisfied."

"A brochure becomes important to consider the relationship between America's way of life and her role in world politics conditioned as it is by a powerful fear of Communism in Russia and imperialism in China."

### II

#### American Economy and Way of Life

What is this American economy and way of life? What is its nature? Can it bear to be adopted as a world formula for the care of our civil on an ill-considered-adapted basis? The author discusses the question at length says:

"The key word in American life today is expansion. America's heart throbbed in her expanding economy. This is how it works: as machinery becomes increasingly automatic and specialized, more workers are thrown out of employment, in order to reemploy them new gadgets have to be invented and industries for their manufacture established. Thus in order to insure that the new gadgets are bought on a large scale the advertising agencies are brought into action, while at the same time, insurance agencies make it possible for a citizen to purchase the new gadget on credit, or "on time" as the Americans say. "I like per-

haps to devote I should the necessary picture and to re-emphasize the gap would have to be filled by Government spending on trade buying etc."

Thereafter the cycle has been in industrial expansion on these lines, for there is no limit to the small addition of units, given a way of life which promotes and demands maximum consumption of goods and services and perpetually rising standards of material living.

Under this process of an expanding economy the main objective is to keep all the available labor and capital product employed, so that is the only way to insure prosperity. But if it is to proceed on its present course, must be an "open system" its machinery becomes more automatic, more gadgets must be forthcoming, and when manufactured must be sold. This task is entrusted to the advertisers and by them to the newspapers. Especially the huge money magazines. In the name of modernity, professed progress, to cater and to seduce. Through all these means the American mind is persuaded cheerfully and obediently until the goal of universal or almost universal abundance has been reached. The work of the education is completed by the radio, and language organizations who display the goods and make them immediately accessible to a public trained to believe in their right to share in all the good things that are going on. What are called new books too, which in fact merely repackage their claims.

In these means, a distinct mentality or attitude is set. It has been produced. The average American now looks at the view that if a labor-saving gadget appears, it is his duty to get it while he is young and pay for it in future installments when spend years saving the money, in order to live it when he is much older.

What is involved in this might spirit of an expanding economy? American people are very receptive, for all these advertising and insurance men have to be added to their price, and before advertising is one of America's big industries. Further, it is one thing to buy one or two gadgets but quite another to buy seven or eight, and a car is advisable in purchasing a house and taking out several insurance policies. Hence the most people in the lower and often the higher middle classes, every gadget has to be purchased "on time."

### 3

#### American Family Budget

Wulfsch stated the general nature of the prevailing economy in U.S.A. the author describes the average family budget.

"American society may be described as a vast middle class with a rather small poor class at one end and a very small rich class at the other. This middle strata includes a considerable section of the population of all kinds but on average their demands restricting the buying to those whose incomes range between \$1,000 and \$2,000 a year—probably the largest section of the American public."

Against this income if the normal changes for housing, gadgets, holidays and education, automobile accidents etc are reckoned up it will be seen that:

They will almost sure have left a weekly income of from \$10 to \$120 (varying from \$10 to \$100 for food, clothing, household requirements, heating and heating newspapers books insurance car insurance, medical insurance, radio and life insurance. Life insurance of the insured is a security under the American system of domestic economy is more spending is almost of savings, and frequently exceeds them.

"Every or fifty dollars for housekeeping would seem to be a hefty sum in an English family, but not to an American, which spends its money differently. More and more the American housewife buys canned, frozen,

<sup>1</sup>It can be had in bulk from the Harlan-Peterson Book Company, 38 South, Suite No. 4, Portland, Ore. 1





# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY BHAKTAL GANDHI)  
EDITOR: MAHATMA K. DESAI



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TWO ANNAS

## GUJARAT'S NEW RESPONSIBILITY

(By Mahatma K. Desai)

A secondary school teacher from North Gujarat carries a special idea through a letter on seeing the increasing participation of a separate State of the Gujarati-speaking regions of India coming into existence. He writes in the following style:

Many hearts are glad at the possibility of a separate Maharashtra State coming into existence in India. This is not natural, but looking a little deeper one would realize behind the glorified language of a letter of establishment, that of considerable pleasure at the establishment of a Maharashtra State. Maharashtra must be feeling glad at the prospect of larger public. Many members of legislatures must be enjoying their prospects of becoming ministers. Many government servants must be enjoying division of rise in service. There would, however, be one few who are not pleased because they see the possibility of every citizen of Maharashtra becoming happy and prosperous and getting a chance to have free education.

If Maharashtra is to be established in the real sense of the name, it is to be set up for Sarvodaya. All the establishment of the whole of the new State against those who have to be worked on in Gujarat, English or Hindi cannot serve the purpose. Some may believe this business is good, some others may call it narrow-minded and still some others would give it other bad names. But I have confidence that people like you would perceive the truth and take steps in the right direction.

"As I have stated above ordinary affairs will begin to try to become child affairs to see as Maharashtra comes into existence. An ordinary executive engineer will seek to become the child engineer. An average sub-inspector or inspector of police will dream of becoming a superintendent of police. Many will forget the true objective in view for the establishment of a separate Maharashtra State. I wish and hope that on the establishment of Maharashtra, everyone of its citizens will feel that it is there, and for the good of all of us, and that it is not lost and proper way at all of its regular maintenance for its good. We would have professed our true duty only if we are about to serve the cause of Maharashtra in that spirit. But, I feel, all the internal administration of the new State without the exception of any department whatsoever will have to be in Gujarat if this objective is to be served. If there is a word of crime words and terms if there is a lack of books a way should be found to meet the difficulties but we should not take short."

Let me state at the outset that there is no need to use the term Maharashtra for the new State of Gujarat. The word Gujarat is adequate to express all that it means and is the best. It would be well for all of us to give up the use of

the adjective make Gujarat, to shed any keeping in mind the continents they have given rise to. Besides, there is no need for these various adjectives in order to express the sentiment we have. The simple understanding that the region inhabited by people speaking Gujarati is Gujarat is not only fine but full.

Readers know that I do not like the idea of a single bilingual Bombay State. Therefore, I see the hand of God in the possible establishment of a separate state of ours in its place. It would have been well if the proposal for the separate state had been made right in the beginning instead of our arriving at the idea in the way we have been forced to do. But there is hardly any sense in crying over spilt milk.

The correspondent has been cautious enough to state that the possibility of the establishment of a separate State of Gujarat coming into existence are increasing. This is because the decision has not yet been finally taken and there is yet only a fairly good chance of his wish being fulfilled. Still, looking to the far prospects has discouraging the good hearted has heart is not less. It is quite profound and timely.

Gujarat needs to be informed about a particular aspect of the question of the formation of a bilingual State of Bombay. Many of my Maharashtra friends have asked, with deep personal sympathy for me, one question regarding the decision by Gujarat. The question was Gujarat preferred the formation of a bilingual state. It was good that all Gujarati-speaking areas were included in the proposed bilingual state, following the same line of thinking the Maharashtra proposed to include all Marathi-speaking areas in any Maharashtra State and further proposed a bilingual state along with all the Gujarati and Marathi-speaking areas, why did Gujarat not agree with the proposal?

The reader is aware that the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee as well as the Sahyadri Maharashtra Parishad sponsored the idea by a resolution. From the time Gujarat showed disapproval of the idea a new chapter of forming the separate state took the field and the B.R.C. proposal for a single bilingual state receded into the background.

The question from the Maharashtra friends is easy to understand. If in asking it they are

doubting the bona fides of Gujarat, I must humbly point out to them that, they are not fair or correct.

The reason why Gujarat refused to agree to the proposal of a larger bilingual state is obviously clear. Maharashtra should recognise the refusal as honest, and trust its bona fides. What Maharashtra proposed was not a permanent solution, what was proposed was an option for Gujarat to go out of the bilingual state and form a separate one of its own. It meant that the proposal was based on the idea of the formation of a united Maharashtra State on the basis of language. And, I for one do not see any objection to the proposal as such. But what was sought to be considered was a permanent arrangement. The proposal from Maharashtra did not include the idea and therefore the suggested solution proved itself, it is obvious, almost out of place.

The friends who asked me the question felt that my arguments could be easily understood. I need not go here into the other details of the discussion I had with them. But one or two points, which I urged before them on my own, deserve mention here.

For one thing, I told them, those who enter by the one state, one language principle should not in all honesty and fairness come out with a proposal for a bilingual state.

And how can one explain the Congress which revere by non-violence and a Sarvodaya workers at the standing of Sri Shankaranarayan Dev putting hands with the forces of communists and socialists which do not see any objection in taking to violence to achieve their ends or forces which do not recognise or believe in the ideology of ends and means, for the establishment of a Sangratta Maharashtra State? It is now becoming clearer as time passes that the Congress in Maharashtra and the day of Bombay will have to suffer the ends resulting from such an association. The Congress will have to make a serious effort to wake up and get out of its pernicious effects.

Let me now come to the point discussed by the correspondent. He has brought out two or three ideas in his letter. 1. that when a separate State of Gujarat comes into being everyone of its constituents should function with its general welfare in view and should not be drawn away by local partial narrow interest; 2. that the time before the new State are to make the poor happy, to give good education free, and to increase the wealth and prosperity of the whole country; and 3. that, according to the particular insistence of the correspondent, it should be definitely understood from this very day that the administration of the region comprising Gujarat shall be carried on in the Gujarati language. It is no plain as day that all the three of the correspondent's ideas are perfectly true, of great importance and very essential.

Even while the reorganisation of states is yet under consideration our leaders have been

apprehending certain dangers. They grant that if states were separated and organised on the basis of language their public affairs and other activities will be conducted in their respective languages and that would be all to the good. They also concede that such a course would work for the educational and cultural progress of the common people. But if our minds become narrow, so that separating walls were erected in our hearts and states began quarrelling with neighbouring ones for the economic development of the various regions or if we forget the sentiment that India is one country and that as her prosperity lies the prosperity of her parts so would be creating a larger evil, our leaders apprehend, while trying to free themselves from the unnatural influence of the English language.

This danger does not exist only as between the regional states but as between district and district, caste and caste or class and class within the same state. So the problem is not merely intra-state but extra-state also. All this fear only stems in that we have to undertake our work in all fields by questioning the sentiment that we Indians are one nation and one people.

The apprehension felt by our leaders is not unfounded. But the remedy does not lie in dividing the states into four or five Zones. Nor would the danger caused be avoided by carrying on the education, administration and business in the courts of justice in the regional states in Hindi invited or in the regional language. The true remedy of clearing hearts is to clean them and not devise some mechanical patches. While considering all the tasks lying ahead of us we should keep the sentiment of our being one people in the centre, and there can, of course, be no harm in organising Zones etc. for the purpose. Within a regional state, too, the administration will have to be carried on keeping this larger outlook in view.

The correspondent has laid great emphasis on the idea of the regional language being the language of the administration of the regional state. And the emphasis is right. I believe that that can be the only real objective for creating a separate state for a linguistic region. By carrying on all our affairs in the language of the people we will not only be utilising their full strength and capacity but the way to widen the strength and capacity to the fullest extent in the careers of all can be found also in the same direction. A refusal to accept the idea would be a refusal to allow the people to have a taste of Swaraj. And under the people's government that has been established in India who can dare to refuse to them this right to govern themselves? If the millions are concerned with or interested in the reorganisation of states on the basis of language it can be only on this account and none other. If, however, the educated and the advanced classes impose other motives on this simple basic idea they would be betraying the people. Such

betrayal cannot last long under Swamy, that is people's own government. In all these classes should in their own as well as in the larger interests of the whole people, give up unselfishly their power and self-interest. When people will get an opportunity to know and learn everything in their own language their strength will be cultivated as a matter of course and will permeate itself through our democratic constitution. One can, therefore, hope that the forces of class or other narrow interests, which may have been blinded into forgetting Swarajya or the interest of all, will feel the healthy pressure of the democratic strength of the people, correct their ways and reform themselves. The truth which is embodied in the conception of states organisation on the basis of language has been brought out on these lines by Goadhill and he built up popular power in Gujarat that way. We have to prove now our strength and capacity as developed by Goadhill. If a separate State of Gujarat does not come into being a composite state will take its place. In that eventuality there should be provision for allowing the people of Gujarat to carry on their affairs in their own language so that they can achieve true progress in all directions as indicated above.

In the end we should remind ourselves of one thing and that is about Hindi the language of inter-provincial intercourse. What has been said regarding language above is incomplete without a recognition of the significance of Hindi in our affairs. If every state based on language believes in the unity of India the test of the faith lies in its immediately giving Hindi an honourable and compulsory place in its educational curriculum. In proof of the guarantee of the faith the people of the state should also begin to take steps to learn it. Only by such endeavour could the transfer of public servants, judges and teachers between the states be made possible. There is no intention and there cannot be any intention of closing the doors to people speaking another language in setting up states based on language. Indeed, the thing has been clearly prohibited by the Constitution itself. In order to achieve an easy and natural inter-communication of people between the states Hindi should be taught as a compulsory second language throughout the whole country in all branches of knowledge. It is a matter of deep regret that in creating a national atmosphere of the unity of India, state governments have shown indifference to this vital question and are hesitating to take firm measures. The mistaken policy regarding English still holds ground giving rise to various evils. The policy hurts the cause of education in two ways in that English is not taught properly and Hindi does not find its legitimate place. A knowledge of the English language is necessary for us in our circumstances. But if it is to be imparted in the proper manner, to fit up and pursue a language policy indicated above is the only

way. Let Gujarati work on these lines and radiate before the nation the truth of the policy. This, to my mind, is the new responsibility Gajral has to shoulder in the days that lie ahead.

21-12-55  
GIVEN GADHIL

### ARE WE RULED BY ECONOMISTS?

(By Mahabhai P. Desai)

I draw the attention of the reader to an article "Daily through Cane" under Programme" appearing elsewhere in this issue. Shri Kripibhai is wholly right there. Unfortunately our leaders are not agreed about the ideas of the historical Constructive Programme. See, for example, the attitude of the Planning Commission on its foremost item which we promised, would be the first and immediate work of the Swamy Government.—I mean Prohibition. The drive towards a centralised development plan which are highly inflated and unreasonably centralised and made far-looking. The really big and marvellous things are what touch and underline our massive population in their daily economic and social life and these are the minds of men. These are undoubtedly prohibition, Khadi, village industries, basic education. But what do we see?

The President spoke in uncompromising terms about our state of education. Prohibition will save money to the poor people. But the classes would not like to let them have them, as they need finance to pay for their pet things of centralised industries. I hope the Government which promises to have a Socialist Pattern will realise that anti-prohibitionism which is the attitude of the Planners, even from the time of the first Five Year Plan, will not be allowed by the Cabinet to throw out the recommendations of the Prohibition Committee. Will the Congress President see to it? He is the custodian of the promise that the Congress gave to the people when calling upon them to fight against foreign rule. Can it be called a National plan which can drive against Prohibition as a welfare activity to be taken up first?

Goadhill had said that Prohibition will succeed if the basic fact of the problem is clearly visualised: we do not have certain open port drink revenue: first decide that we let that go. And we had decided so. The British Government charged us then that we were not honest about it; that we only wanted to harass the British rulers by creating financial troubles; that the step was not humanitarian but was political. Are we not to prove that the charge was true? Prohibition is not a problem in finance. It was decided so by the Nation long ago. It is therefore, the earnest of the Government that we have in India a people's rule—a rule for the poor. I hope we are not ruled by mere economists, but by those who declared that they stood for the service of the Daridramanyas.

9-1-56

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# HARIJAN

Jan. 14

1956

## SHODHAN, SARVODAYA AND POVERTY

(By Kogeshwar P. Desai)

Dr Mahatma Governor of Bombay, has reiterated his belief that Shodhan will distribute poverty. It will not increase wealth. And he has added that he should have said that earlier. That is, it looks so true and important to him.

If a patriotic servant of the people like Dr Mahatma says that with such emphasis, one must give serious thought to it. But the difficulty in doing it is that one fails to understand what he really means to say. It is not enough to merely reiterate that Shodhan will distribute poverty — one must explain the objection to the movement further.

Does the phrase suggest that Shodhan will create poverty? One can hardly say so. Charity or giving from one's possessions is an unearned good. What possibly can be objectionable in it? It is for such action that the Gita says,

सर्वमेवाकरोमिह कुरुते न हि त्वं कुरुते ॥ १० ॥

(Even a little of this righteous course delivers one from great fear.)

Therefore one is at a loss to know what Dr Mahatma really means to say.

He expressed his view again in Orissa. Shodhan has taken a new aspect in that State. A new experiment in this movement has begun there. It is a unique thing there that Shodhan not about 500 entire villages. Village workers are being stationed in them to undertake village reconstruction on the Shodhan ideology. Amherst Churchill will be there. Many other forms of village developmental programmes will also be undertaken by the workers. Shri Vinoba described the nature of this programme to a press conference at Vijayawada on 29-12-55.

The distribution of land would be according to the size of the family. Adults of 21 years would divert a committee of ten or fifteen members to meet the various needs of the people, such as removal of ill-effects, provision of facilities for marketing the produce of the village, lodges, improvement of village craft and expansion of forest wealth, abolition of age-old customs and prejudices and provision of new ones. They would be taken to provide all facilities so that people need not go out of their area to fulfil their needs, including university education.

Is it that Dr Mahatma or some political or other groups in Orissa do not cherish this ideal or the idea? Or they might be holding it responsible. Or there might be some other objection. It would be good if these people expressed it in clear terms.

The idea of Gram-Say is not new. These old workers who fought India's battle for freedom know that, in post-1944-5 years Gandhiji placed before the country his programme of village self-

vice through Khadi and home industries and said that there must be stationed a worker in every village or a suitable group of villages, he will try to rebuild the entire village life through the constructive programme. Through this programme villages will be made self-reliant and conscious of their rights and duties. On their basis will be built up a strong and united powerful country and its State. Gandhiji gave us such a vision of new India years ago. The country has still to realise it. We cannot afford to forget it.

The recently started development programmes of the C.P.A. and the N.E.S. also aim to station village level workers all over the land. Is it not born of a similar idea? And can we say that this is distributing poverty?

Shri Vinoba has revived this old idea of Gram-Say through the Shodhan movement. He has added the land problem in the programme. However, it in no way changes nor disturbs the original idea, rather it makes it more explicit and broad-based. In Gram workers of the Shava Sava Sangh have begun to implement the idea under his direct guidance. The tried and veteran servant of the people, of the eminence of Shri Gopabandhu Choudhury is the leader of this band of workers. If an experiment of this kind, in devoted service of villages as 'distributing poverty' then one feels like asking what is 'poverty'? And to whom is it being distributed?

If this expression is, even unknowingly, meant to derogate village development service or the village industries that we aim to rehabilitate and expand in our village economy, in comparison to the large-scale big industries and their big talks we no much have these days, — if it is so, then it is a grave mistake. To whom is poverty distributed if village industries prosper, if village service programme is implemented, and if landless people get land? If it might be replied that the donor of land or property becomes poor to that extent, it will not be proper, for he who gives donates. Therefore, really speaking it is rather distributing property or prosperity, and a poor man becomes comparatively richer thereby.

Our villages which are unemployed enough should rise to undertake the venture of producing food and cloth etc. needed by them; rather, the State must endeavour to make them ready to do it. For that it should find for them better and more efficient implements, it should help them by necessary finance, marketing facilities, processing etc. All wish that this thing be done quite well.

Such a programme of village rehabilitation and removal of air or under-employment will have adverse effect on the machine industries, most of which today are engaged in producing cloth, oil etc. and thus compete with village industries. Is it that this is really what is resented in the name of poverty? The right thing rather is that these mechanized industries that



unfairly compete with village industries should now seek to restrict and ultimately relinquish the sphere of their activities through a phased plan. This will be governed by the speed with which we enter in the policy of decentralization through the village industries. Such a change will be merely a process of adhering to economic theory based on equality and providing a decent standard of living to all. It may be that those few who have got rich through the unusual way of centralized industries in cloth, oil etc. will suffer to an extent. Is that what is meant by "distributing poverty"? Surely that it is not; rather it is welfare in the cause of the national good. Leaders of the people like Shri Mahatma should rather advise people to consciously begin to sacrifice in such a way because the real distribution in such a programme is that of poverty or prosperity.

At the end I may quote a talk with Gandhi, that Shri Manabhai Gandhi has recorded in his diary of 19-4-'47 in Poona the series,

"I asked Rajaji you are against machinery and need the village industries. How suppose people take to village industries? What will be the fate of so many homes in cities like Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Ahmedabad etc.?"

Rajaji replied: "I would not feel sorry if all the money (invested) in that amount of time goes out at once. Real India lives in her villages. Do you know that European cities like London are exploited India and India cities in their turn exploited Indian villages and that only could the balance in these cities be possible restoring the villages to complete poverty? I wish to rehabilitate these distressed villages. I do not really expect that all industries in all the cities be crushed up. My only plan is that let us be wise enough to be warned of the calamity and not repeat it. Let us stop exploiting the villages and clearly begin the weight of industry down to the villages and revitalize it by making the village economy strong."

6-1-1968

(From Oxford)

### UNITY THROUGH CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

(By Ashoka Engstedt)

As long as there are a hundred different and conflicting problems in India there can be no unity in this unfortunate land. Only when there is one supreme problem which we feel we must solve or perish, will we be united. Such a supreme problem was that of national independence before it was achieved. Today also we have a supreme problem. If we will but recognize it. It is the problem of the ignorance and poverty of our masses. The fate of our democracy and even of our common culture depends upon the quick solution of these two problems of poverty and ignorance. Gandhi recognized this even before independence was achieved. His constructive programmes were designed to combat these two evils. He often said that there is one supreme interest of the masses and any other interest that is in conflict with this interest must yield place to it. If today this interest is made supreme in

the life of the community and nation, there will be no compromise or personal differences. Then there will be no conflicting interests but one supreme interest, an all-India interest to which we all must address ourselves. May we have the strength and the wisdom to recognize this supreme interest and work for to the good and glory of our nation.

(From Pipli, September 31, 1946)

### THE PRESIDENT ON EDUCATION

The President Dr. Bapurao Prasad inaugurating (Dec. 26, 1954) the fourth All-India Educational Conference said that it was regrettable that a person should be given place and honour in society, not on the basis of his intellectual attainments and honest selfless work, but on the gross considerations of wealth in his possession. "This change of emphasis in human values will prove to be disastrous if it is not checked in time," he warned.

Referring to the educational system in the country, Dr. Prasad said: "As far as I know, we have not succeeded till now in this work of changing the educational system to suit the needs of independent India. I would even say that we have failed to put in the efforts which we should have by now to change the educational system to suit new conditions."

"Our country's educational system is not a new one. If I say that it has been in existence for the last 150 years, I will not be wrong. This educational system was started with a particular aim in view. But that aim no longer holds good now. Certainly that is not our aim now. But the pattern of education even now, more or less, is the same and was before. I know that some steps are being taken to change it. But they are not adequate to meet the needs of our present day life."

The President said that in this country, as in all others, the system of education was divided into three parts. The three parts represented three different periods in a student's life, namely, the primary, secondary and higher secondary. These three stages should be inter-related and there should be no difficulty of going from one to the other.

"For this reason, if we want to reform the educational system in our country, then the most important stage of reform is in the field of primary education. We have to tackle first the question of primary education and then of secondary, and higher secondary education. We have to dovetail the three parts into each other so that no difficulty may arise for a student from going from the first stage to the second and the third.

The President further remarked: "I do not want to blame anyone for this. Some things are developed that after freedom we thought that first of all reform of university education should be undertaken. A University Commission was then set up. Later came the Secondary Educa-

last Government had perhaps some thought in being given to primary education. It is not that those who are in charge of education have completely forgotten the primary stage of education. But in my view it would have been better if we had started with primary education, and then dealt with secondary education ultimately taking up the university education. If this course had been followed, then the spectacle we are now witnessing in the sphere of education, we would not have witnessed."

Regarding university education the President said, "Even those boys who get an opportunity to study in the present-day universities were not equipped properly to face life after passing out. They could neither go back to their villages nor get suitable work in the cities. A few amongst them do get some help or the other. But many among those who graduate from the universities are useless. I do not want to make any complaint against them. They are not to blame. What they are taught in these universities and what they learn do not equip them for anything worthwhile."

"The standard of university education is going down so much that what is the reason for it? The main reason is that from the beginning the standard of education is so low. The standard therefore cannot go up to the higher stages of education. It is not possible. Many students reach the college and university stage. They cannot benefit by college or university education because they do not acquire the aptitude in the lower stages for high learning."

Dr. Prasad said that it would be better if a process of selection was gone through when students applied for higher education. He did not mean to say that any deserving people should be barred from undertaking higher studies but some selection should be made. This would lessen the burden on not only the university authorities, but also on parents who had to spend a lot of money on giving their children the university education.

The President then referred to what he called the "crisis" for opening schools and colleges of the conventional type.

The President said that he did not want to destroy the enthusiasm of the people. "I want that what is necessary should be done. The present-day need is not that schools should be opened but schools of the right type should be started. Schools and colleges should be opened with a particular aim in view."

The President said that the main question to be considered was whether the education being imparted in schools and colleges was beneficial to the country or not.

Dr. Prasad said that India had progressed in the economic sphere after independence. But there too the stress was on the acquisitive side of things or striving more wealth. This tendency should be curbed. Honour and money

should not become the end in itself. "We have to change these social values where honour depends on the length of one's purse."

The President said that "It was necessary that people should be better off, but too much stress on acquiring wealth was not good. They could not rise high only on the strength of money. In fact, the chase for better things of life and huge money might come in the way of the country's progress. The habit of measuring everything including a man's progress and honour by the yardstick of money is not good. People should not get intoxicated with this money-craze."

(Abstract from National Herald, Lucknow, 10-1-59)

## INDIA'S UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM

(By J. D. Sundaram)

### Wrong Perspective

In his inaugural address to the recent conference of Agricultural Economists at Poona, Shri Bansi Prasad, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, propounded the theme that the attempt to develop cottage industries through various restrictions on the corresponding medium and large-scale industries might probably aggravate, rather than solve the prevailing problem of unemployment in the country. According to him, with the growing pace of migration of population in the towns and cities and with the increase in the educational facilities, unemployment among the relatively better educated classes in urban areas was more serious than that among the people in rural areas. As cottage industries with their low level of earnings were not likely to be attractive to the urban educated unemployed, cuts on the expansion of medium and large-scale industries were likely to worsen the existing problem. It has considered now, the remedy lay in the rapid industrialisation, improvement of housing conditions and slum-clearance in urban areas rather than ban an industrial expansion. He therefore, decried the economists to examine dispassionately the nature of the unemployment problem and suggest remedies, free from either ideological prejudices or economic superstitions.

1. While few will disagree with Shri. Bansi Prasad that the problem of unemployment in India is endemic in the economy rather than a temporary, short-term phenomenon that can be 'liquidated' over a period of five or ten years, the limited statistical data on the quantity, quality and composition of urban unemployment rather has claim that the problem of the educated unemployed is the more acute and should, therefore, be the basis for a realistic economic policy.

### Facts of the Case

2. Unemployment in urban areas assumed the proportions of a national crisis in post-independent India since the general price increases that came in wake of the new monetary policy initiated in November 1951. The sudden mono-

very common, on the one hand, and the introduction of multi-point entry tax, decontrol measures, rationalisation of road transport and similar measures adopted by State Governments, on the other, led to a sharp reduction of employment opportunities in distributive trade and administration. Statistical information to measure the magnitude of this problem in urban areas is not available, and the periodic reports of the Employment Exchanges serve more as an index of the trends than of the size of the problem. As urban areas are relatively better organised more politically conscious and enjoy clear contacts with political parties, trade union leaders and newspapers, the incidence of the sharp increases in the number of the unemployed, relatively better known, due to the establishment of several employment exchanges in important industrial and urban centres, has received, and continues to receive, wide publicity and consequently has evoked wider appreciation. But neither in its magnitude nor in its social incidence can it compare with the problem in the rural areas. In short words, public awareness of the urban problem was greater due to a number of fortuitous reasons.

#### Character of the Problem.

4. It is little appreciated that urban unemployment in India occurs, mainly, of unskilled and illiterate workers, and only partly of, literate, skilled and semi-skilled workers. As a recent analysis of the registered urban unemployed in the city of Calcutta, and that in three of most other urban centres, as well, shows: (1) about 45 per cent of the registered unemployed are unskilled workers, (2) the bulk of the educated unemployed are fresh, newly-passed intermediate, intermediate or graduates, who have no special training skill, aptitude or preferences, and who in the main are in search of administrative or clerical jobs, and (3) the majority of such literate, unskilled, untrained persons are also unwilling to move out to different parts of the country. The registered unemployed who have some experience or training or are skilled in any craft or calling find it relatively easier to obtain employment than the educated 'unskilled' persons. Unemployment among the very highly qualified or technical personnel is very small, and just, relatively, for a very short period of time. The inference from this analysis is obviously that the continuation of the present 'general' educational system, is bound to exacerbate rather than relieve the problem, as no economy or pattern of development can absorb in gradual, clerical or administrative occupations the ever-increasing output of India's schools, colleges and universities. The solution of the problem thus lies in a deliberate attempt to increase occupational utility of the urban educated youth, and wear away the prevailing concepts of 'practical' professions through a reorientation of education rather than through further urbanisation and industrialisation.

5. The predominance of unskilled, illiterate persons among the registered unemployed in urban areas, and their general performance for jobs, such as shopman, watchman etc. on salary scales ranging from Rs 30 to Rs 50 per month reflects the conditions in the surrounding rural areas rather than the conditions in the urban areas. Unskilled, landless and land-owning agricultural labour moves out into towns during the agricultural off-seasons, and has given the Indian industrial labour the principal 'marginal' character and accounts for the prevailing shortness. Availability of work throughout the year in their own places will definitely stop this movement. Lack of work rather than attractions of urban areas is the cause of the seasonal migration.

6. To sum up, the size of the urban unemployment problem, relative to that in rural areas is smaller, as the urban population relative to the rural population is smaller. The bulk of the unemployed in urban areas are unskilled, illiterate workers from surrounding rural areas, in search of 'menial' jobs on salaries ranging from Rs 30 to Rs 50 per month. The so-called 'educated' urban unemployed has no training for any job, and no pattern of industrial development can create, reasonably, an adequate number of clerical jobs to absorb them. Consequently, the remedy lies in providing the bulk of the youth in urban areas, education with a vocational bias, and train them in specific crafts to earn their living.

#### Rural Problem.

7. As against the conditions in urban areas, as the recent reports of the Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee show, under-employment in the rural areas is large and widespread, and although its incidence varies from region to region, nowhere is it small enough to be ignored, and employment in agriculture during the season does not fetch an adequate wage to maintain a reasonable standard of living. The 1954 Census Report has made it clearer that self-employed workers predominate in agriculture as well as non-agricultural occupations, and owing to extensive under-employment among them their conditions of life and work today are bad in the extreme. In a democratic country ruled by public opinion and majority vote, the needs of the vast millions who lead a subservient life, ought to receive priority of attention. The lack of organisation and contacts with political and other bodies has been mainly responsible for the steady, continued deterioration in the conditions of both agricultural and non-agricultural workers in rural India. From the point of view of the magnitude, diffusion, incidence, the problem of under-employment in rural areas is the basic, primary problem because not only does it involve a tremendous waste of human resources but it is a standing danger to the social and political stability of the country.

### The Answer

8 It is precisely on the account that the Karve Committee recommended a permanent ban on any further expansion of industries in the existing urban centres or on their periphery, and a deliberate attempt to adopt modern scientific techniques to the needs of a decentralised pattern of economic development that integration agriculture with industry. Without the basic conditions of work or assured sales of their output the self-employed artisans in the village cannot expand his production; much less adopt improved techniques. So long as the conditions in rural areas continue as they are, and continue to be altogether ignored as 'hitherto, or altogether neglected as it now being done by several political, industrial and other experts, the primary problem of economic development will continue to be impossible of solution.

### Rite of Urbanisation

9 It is erroneous to argue in the face of the facts presented above that the lure of the higher income and the varied opportunities drew the rural population to urban areas. The so-called higher earnings, in the face of higher costs of living in urban areas and lower levels of housing and other basic amenities of human living available to lower income groups in real terms are lower than earnings in the rural areas, and are available only to a very few of the thousands that migrate to towns. Continued migration to towns in such numbers is most certainly harmful to the economic, social and political welfare of the country. Continued unemployment of the literate, unskilled, rural worker and continued living in unhealthy hovels as in slums, with many moral and spiritual temptations all round make this class susceptible to the lure of political and economic extremes, and a standing threat to the life and property of the people. Urbanisation that follows non-regulated industrial expansion as in the economic history of the world simply grows, an unregulated evil, and whose demographic trends are as those of India, is definitely to be avoided.

10 Shri Rama Rao is in a position to offer accurate information on the social economic and political moderne of urbanisation, which orthodox economic theory considers as the index of industrialisation and economic development. Urbanisation in each of the advanced industrial countries of the world took a tremendous toll of human lives and Governments in power succumbed in these countries probably because they were either autocrats or monarchies. It is certainly impossible for a democracy with unswerving adult franchise like India either to tolerate it or consider it as evidence of national growth. In other words planned economic development

must, specifically, regulate the pace, the form and the areas of industrialisation and urbanisation in the larger social context.

11 Once again Shri Rama Rao and several industrialists have raised the cry of inflation to frustrate policy-makers from adopting the recommendations of the Karve Committee. They dread shortages of consumer goods if cottage industries are allotted the responsibility for the production of the estimated increase in consumer demand. Once it is decided that cottage industries should form an integral part of our economy and the development, and the basic operative conditions are provided, the expansion of production of goods in output is according to demand is not impossible of achievement. Else not our agriculture, the most striking example of private, 'unorganised' small-scale industry, exceeded the targets prescribed by the Plan?

Shri B. Ramu Rao's remarks quoted at the beginning of this article contained one of Shri G. D. Durl's very apt for play of observing in 'advanced unemployment of the classes in the other capital of the nation, which was also invited upon in a previous article of mine (HNS Starline, November 24, 1954 "The Present Economic Climate"). Shri B. Ramu Rao in the Political Section, Mr Rama Rao now addresses the Government or the Public Service. Both speakers show the division in which they divide the economic wind in the country to blow. The industrialists, the Finance, the Government and all work after him in India seem to pile the classes against village and small-scale industries at present. Let India, democracy be clear about these symptoms.

—G. D.

M. P.]

### Clarification

Some readers drew my attention to Shri M. V.'s article in the HNS, Dec. 3, 1954, — 'On Committee's Report on Agricultural Labour' is a statement in the second line of its first para, where it is said that 'Agricultural labour represents nearly 70 per cent. of the total population of the country.' They asked whether agricultural labour meant landless labourers or whether it only meant the people living on agriculture. I referred the point to the author. The letter is true, viz. 'according to the 1951 census, 70 per cent. of the population depend upon agriculture for their livelihood'.

5-1-55

M. P.

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TWO ANNAS

## EASTERN & WESTERN VALUES

(By Bhagabhai P. Desai)

Benares Nath Tagore, in one of his essays, wrote as follows:

"The construction of ancient Greece was pursued within city walls. In fact, all modern civilisations have their cradles of towns and cities. These walls have their roots deep in the nature of man. They set up a principle of division and rule. In our mental outlook which implies it, is a habit of regarding all our conquests by fortifying them and expending them from our resources."

"In India it was in the forests that our civilisation had its birth and it took a different character from this origin and environment."

Even in the history of its material prosperity the heart of India ever looked back with admiration upon the early ideal of austere civilisation, and the dignity of simple life of the forest hermitage and drew its last inspiration from the wisdom stored there."

The West seems to take it quite for granted that it is achieving success. This sentiment is the product of the distorted belief and twisting of mind. For in the city life man naturally shuns the concentrated light of the natural vision upon his own life and work and this results in artificial dissimilarity between him and the universal Nature within whose home he lies."

"But in India the point of view was different. It included the world with the man as one great whole." (Gandhi—Chap. 1)

It was a very bold, if not important, feat on the part of Sardar E. M. Pandey to make an assertion that he did on the occasion of the conveniences of the Vishwa Bharati, Shantiniketan, decrying, almost ridiculing, the great truth of India's civilisation and culture. The Hindu (21-12-1933) has very aptly described the Sardar's loss of history let alone on going behind receiving their degrees and diplomas at Shantiniketan, in the following words:

"Sardar Pandey seemed to find great pleasure in describing a number of ghostly pretenders to order to soothe them with the greatest care with a view of his distorted mind."

The 'ghostly pretenders' called to dance at the touch of the historian-scholar's tongue were that (1) India has accepted "poverty as a national ideal", "The doctrine of the simple life which is presumed to encourage high thinking is but the worship of poverty", that (2) India is more spiritual than the rest of the world is no more than a self-deception, "nowhere in fact,

is materialism so rampant as in India", and that (3) the standard of the village life and rural economy based on handicrafts or home and village industries is based on a perverted view of our past, because "of all times a vigorous urban life existed in India."

Therefore he denounced the Ashura mentality which, according to him, is only the worship of poverty. Did not Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, the Union Minister of Industries also denounce the Gandhian Ashura vision in a similar vein?

One does not know what these bangle Pandey off the balance and wide lam again what appears to me his history and worse social philosophy. However, the view that he took of India's culture is not altogether novel, because such a perverted or unbalanced view is often to be found among those who have drunk at the fountain of modern science and other heres of the West and have come to be infatuated with its social philosophy of mad pursuit of raising the standard of living higher and higher. Such people, in their limited awareness, forget that industry and want of contentment are not poverty, that contentment is not poverty but a rare virtue of the soul—in real property, and that what is plain or simple in life is not necessarily poor nor even partial, and that high living is not high thinking nor even good living, and may be a positive evil in a world of grinding competition and cut-throat competition.

Again one wonders who ever said that India should be a poor nation, that poverty is to be our national ideal? If the Sardar's honesty on rules and urban civilisation was meant as a reply to the dechristianised economy of Scandinavia which to people like him might appear as a poor economy,—if that is a true standard, then one should only say that Shri Pandey does great injustice not only to those who stand for Shantiniketa, but also to himself. The Shree Datta Patrika, writing editorially under the heading 'Bhikshu Ghaty', has well recorded that,

"Contentment was one of the earliest objectives of Gandhiji. He never denied the value of an urban civilisation, nor did he ever suggest any approximation."

He thought, even as Mahatma Gandhi did, that handicrafts held the key to the rehabilitation of village economy.... And the whole question is worked out fully. Let things be done given its rightful place.

If the village continues to remain in the paralyzing grip of poverty, ill-health, disease and unemployment, all our cherished plans of building an urban civilization will prove chimerical."

Surely it is not the worship of poverty to emphasize this vital aspect of India's problem. The difficulty of people learned in Western lands and living in cities, blinded by the glamour of Western technology, really is that they forget and as if do not care to note that aspect. To them *The Shreds* has well reminded that,

"The danger rather is that, well-meaning though often that Parliament may, lower the standards that all change in progress, produce a wide unbridgeable technical and an intellectualizing cultural gulf. . . . That can only have the effect of further widening the gap between the masses related to a living world and a section of the technologists which has lost its bearings."

As the GMA says (Chap. 3-4) . . . 1, the pursuit of pleasure and power is materialism, 2, it is the way of the Arians, as it is described in another chapter.

India rejects this way of life described by the GMA, because that is *very materialism*. The Western will to power (i.e. *Shakti*) is replacing itself as a race far away with the help of science, and the cause for a life of ease and opulence and spreading itself as the unscrupulous pursuit for higher and higher standard of living (i.e. *Shanti*). — These two together make up this sort of materialism. It has overtaken the modern Western world. Success in these has made it arrogant also. And its attitude also is as the GMA has said *arrogant selfish*. It does not lead to peace and tranquility. The way to it is to reject the above and to work for positive peace. India stands for this, and the economics of peace is not the one that materialist West is following today, but it is what the idea of Gandhiji stands for—a decentralized agro-industrial economy allied with the ideal of plain living and high thinking. Gandhiji put the vast difference between eastern and western values of life, in the following meaningful words:

"European civilization is no doubt, richer than the Europeans, but it will mean ruin for India. If we choose, we can be happy. . . . It is not as if we may not adopt and assimilate whatever may be good and superior of civilization by us as it does not mean such loss even the Europeans will not have to part with what ever will might have craved for it. The increased wealth for material comfort and their participation is such as will, and I make bold to say that the Europeans themselves will have to renounce their selfish. If they are not in peril under the weight of the conditions to which they are becoming slaves. It may be that my reading is wrong, but I know that for India to live after the Christian Pattern is to court certain death. Let us reject in our hearts the profile of a 'Western philosopher' from living and high thinking." (Chap. 3, to indicate that the culture cannot have high living and so the rule will proceed to do this thinking for the masses run the risk, is a rule search after high living, of living high thinking. " (Young India, 1924-25)

6-1-58

## THE SPIRITUAL REVOLUTION OF OUR TIMES

(By S. O. Khan)

We are all busy planning for prosperity. Reconstructed India must have wealth and be rich. So the means per capita must be doubled — if possible tripled or more. Rapid industrialization and mechanization of all industries, even of the main industry of India, viz. agriculture, are advocated by some, and we must get rich quick.

When, therefore, I read in the *Oxford Lectures* by Wilfred Wedlock the following sentence: "Western survival now depends upon calling it back to 'Prosperity' and revivifying our values, ends and ways of life as various and as comprehensive as persons", I admit I received a bit of a shock. Why should anyone have to call a halt to "Prosperity"? Can we not have the aim of prosperity — unlimited? Talking of ways of life are not most of us going on the assumption — may be unconsciously — that the true way of life has already been discovered by the progressive and progressive nations of Europe and the United States of America long ago? All we have to do is to follow the discovered path? Is anything yet to be discovered in this age of nuclear fission and Hydrogen Bombs?

I then read the following:

Despite occasional outbreaks of big wars, big famines, and big crimes (and we may hope big what the world would appear to be moving relentlessly towards the third world war, if trends unbroken). One serious trouble is that the limits of the very big power have not been set. There was way in the only hope of civilization and world peace while a considerable man has so deeply involved people and little hope in stilling, meanwhile, in Asia new revolutions proceed and others discover, while in the West an ever-increasing materialism puts the problems of tomorrow. Men of their own race and race while armaments grow steadily in quantity and killing power."

Our final ideal that the remarks are just and true. But then if all the nations agree to progressive and drastic disarmament and also decide never to use atomic or Hydrogen bombs, shall we not then all have security, peace and freedom from fear—the most valuable of the four of fourteen freedoms? The world is divided into two power blocs each claiming its own aim to be Peace and each pointing to its own way as the way to Peace and Progress which is the cherished goal of all of us. We are puzzled—will "anti-communism" lead to the goal? Will Communism lead to it?

The answer perhaps, is neither of these will lead to what human beings really want. Speaking about the era of civilization ushered in by the Industrial Revolution in the West we are told that it has resulted in an "impasse". "Today the West calls for more world trade while the East pushes steadily towards self-sufficiency which implies a gradual dwindling of world trade would a rapid expansion of world industrial production and thus of competition for markets, food and raw materials." If the standard of living, all of us are aspiring after, is that of the

N. A. If we must sacrifice protection until we are all able to achieve it, and if there is no reason why we should not all be shareholders of "Prosperity Unlimited" then I must face this economic and political struggle and say goodbye to freedom from fear.

Wilfred Wallock in "New Horizons" has tried to tackle this problem, viz. (1) to expose the impulse into which Western Civilization has drifted and the causes; (2) to expound the values, relationships and qualities by which freedom from this impulse can be secured; and (3) to indicate some of the social, industrial and cultural changes for which this spiritual revolution calls.

The "Industrial Revolution" started in Europe two centuries ago has not led the West to Peace and Progress. The "Spiritual Revolution" started by Gandhi in India in the twentieth century has not yet caught roots even in the land of its birth, not to speak of other lands. But signs are visible that it may lead us all to both peace and progress. It is a long long way and hard, and unattractive.

Over two thousand years ago Lord Sri Krishna — so says the Bhagavad Gita — warned humanity about two ways of life, leading people to opposite goals and warned it to choose wisely. That is what he said:

"Provided is the eternal equation in this world, the *Goodly (Divine)* and *ungodly (Arist)*. The *Goodly* hath been described at length, from both the *U Puranas* the *Upanishads* and *Ashtanga Yoga* — *ungodly* men know neither the right energy nor the way of righteousness. Not yetty nor even propriety nor truth is in them. 'The *ungodly* is without truth, without a moral basis,' they say, 'without a God, not brought about by regular causal sequence and caused by *Divine* and *nothing else*.' Holding fast to this view, these *ungodly* eaters of meat, understanding of their deeds, come forth as enemies for the destruction of the world.

Transmuting themselves to insatiable desire, possessed with insatiable greed and covetousness, holding all these through delusion. They engage in action with impure motives, obsessed with unmeasured aims and those whom used to death, regarding the prohibition of desire as the highest end. Being sure that life is in my hand is and last in bondage by a hundred thousand of desire, given over to lust and anger, they strive to obtain the universal peace boards of wealth for the propagation of their desires. "This today by me hath been won, this desire I shall gain. This wealth is mine already and also this shall be mine in future. I have slain this enemy and others also I shall slay. I am the lord, I am the employer, I am perfect, powerful, happy, I am worthy well-loved, who or what else is there that is like unto me?" Thus deluded and bewildered by numerous thoughts connected to the web of desires, addicted to the prohibition of desire, they go downwards into a hell hell."

It sounds a dreadful thing to say, but the world seems to have started on this wrong road. We only think in terms of creating and fulfilling new and more wants — the path of insatiable desire — of never-satiation. Or else why should there be this great conflict and the fear of the destruction of the world? If that is so then we must change the road and start the trek towards a new creative era. We must reconstruct society.

\*Referred to these columns, see *Harper's*, 1-1-34,

into a catastrophe of high quality with "the whole man" is the foundation of a veritable world democracy. We must take into account not only the material but also the spiritual being of man. In the words of Wallock: "Material need should be related to the well-being of the whole man, whence need and such would control and limit material demands. Not until we learn the art of living, which involves the subjection of the material to the spiritual, shall we solve our economic problems and evolve an economy that is consonant with the demands of world peace. It is manifestly absurd to denounce aggression while promoting an economy that is inherently aggressive."

How is this to be done? I have just returned from Barwade where I went to see Shri Yashvi Bhavs. He is the author of the Bhodan Movement which seems to be founded on the very principles indicated by Wilfred Wallock. His aim is not, as some people seem to think, merely to collect hand-gifts and redistribute land among the landless. It is intended to show a new way of life to the people in a world full of fear and selfishness, not the way of strife and competition but of love and peace. Bhavs wants to effect a bloodless revolution by "a radical transformation of the human personality." He does not want State help to make an as classless society of "state ends according to his need and from each according to his capacity." He wants to do this by creating a change of heart in the people, by *Jana Shakti*. His is an all-party programme of purification of public life. He has started not only Bhodan but *Sampriti*, *Dan*, *Shram*, *Dan*, etc. The movement aims at social reconstruction without class hatred. He wants Barwadeys. We should aim not only at increasing production but also at equitable distribution simultaneously. He has realized the truth of Tagore's message: — "Not by ambition can you hope to extinguish the fire of desire." The way of peace and of forthrightness is not the way which we have been following so far. Peace must be won not out of fear or for greed but for its own sake. It is not too late to begin — a new way. Land for all — work for all — integrated employment and program for all but also the pay of hard work and remuneration and self-discipline for all. Was it not Emerson who said "God offers to every mind its choice between Truth and Repose. Take which you please. You can never have both." It is the old old conflict between struggle and peace so familiar to the ancient seers of India. And now there is a prospect of joy and there is Bhodan and there is *Shram*, *Dan*. We must devote ourselves to that with a will and with faith.

I would also gladly admit that the Parish-rundays and the Rural Life Conference Movements are an laudable attempt to tread on the path indicated by Mahatma Gandhi in his constructive programme — a path of the Spiritual Revolution started in India. Let us pursue it. This is a good resolve for *India* and *New Year* 1934.

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1956

## A-I SERVICES EXAMINATIONS MEDIUM

(By Mopiksha P. Doshi)

Shri N. K. Siddhanta, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, addressing the Punjab University annual convocation, touched an important problem of the A-I-Services services examinations. Emphasis on the study and importance of English language has been the bane of these annual academic sessions these days. Shri Siddhanta in the course of with a lecture is reported (vide *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, December, 23, 1955) to have said as follows:

"Giving reply to his own question, 'What the doom is to the retention of English as the medium of teaching for many years to come?' Shri Siddhanta observed, 'I shall not be too pessimistic but must recognise this that much more of effort is necessary if the regional languages are to improve their popularity for acceptance — more of joint effort for implementation and State facilities for students with language.'"

The need of such efforts on our part is obvious. English having usurped from our languages their place of being the traditional medium, the latter naturally could not develop to their full extent. Therefore, when we now wish to restore them this place, much longer has to be suddenly made up, which is surely a heavy task. But it is not so difficult, for the simple reason that we are to develop our own mother-tongues. This is never difficult for their children if only they will to do it.

Prof Siddhanta in his address did not call us to such an honourable venture. Difficulties, of course, there are in our way. He has stated it. The point is they cannot overwhelm us much less drive us from the venture to overcome them. What people expect to hear from people like Prof Siddhanta is, 'There is a way to overcome them, let us take to it courageously and boldly.'"

Prof Siddhanta has specially noted the following difficulties in regard to the changeover from English to Indian languages:

He said that the difficulties about the A-I-Services medium should not be treated with too lightly even though it was only a very small percentage of university graduates that could aspire to enter them. For one thing, the provision had to be made to follow an annual of the expanding activities of a Western State which needed an ever-increasing personnel the man who the new development program. For students who desired to enter the Government in these spheres might need to master the English language in the office needed task.

"Having been associated for a number of years with the recruitment of young university graduates for the higher posts under the Government, he had occasion to note the frequent complaints of recruiting and appointing boards about the inability of the candidates to think for themselves and their clumsiness in expression. This could not be entirely due to lack of mastery over English which was continued to be the

medium of instruction in the A-I-Services medium and likely to continue to be so for some time to come."

It would be years before the candidates from the non-Hindi areas were able to compete with the Hindi-speaking people in examinations conducted in Hindi.

Difficulties in a dozen regional languages would lead to considerable difficulties — students in respective areas — in the speaking of standards of examinations in the different languages. As it was with the large number of candidates appearing in these examinations it was difficult to ensure that the same standards were maintained by all candidates in the same subject as by the candidates in the different optional subjects. With universities in different languages required accuracy to maintain those the respective linguistic areas there might be a natural tendency to be generous and the possibility might favour the least of success.

At any rate, with thousands partition, reading, thought, and giving the lower of examinations in it undoubtedly appears to be doing at the present moment much an experienced might not be adequate in the best future.

Prof Siddhanta would wish to have Hindi as the language of A-I examinations in place of English, whenever the latter goes out. The regional languages can be immediately helpful here to remove the plus earlier and more easily and naturally. But Prof Siddhanta would not have recourse to them, as examinations in a dozen regional languages would lead to considerable difficulties, e.g. in the speaking of standards. On the other hand, he points out, "It would be years before the candidates from the non-Hindi areas were able to compete with Hindi-speaking people in examinations conducted in Hindi." The obvious inference which we are left to make, therefore, is—continue English! One may not mind this even, if that was possible to do. But we know that the standard of English is fast going down. On the other hand, universities in India are considering the change of their medium as they ought to. Moreover, the advent of independence requires our Government to encourage the propagation and teaching of Hindi and begin to work for the quiet development of regional languages. Introduction of Hindi teaching in schools takes away some time from English teaching which has had a lion's share of the school time-table all these years. This is a factor obviously making for less of English language equipment.

Further, the Congress Working Committee has resolved to permit optional use of regional languages as medium of A-I-Services services examinations. And the Central Government has declined to accept it.

Under these circumstances, the obvious solution is to adopt the policy generally indicated by the Constitution of India and seek necessary means for implementing it. We welcome at present the State reorganisation, is it not bound with its own difficulties? However, we apply ourselves to meet them, because we must, as the work has to be done. The language problem is a similar task for the people. We cannot now afford to delay it, we must put the program



of our cultural, educational and political life on the new road by reorganising the use of Indian languages in the suitable manner. It is the call of the age we are in. May those who preside over the universities and education departments of the country hear this call and heed to it as quickly as possible. Otherwise they will stand to be blamed by the people and the fault will be theirs if the work was not done.

Prof Sathianathan points out difficulties of modernisation in the all-India services examinations. Are they 'unassumable' ? I do not think so. People has been experienced as they are in the techniques of examining, will surely get the way out if only they shed their fear and apply their minds to it.

The second difficulty he notes is that of increasing number of candidates. This is a question for the entire field of education. The way to meet it is not impossible, nor can we complain against it. Preliminary regional tests might help us to screen out the candidates. Do we not do similarly in our all-India games competitions etc. ?

The source of the whole discussion is that the country, having finished with the work of States reorganisation, will be immediately faced with the following new task :

1. We must begin to teach students and conduct States administration through the languages scheduled by the Constitution. This will automatically lead to their development and quicken its step.

2. Along with it, all States should begin compulsory teaching of Hindi in schools and colleges.

3. Universities and State Governments must be planners in implementing this new policy.

All these are new things. They are helpful in furthering the realisation of true federal. We cannot stop ourselves from undertaking them, looking to the difficulty of the task ; we should rather run to face them.

We should also remember that there will be a third language of study for those who reach the secondary or High School stage after completing 7 years of free and compulsory primary studies. What that third language will be is not a disputed thing. English is there. There might be other languages as an alternative, because now we are not ruled by the English and we deal with all the culture of the world.

If we do this, the question of the medium of all-India service examinations will solve itself. One thing must be noted here. In these open competitive examinations, no candidate can be put to a disadvantage comparatively to others as the count of language ; it will be laid under the fundamental rights of a citizen. Therefore, a candidate will have to be offered the choice of

the medium. If we consider the question in such a broad perspective, the fears of the sort noted by Prof Sathianathan rather turn out to be patriotic ventures for new India. Can new India shiver at this call of patriotic duty ?

6-1-58

## PRODUCTION & EMPLOYMENT (By J. D. Madan)

In an article in the December (1955) issue of the Reserve Bank of India Bulletin Dr B. K. Madan, Economic Adviser to the Reserve Bank of India, observes that the recommendations of the Korten Committee are not likely to lead to 'a progressive economic development at a fairly rapid rate'. In his considered view the Korten Committee's emphasis on the avoidance of any additional technological unemployment in such, particularly industry and the consequent limitation on the one hand on the introduction of improved techniques for small scale and village industries to such of those that may not have deleterious effects on employment and, on the other, on increased production and expansion of the technically more efficient large-scale consumer goods industries, are likely to lead to indefinite continuation of backward techniques, occupational immobility, non-diversified low levels of production, predominance of self-employment and low levels of incomes and standards of living. As the Committee's emphasis in its view on education improvement in technique to increase employment or avoidance of technological unemployment in each industry, he feels that the aggregate volume of employment itself may not significantly expand, or facilitate increase in occupational mobility of the population.

3. The Committee's own assessment of the productive capacity of the village and small-scale industries, in his view, does not justify the ban on the increase in production and curbs on expansion of the large-scale industries, and consequently there is in the immediate future, a danger of a sharp fall in production. Besides, such a policy may, apart from drying the domestic market the benefits of larger, diversified, qualitatively superior consumer products, lead to a waste of the investment in producers goods industries which may not find a domestic market for their output. Dr Madan feels that the pattern of production that may result from the Committee's recommendations, may be out of harmony with the consumption pattern that may emerge due to an increase in income, and may also affect the country's capacity to earn foreign exchange. In short, the Committee's insistence on the avoidance of technological unemployment in each industry and, therefore, the postponement of the adoption of improved techniques in such a candidate in thinking and will deter the adoption of improved techniques, and compel the economy to do with smaller levels not only of production but also in the long run, of employment and incomes.

### Planned Development

3. Progressive improvement in the economic conditions of the bulk of the citizens engaged in the village and small-scale industries is one line of aim for the adoption of improved techniques. But the techniques must be deliberately adopted in conformity to the values accepted in society, via a cumulative pattern of society. The creation of the basic cooperative conditions through financial and other aids for expansion of productive effort in the village and small-scale sector on the one hand, and the assurance of markets for its output at prices that will ensure a reasonable margin, through appropriate regulations on the corresponding large-scale consumer goods industries, on the other can alone provide both the means and the incentives to adopt improved techniques. Sustained development on this pattern alone can ensure a progressive increase in incomes and the basis for diversified productive effort. Although, in the immediate future, there may then be no significant diversification of either production or employment, and consequently in occupational mobility the development of village and small-scale industries as an integral part of the economy over a period of time can and definitely will create the conditions in which each of the requirements can be satisfied.

4. Decentralized productive effort, deliberately planned and developed, provides the first indispensable for the acquisition of diverse skills as well as for the changes in the prevailing occupational norms. The diversification and expansion of productive effort as a decentralized basis through progressive adoption of improved techniques can create demand for tertiary services on as large a scale as the requirements in the operations of large-scale industries without the excessive concentration of population, as in the present industrial areas.

### Production and Employment

5. Dr. Madan's thesis that there is adequate scope in the economy for the simultaneous operation of both large-scale and small-scale industries and that such an operation will facilitate adoption of improved techniques by the village and small-scale industries, through the introduction of a healthy mutually beneficial competitive spirit between them, misses the point. Competition to be healthy or mutually beneficial must be between equals, and no one can claim that large-scale village and small-scale units are equal in any sense. To stimulate competition and to formulate an informed policy for them through allocation of specific shares in the total required output was the main drive of both the Kharve Committee and the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board. In their respective plans they have no decentralized fields of production as to assume the responsibility of producing only the additional consumer requirements to the village

and small-scale industries, leaving the bulk of domestic as well as the export requirements to the technically efficient, large-scale industries. The use of the responsibility assigned in each case has been determined on the basis of a careful analysis of probable increase in consumer demand and the capacity of the decentralized sector. In each individual case, the Kharve Committee has provided for specific improvement in techniques which is possible of execution within the framework of their objectives. It is, therefore, incorrect to argue that production and improvement in techniques have been subordinated to employment.

### Adequate Incentives

6. The curbs on expenditure Dr. Madan considers may prove a disincentive to undertake modernization of plant and to maintain technical efficiency. The portion of output assigned to the large-scale sector is the principal industry viz. cotton textiles, or by no means small. What is definitely attempted is to reserve a little over a third of the domestic market to the handloom. The large-scale cotton textile industry has all along asked for a number of concessions to replace or modernize its plant and machinery even when there were no curbs on its expansion, and profit levels were high. The availability of the major portion of the domestic market and the almost entire export market, with an acute international competition ought to be adequate incentives to maintain the required technical efficiency.

### False Alarm

7. To fear that a decentralized pattern of development may reduce our capacity to earn foreign exchange appears altogether unwarranted as the Kharve Committee have left untouched the responsibility for exports in the large-scale sector. Except cotton textiles, and to a smaller extent silk and oil-seeds, the industries affected by the recommendations do not contribute to the country's foreign exchange earnings. In the case of leather and other products, hides and skins may probably contribute a little more than at present as prices of tanned goods fetch substantially higher prices than raw hides and skins. At any rate, it is not too early to assess the probable changes in the volume or composition of India's export trade due to the decentralized pattern, which has sufficient structural elasticity to be adjusted in the light of the nation's larger economic needs.

### Consumption Pattern

8. According to Dr. Madan, the Kharve Committee did not fully appraise the income-elasticity of demand for cloth. The changes in the consumption pattern, particularly for cloth, according to him show an increasing preference for fine varieties, which the handlooms are not in a position to produce. While it is broadly true

that the production of cotton textiles has gradually changed during the last four decades to relatively better varieties of cloth, the bulk of the production today consists of coarse and medium varieties of which the domestic rural market consumes about 85 per cent. The analyses of the region-wise affluence of cloth by rural and urban areas shows that the per capita consumption in rural areas today is very much smaller than in urban areas, and that there are very wide differences in the levels of consumption between one region and another. While changes in the consumption pattern of urban areas are likely, given the contours of consumption, the possibility and magnitude of income-increase in the entire country, significant quantitative, much less qualitative changes in consumption pattern are not likely, and no data available warrant such an inference. Consequently, production pattern that may emerge is not likely to be out of harmony with consumption pattern.

#### **Investment Pattern**

5 A decentralised pattern of industrial development, Dr. Madan Mohan, may render the investment pattern in the Plan a waste, as the producers goods industries may not have a domestic market for their output. As was already explained above, the continued operation of the large-scale industries will provide some market for producers goods. But with effective planning the investment pattern can be modified to serve the needs of a rapidly expanding decentralised industrial sector. Such a modification will not only ensure an ever expanding market for the output of the producers goods industries, but also the diversification of production, which Dr. Madan Mohan, development of higher technical skills and also a decentralised production of machine-tools industries, on a regional basis.

#### **Conclusion**

10 To sum up: a deliberately slow, phased technological change towards creation of a decentralised pattern of society to accord with larger social and political values, introduction at each stage of development the provision of the essential conditions for technological progress. As the conditions in the country, economic, social and demographic, permit such a deliberately slowed down change without endangering consumption, the phased programme to avoid technological unemployment in each particular field, as recommended by the Karno Committee, provides adequate internal incentives to change and equates progress with production. Changes in consumption pattern, the available data show, are slow except in urban areas, and the allocation of production between the large-scale and small-scale industries emerges confirmed harmony between demand and supply, as well as the continued availability of surplus levels of exports. What is therefore, required is early

orientation of the proposed development of house industries to serve the future needs of the small-scale decentralised industrial sector.

#### **WHAT IS AMBAR CHARITRA**

The All India Khadi and Village Industries Board has issued a small pamphlet introducing the Ambar Charitra to the public. It is priced Rs. 4/- and it can be had from the Board's Office (Post Box-483, Bombay-3).

This Charitra has created a very desirable stir in the minds of our planners and the industrialists also. It is disturbing the placid or conventional economic thinking of our Commissioners and Finance Ministers at the Centre. That is all to our good, because India is required to tackle a problem which is unique in her economic history.

Governmental economies which took its birth mainly under the over-all influence of Western capitalism-ism-imperialism does not help us here. A bold and new departure from that orthodoxy is called for. The solution of our problem is a veritable venture befitting India which tries to lead the Peace March of the World on Gandhi's lines.

Gandhiji gave us, during his life-time, enough ideas to initiate and organise such an economic warfare for the nation. His idea of India's economic and industrial regeneration by utilizing our massive employment-potential in our villages through home- and village-industries on a nation-wide scale, buttressed by a national system of basic education which would work its programme of public instruction through these industries—this integrated idea of Gandhiji wants to be experimented upon and perfected by the Government through its industrial and educational policies and programmes.

The Ambar Charitra, really speaking, has raised that fundamental point before our Government. It is therefore very good that the Khadi Board has issued a pamphlet introducing this new Charitra to the public. As it is an important matter, I propose to touch it in three columns in three or four instalments. The following is the first.

28-12-62

K. P.

#### **I**

##### **Brief History of the Charitra**

1. Of the many and varied gifts of Gandhiji to India, the Charitra or the hand-spinning wheel is the greatest. On the political plane, it united the different sections of the population on the nation's call for *Swami* (swearing), and on the economic and social plane. It was the symbol of the nation's determination to achieve economic salvation and social regeneration. To Gandhiji the Charitra was an effective instrument not only for stimulating total self-sufficiency in cloth through the utilization of wide-spread knowledge and skill in hand-spinning and hand-weaving and consequently total independence from foreign imports but also for moderating the trends of selfishness and profitless use of inherited talents to avert India from sinking poverty.

in his opinion *had to be* (Bhattacharya's opinion). General material knowledge in various crafts and skills of the people.

4. During his very early efforts in Assam, Choudhury paid relatively greater attention to hand weaving in the desire to secure the economic uplift of the people. He soon realised that if handweaving was to be revived and developed as an effective means of relieving the widespread distress of the people, the dependence on the sale of jute to earn their cash in his area for an effective method of securing the remunerative supply of jute to meet the needs of a remunerated indigenous industry in the country lay more upon the spinning wheel or the Charkha. His knowledge of the prevalence of many types of Charkhas in the country on the one hand, and of the fact, but not mentioned out of it by the people, on the other, led him to advocate handspinning in 1916 and to initiate the work for a better and more effective Charkha that could be introduced in the country. In his considered view the uniformisation of the Charkha and an effective programme of handspinning with handweaving gear would provide the true basis for an effective revival of Indian Industries, decentralised action being initiated. Consequently, during the lifetime he devoted to a systematic propaganda to familiarise the country with the economic, social and political significance of the Charkha.

5. Although the Charkha was voluntary from the point of view of its employment, handspinning, especially to secure supplementary income and not of handlooms and service by the village women who had run towards Choudhury desired to have a Charkha with higher production capacity so as to secure the spinner a higher wage to enable him to raise his standard of living. He, therefore, advocated, encouraged and aided spinners' initiatives for the manufacture of a more efficient Charkha.

#### The search for an improved Charkha

6. In 1916 he offered a prize of Rs 1,000 for effective research in evolving a better and more efficient Charkha. To be acceptable for his purpose a Charkha must be capable of being introduced and operated in the smallest of Indian villages... must produce high of good quality of a definite quantity in equal time; the spinner a living wage and above all, must be capable of being manufactured and worked in the village itself in the village. This began the nation's search for a Charkha of his dreams to enable the purpose that he so dearly cherished and so ardently advocated.

7. This offer aroused interest not only within the country but also abroad. During the following years, many indigenous and foreign models were attracted to him for comparison. But a careful and objective scrutiny of each of these showed that, as spinning instruments they were poorer than the prevalent indigenous Charkha.

8. Among the several models that were submitted to him for comparison during this period, mention may be made of the German and Turkish models of Charkhas. These were however found unsatisfactory either because of their cost or complexity or their constructional difficulties. The models that attracted most attention and came closest to his criteria were that Frenchman (late cooperator 'Jagan Charkha') and that of a British manufacturer (late cooperator 'Jagan Charkha'). These also did not pass the rigid test of Choudhury. The two factors were, however, proposed to combine their efforts to evolve a more efficient model. Political events of this period delayed the greater portion of Choudhury's time and resources and consequently, despite his deep interest in this research, he could not give it sufficient time or attention as he desired.

9. In 1920, however, with the widespread distress in the country owing to the unprecedented world economic depression, Choudhury once again offered a prize this time of Rs 1,00,000 for the invention of a Charkha which satisfied his conditions, except that of price, which in his opinion, could go upto Rs 100 per Charkha.

10. Political events such as the Hindi March, led Bhattacharya, etc., of this period once again shifted Choudhury's time and attention, and although work was being carried on at Silchar, Thiruvalla, and other places, interest in this received only secondary attention.

11. One among the various models that were considered during this period was that of late improved Bangalore Charkha, manufactured in 1920. Although on this Charkha, years of good quality spinning in operation have and continues, could be spun, and its productivity was satisfactory, it was found unsatisfactory because it was not capable of being manufactured in the village. It was too large to be set up in all the small huts of the villages and the price was beyond the means of the average village.

12. Arrival of sustained interest in technical research in all aspects of India in general and a determined drive to evolve a technically superior Charkha came only during the second half of the World War II. Thanks to the aid of that Indian leader Gandhi, who convened several conferences to discuss questions of technical improvement of the Charkha and other research-instruments as such modernised Indian industries. The interest in research aroused by these conferences was reflected in the deliberations of the A.I.C.A. during this time to send a delegation as a part of the mission to Japan and China, which were reported to have devised small spinning units. Before the delegation left, however, a model of the Japanese spinning unit became available in the country for critical examination, and this trip to Japan was, therefore, cancelled.

13. The foreign model of the spinning unit was, however, found to be unsatisfactory because its output was lower than that of even the ordinary Charkha and the price was prohibitive. Besides, the mechanism of the model was intricate and obviously beyond the capacity of the village women to maintain let alone manufacture. Above all, its productivity and quality were not better than the models constructed in the country itself. The final rejection of the Japanese model paved the way for re-examination of the indigenous models of Charkhas, such as the Rajmangalam Charkha constructed during the Charkha and the Kalyanas Charkha made in 1917. Although each of these was comparatively superior to the foreign model, they failed to satisfy the criteria of Choudhury and consequently it was decided to continue the search for the Charkha of Choudhury's dreams.

(Continued)

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# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY BHAKTMA GANDHI)  
EDITOR: BHAKTMAJI P. BHAR



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TWO ANNAS

## BHAKTMA GANDHI—THE LAST PHASE

[The readers of *Harjan* are aware that Bhakt Pyarelal is engaged for the last few years on writing a book on Gandhi's last years. The book is now ready. It is in two volumes. The first volume is of nearly 800 pages with 41 pages of photographs. It will be released on the 12th February next—the centenary day of the immortal birthday of Gandhi's mortal remains 4 years ago. The second volume will be released in the next few months. Each volume is priced at Rs 25-0-0, postage extra. The readers can book their orders with Narayan for one volume or for both. The first volume will be sent as soon as possible after its release, to be followed by the second in due course. Those who book orders for both the volumes together will naturally get priority.]

We publish below the author's Preface to the book. The next two issues will carry the introduction by Dr. Kapendra Prasad.

24-1-36

J. D. Desai

*Bhaktma Gandhi—The Last Phase* has a tortuous history. I had intended to follow up my earlier publication *A Pilgrimage for Peace* which describes Gandhi's mission to establish non-violence amongst the North-West Frontier Tribes, with a companion volume of about the same size covering the story of his "do or die" mission in South Africa as a preliminary to his full biography. But two English friends, who saw the manuscript, were decidedly of the opinion that unless the story of his mission in India also went between the same covers, the picture presented would be incomplete and top-sided. I saw the force of their argument and decided to include the story of his mission of peace and healing in India also in the proposed volume. As I proceeded with my task, however, I became, for the first time, aware of certain facts and developments of which I had as far only a very dim and second-hand knowledge. As I was at that time away from Gandhi in South Africa, where Gandhi had left behind all his old companions to carry on his work of re-establishing confused harmony, when he himself had to go to India, and then to Delhi. The inner significance and poignancy of the picture thus revealed was an overwhelming

that it made everything else appear trivial in comparison, and so abandoning the earlier title *The Last Phase* I decided to extend the scope of the book so as to present to the readers a full, detailed and authentic story of the last phase of Gandhi's life in which his spiritual powers were seen at work at the height of their maturity and which provides glimpses of the farthest reaches of his moral and spiritual growth of the quest for the secret of the power that could control power and provide an answer to the challenge of brute force and the contestation between democracy and autocracy, equality and individual freedom, progress and peace with which the present-day world is confronted. And so pages in the earlier draft grew into chapters and paragraphs into pages and sections. The book itself had to be divided into two volumes. The first volume deals with the period from his release in 1915 up to the time of Lord Mountbatten's arrival in India; the second volume carries the story to the end of his life.

I must confess that I was hardly aware of the colossal nature of the task and the tremendous difficulties, obstacles and pitfalls in the way when I embarked on the venture. If I had known beforehand, I might well have hesitated or at least proceeded differently. There were serious gaps in the information, many phases of delicate and intricate discussions between Gandhi and his colleagues and negotiations with the representatives of the British Government that preceded and followed independence-conferences were unrecorded. Sometimes the record existed but was either inaccessible or else withheld, at times the actors, in the drama, as they put it, were so "tremendously discreet" that later they themselves were unable to explain cryptic references in their recorded correspondence, or recall the events and happenings to which they referred. To interpret the record accurately and fully in the absence of those who alone could have done full justice to it, to fill in the gaps, to make disjointed bits of information fall in their proper places and yield a clear, coherent meaning, and unravel the tangled skein of the story with the help of clues teased up from collateral sources of evidence

1948 Indian Congress I wrote a letter to the whole world for no clear and very odd kind of work—very interesting but certainly time-consuming. It was only by a sudden expenditure of time brought with some journalistic close contacts and the pointers provided by Gandhiji's letters to me during the period under review and what he had shared with me during the last two months of his earthly sojourn when a peaceful Providence again enabled me to be near him that the work could be completed.

Soon I discovered, too, that there was hardly a comment of importance on men and events in this crucial period or a conclusion based thereupon that I could record but provided a challenge. That made it necessary to cite appropriate chapter and verse in every case in support of my statements and conclusions. Hence the close documentation which the reader will find in these pages, which to my deep chagrin has added to the bulk of the volume.

In preparing these pages, I have drawn upon, in the first instance, as Gandhiji's office records, his own writings in *Young India* and *Harmon*, and statements and interviews to the Press and his personal correspondence including postage instructions and scribblings, when he was observing silence, on odd bits of paper which I had carefully preserved. As he sometimes humorously put it, Gandhiji was a very "kind of dehydrated" as far as papers and documents— which he shared with "earthly persons"— were concerned. Important correspondence of one side of the paper was blank, was often precariously turned to use as scribbling paper, or treated as "rather out of place" if it did not lend itself to that use, unless immediately removed there to safety in time or rescued there from the waste-paper-basket. But as Mohdhan and I, knowing my passion for collection and preservation of scraps of paper bearing a bearing on his life and activities, and knowing that others might be free from this addiction, he sometimes used to pick out choice materials and send them to me as "love tokens." In Mohdhan I had, besides, my own notebooks and diaries as well as notebooks and diaries of some other members of his party and my own first-hand information either from him or from others to go by. Last but not least, I have relied on his own journal which he began specially to keep for me to make up for my absence from him when, to "throw himself on God alone" at the time of the second Simla Conference in May, 1946, he sent away his entire secretarial staff to Delhi. This journal was continued right till the 26th July 1947. It used to accompany him wherever he went. But unfortunately after his passing away, the original notebooks could not be traced and no news reached me. The portion from the 6th October, 1946, onwards, however, was made available to me in copy by Bhanu Gandhi, who had taken it

down from the journal which used to be in his charge. The earlier portions and the original notes books seem to have been irretrievably lost.

In giving quotations from Gandhiji's speeches and oral interviews, I have taken liberty to amplify or revise the language of the published version with the help of the original notes when the published version, prepared in the hurry of the moment either by me or by some other member of Gandhiji's staff, was slanted or inadequate. I have spared no pains to check up and verify reported information by reference to the actors in the drama concerned wherever possible or to some other reliable source, to ensure accuracy. This took a lot of time involving as it did inter-continental correspondence with people who were each and all preoccupied with their own public duties.

After great deliberation I have given as full a treatment as was possible in the circumstances to the delicate and difficult issue dealt with in the chapter on *Non-Violence* as being fundamental and integral to Gandhiji's philosophy of life, and an account of the great importance he himself attached to it and his own insistence on it in that behalf I have included, too, in the discussion on *Non-Violence* a brief description of the methodology and specific techniques for the attainment of satyagraha to differentiate them from Gandhiji's way and to bring out the latter's distinctive significance.

This book is not a verdict on men and events— though men and events are discussed in it— but only an attempt to understand and explain certain events and the actions of the men who made these events and in the process were themselves made by these events, in the context of Gandhiji's great experiment to discover the Law of Love and how it could be applied to solve the problems that face the present-day world.

A word to the Indian reader, to whom this book is primarily addressed. We invoke the name of the Father of the Nation on all important occasions, to remind us collectively and ourselves what he would have done or expected us to do in the circumstances. It is vital for us to know the road on which he set us and that by which we arrived and where the two intersected. We must understand where we are today and whether bound and whether free is the goal which the Father of the Nation had envisaged for India of his dreams, and if not, what that goal was and what we must do to reach it. Almost the first thing a foreign visitor does on arrival in India is to visit Varanasi—if he happens to be an official guest or otherwise an important personage, he is escorted there—to pay homage to the Father of the Nation. Before he leaves India, he invariably ends up by asking: "Where is Gandhi in India of today?" That is a question which everyone of us owes it to himself, to India, for whom Gandhiji



# HARIJAN

Jan. 28

1952

## LANGUAGES STUDY IN SCHOOLS

(By Mangabhai P. Desai)

The A-I Council of Secondary Education as reported to have unanimously resolved that all papers in secondary schools should be required to study three languages in accordance with the following formula:

- (1) (a) The mother-tongue or (b) the regional language or (c) a composite course of the mother-tongue and a regional language or (d) a composite course of the use of composite and the regional language.
- (2) Hindi or English.
- (3) A modern Indian language other than the one taken under (1) or (2).

The formula may be studied from various standpoints. Firstly, what are secondary schools? Under the present set-up these begin their work after 4 or 5 years of primary or elementary education and continue for 7 years, or up to the S.S.C. Examination. Does the above formula mean that at the 6th year of schooling a child would begin to study 3 languages of which one can be English to the exclusion of the all India common language Hindi? And when — at which year of schooling will the 2nd language begin? It is not clear whether secondary school will be a post-compulsory primary-stage one, or one lasting from the 5th year of schooling of a child.

Viewed from the standpoint of Hindi-speaking areas, the formula may be expected to include the study of (1) Hindi, (2) English and (3) an other modern Indian language like, say, Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu or Gujarati etc.

If we assume the formula from the standpoint of a non-Hindi area it might mean exclusion of Hindi even! That is surely another fundamental drawback of the formula.

Without discussing any further, we may well put down below a few fundamental considerations that must inform a formula for the new set-up of language study in our schools.

1. It must be laid down that the secondary stage will begin after the compulsory period of primary education prescribed (Article 48) by the Constitution — i.e. 7 or 8 years of schooling.

2. The languages study formula for these 7 or 8 years will be: (1) first 4 or 5 years shall have only one language — mother-tongue and/or regional language followed by (2) the next 3 years in which the common A-I language Hindi will be added to be studied compulsorily.

That is, every child in India, between the age of 7 to 14, will study his own regional language for these 7 or 8 years and Hindi for the last 3 of them. Provided here that — children in

Hindi speaking areas will take any Indian language other than Hindi for compulsory study under 2 (a) above. A South Indian language may be preferable.

3. The above two points show that in the lower secondary or middle schools (as they are termed today) there will be two languages and not three, and of these two English will be normally for those only whose mother-tongue may be English and not for others.

4. In the upper secondary or really secondary schools, a third language will begin at the age of 14 or the first year of the schooling after the first and compulsory primary course under the Constitution.

5. This third language will be English. It may optionally be another modern Indian or foreign language though generally English will be mostly preferred, looking to its present need and importance for higher educational studies.

Thus the formula for secondary schools should better be — (1) a mother-tongue and/or regional language (2) the all-India common language Hindi provided that those who have Hindi under (1) will take any other of the 8th Schedule languages of the Constitution, and (3) English at the post-14th or post-compulsory stage.

Under that plan a boy will learn his regional language for 11 years, Hindi (or non-Hindi area) for 7 years, and English for 4 years.

In the last 3 or 4 years a course in Sanskrit or other classical language may be bracketed with that of the regional language. That is some time from the latter might be given to the former.

Now that we shall have almost linguistic States, it is necessary for, and incumbent upon, every State to undertake to teach Hindi, the all-India *Antar-Bhasha* compulsorily to all children in its schools and colleges from the 5th year of schooling. The Centre must see to this as its duty under Article 351 which enjoins upon it "to promote the spread of Hindi." Surely that is one of the most legitimate and inevitable ways for the fulfilment of that constitutional obligation. The Centre can take up this only after assuring in every language area free and unhindered use of its regional language for all its intra-State purposes of administration, education, legislation, justice, etc. The Constitution entitles every language area to freely decide this. Hindi comes in — and it does and should come in — for inter-State and all-India purposes. It is therefore, that Hindi assumes the form of an objective test and token of a State's acceptance of India's unity and its earnest to implement it by introducing compulsory teaching of Hindi in its schools and colleges. Such a uniform step must now begin to be taken on an all-India basis. This is utterly necessary for a basic plan of India's new educational and cultural development.



## INDIA'S SECULAR POLICY

(By Mahipaldev P. Datta)

The *Vandana* feature monthly of *Hindustan* has forwarded to me an article published by it and drawing my attention to it has asked me to discuss it if I wished the *hansa* readers thereof. The article relates to the proposed celebrations of the 2500th anniversary of the Buddha. The reader is aware that the Government of India have refused to celebrate the *Jayanti* on the 28th of May this year. They propose to spend about a crore of rupees on the occasion. Commemorative stamps will be issued by the postal department to mark the day. Governments at the Centre as well as in the States will organise meetings. In their capitals on the 28th of May 1955. The *Pramitika*, the sacred books of the Buddha will be published in their volumes in the Devanagari script. Books, picture albums and cinema films on the Buddhist religion, its history, art, etc. will be prepared and exhibited. A big Buddhistic World Conference will be organised in November and a symposium to discuss the peace message of the Buddha will be held along with it. A world and large programme for the celebration on these lines has been proposed for the occasion.

The Buddhist States and followers of the Buddhist religion from the world over will take part in the celebrations. In short, the religious teachings of Lord Buddha will be revivified by the occasion all over the world and especially in India.

The Government of India will take the lead in the celebrations and spend millions of rupees on it. The author of the article in the *Vandana* feature raises a question on this account as to how one is to understand a secular Government pledged to an attitude of tolerance or neutrality towards all the discommunal religions of the world, showing such special favour or partiality to the Buddhist religion alone.

The question raised deserves consideration. The secular policy of India consists in tolerance of all religions and not in a denial of, or lack of faith in, religion. Though India is the birthplace of the Buddha's religion, it is not being followed to any very appreciable extent in our country. The places of pilgrimage of the religion, though, do exist here. The religion is spread far and wide outside India in Asia today. Of course, the Hindu religion has given it an impulse in its fold in that Lord Buddha is recognised as an incarnation of God in its traditions. But the average Hindu has hardly any knowledge of or information about it. It is in the fitness of things that the occasion provides an opportunity to spread its knowledge in the country and by expanding the celebration, India makes a friendly gesture towards the Buddhist States of the world.

One point remains to be considered. Like the Christian and the Islamic religions the

Buddhistic creed believes in a particular person as its prophet in a particular work as its holy book and in converting men and women to itself. Under the guidance and leadership of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar persons of a certain class seek to convert themselves to and join the Buddhistic creed. If the step proposed to be taken by the Indian Government fosters this movement of conversion in some manner or helps it, the policy of the Government has to be wary or cautious regarding it.

There is no harm in our properly understanding the Buddha's teachings here in India, indeed it will be all to the good. Why let us understand and appreciate the teachings of the prophets or the great worldly men of all the religions of the world. The Hindu tradition approves of our doing so. But religious conversion does not mean only such understanding or appreciation of another religion's teachings—such conversion involves a change of policy and social life for the converts also. In the present day circumstances of the world religious conversion takes the form of a social and political agitation. If Associations like the Mahabodhi Society of India and persons like Dr. B. R. Ambedkar who refusing to see and understand the inner meaning of Hindutva, not only entertain feelings of disgust and enmity to it but also create them, were to take advantage of the Government's programme for the celebration of the 2500th anniversary of the Buddha in order to convert people to the Buddhistic creed and society, it would mean an infraction of the Government's gesture of goodwill and nothing else.

We have not given proper attention to any thing in India. It is this that if peace and true resurrection of religion are to be established in the world we will have to learn to look at religious conversions from a new point of view. Gandhiji has taught some fundamental truths to us and this is one of them. We as a nation are forging a new type of foreign policy or a policy of relations with foreign nations. In the same manner too, the task of planning a new type of economic policy has begun. In the same manner also we are consciously or unconsciously cultivating a new type of religious point of view. Of the many new ideas that go to make the revolution of the Gandhian era of world history the one of the religious or spiritual view of life is indeed a very essential one. And this element of the revolution is worth understanding and appreciating more clearly.

Some critics might believe it to be a revival of the ancient Asian religion and Hinduistic culture, but it is a well known mistake. That is not Gandhiji's religious point of view. His point of view is as new and scientific as the modern age and all sciences—eternal and permanent as the ancient age. The point of view seeks to correct the error which lies at the bottom of the blood-stained history of the religions of the world.

He described the need of more or calling it anti-discrimination — tolerance or rather appreciation of and sympathy for all religions. According to the point of view the Hindus of India have to learn that their being Hindu means their also being Christian. Mohammed, Shakti, Saadhin etc. in the best sense of those terms. Ghandi himself was such a broad-minded and ecumenical Hindu that followers of all other religions recognized in him their ideal co-religionist. But some of them gave evidence of their narrow standing: not formally converting himself to their denominations! Hinduism does not believe in or allow such formal conversion. That happens to be its peculiar characteristic as a religious creed (Gandhi), out of his own deep spiritual and religious experience, revealed the meaning of this peculiarity of Hinduism by saying that no one need change his or her creed and convert himself or herself to another denomination and that if everyone endeavored to follow his or her own model he or she was sure to reach the one God. With such broad-minded religious sentiment as our nation informed. And of our State is secular. It can be as in that sense only. If our Government follows the sentiment and detaches its policies accordingly it can become secular in the best and truest sense of the term. Secular never belonging not to any one denominational religion but secular does not mean without or religious either because in this age of science atheism or lack of religion has also become a sort of religious creed.<sup>1</sup>

(From Gajendri)

4.1.55

## WHAT IS ANJAN CHARJHA

(Continued from the previous issue of *Bhajan* of 21.1.1958)

### II

#### The Anjan Charjha

12. Of the many different types of models that were constructed during the period the most successful was the two-spindle model Charjha created in 1927 by Sri Chakravartan of Pudukkottai in Travancore District of Tamil Nadu. It was small Charjha embodying the single-spindle technique with a special apparatus for drawing smaller fibres. It was equipped with two long spindles and was fitted with two large rollers which were weighted by springs. The rotation of a large hand-wheel, fixed to the machine which by ropes bands, provided the drive. The productive capacity of this early model was slightly more than one lakh per hour. Although the yarn spun on it was satisfactory in strength, it was not uniform. The construction of the Charjha the productive capacity as well as the size of the manufacture for the JICA is similar (but as a first attempt it was good and decided to be taken up for further research. Sri Chakravartan was rewarded for his enterprise and was also provided adequate research facilities to improve his model. He worked on this model first at Kallai and afterwards at Thiruvananthapuram.

13. In 1930-31, Sri Chakravartan assisted by Sri Kallai and Sri, constructed a considerably improved model Charjha. While made of wood it was a four-spindle Charjha. The main hand wheel which was fitted to spin a large number of unbalanced ground pulleys that provided the drive to the self-winding spindles. The

involutions of the two-ground pulleys was to regulate the counts of yarn spun from tubular spindles of cotton, which were to be made separately. In the hands of its expert operator this four-spindle wooden Charjha yielded at least of good quality yarn in 8 hours. Although from the point of view of productivity it was an altogether inefficient model operational problems were many. The number of unbalanced pulleys was large and the number of belt drives and leather bands vital needed adjusting prior to spinning was equally large. However to get the Charjha ready for operation took, on an average, two hours but when the number of bands that needed periodic adjustment.

14. To reduce the number of bands and pulleys and to avoid the loss of time involved, gear-wheels were introduced. The introduction of gear-wheels aided parts for the people actually led to the construction of a wholly-metal model Charjha in August 1931 commencing thus that the search for an efficient Charjha suffered from a complete halt was continued wholly by technical considerations.

15. Among the many wholly metalized Charjhas the most satisfactory was the two-spindle Charjha based on the original model of Sri Chakravartan constructed at Kallai by Sankaran Nair and Sankaran Gopal in the Institute of Textile Research. The Charjha was first tried with only two spindles and the operation was easy and the output averaged 120 hanks an hour during a continuous operation of 24 hours. The yarn was good in quality and strength. But when all the four-spindles were fitted, operation of the Charjha was found to be hard and physically strenuous. However the price of the Charjha constructed at the Institute was too high for the conditions in the country. There upon the search was towards a wooden model which at once combined the degree of the metal Charjha and the very first wooden model of Sri Chakravartan.

16. Based on the first wooden model Charjha, Sri Kallai and Sri constructed in December 1934 an other four-spindle wooden Charjha with one pair of gear wheels and a few bands. The Charjha was easy to operate, cheap in construction and satisfactory in performance and consequently was taken up for further development.

17. Of the many improvements made on Sri Kallai's model the most important from the point of view of student spinning was the evolution of the paper helical. The primary difficulty in the operation of most metal spindles Charjha was the specification of spindles to definite revolution. Ordinary spindles could not be reliably operated at wooden looms. The introduction of the wooden helical in a paper helical, devised by a workshop assistant in November 1934 provided an effective solution of the practical problem. The operation of the Charjha with paper helical yielded 15 hanks of yarn per hour.

18. There were several similar improvements which were offered through student research and trial. These were of assistance by the need to a more ease of operation and efficiency of performance and production. Thus the Anjan Charjha, on which the Board has based its development programme. In the work of sustained and continuous research to evolve an instrument, cheap, efficient, productive and easy of manufacture in the village setting in the village.

#### Description of Anjan Charjha

19. The Anjan Charjha, which the Board desires to introduce as a loomless handloom, is a machine in a two-spindle handloomed wooden spinning wheel. It is 18 inches long, 15 inches broad and 11 inches high, weighs 25 lbs. Apart from the frame made of seasoned wood, there are three wooden hand-powered pulleys one with four gears, another with three and the third with two each of which is connected with the main hand-powered wheel by cotton bands. The two parts of the Charjha consist of two-spindle stage, four fitted rollers and pair



### Displacement of English

The present-day position which the English language occupies in our life is typical of governmental, public and social activity restricted to equal opportunities and neglect of regional languages of equal, or advantage and, in essential many cases, in such languages which are subject to the purpose of India and those universities, official and non-official. Part of the plan created by the displacement of the English language must inevitably be taken by the great national languages of the country for their respective regions. Yet, in certain other respects the Union language, which will be expected to have (possibly) an increasing wider coverage than could be attained in India by the English language or than could ever be attained by any foreign language which would be primarily the instrument of a foreign enterprise, and given the democratic aims of India, an inappropriate system of transfer must.

### Essence of the New Age

There is a fundamental difference between the systems of American India, which we find upon that and the system that we have found for ourselves in the Indian Union since the time right from the first time, the 1919-1930 prevailing conditions previous to 1947 were a foreign power. The British Government had a different relation ship with the masses of India and as a foreign occupying power they had a much narrower scope of sphere of influence and activities as compared to what we witness today.

Our Constitution has recognised the entire India as one and same population of the country, thus bringing into being the largest political democracy ever witnessed throughout history. We are also reminded by the structure of the Constitution and the policy that we have thus laid on along the principles of a democratic welfare policy in which each citizen will have a share and to give them with all where. The Indian Union of today has a far greater value and value in the status of the Government of the country than has had under the British or the British Government in the past. It did not matter to the British Government that the language of administration in these days was not understood by the vast masses of the country. However now when every citizen is a potential beneficiary of our welfare State and has a vote to choose, it is essential that the business of the Government can be carried on only in a language which enables the possibility of each citizen taking an intelligent interest in the affairs of the State.

I would like you to reflect for a moment on the fact that, despite a census and a half of Indian population, the 1951 Census records that the number of persons with the educational qualifications of B.L.S. or its equivalent, that is to say, persons who may be expected to have some comprehension of the English language, was only 1,24,000 out of the entire population. This is just about 1 per cent of the total population in against the general average of Britain (percentage of 12.5 per cent).

After so many decades of official patronage and even compulsion English has not penetrated beyond a small class and a limited strata of our society. It is not so strange the entire Indian citizens taking in a position to take interest in the government of the country, then this can be modified of only in terms of literacy in the Indian language adapted for the purpose of the Union. Due to the vast size of the country and its geographical conditions it is imperative that the Indian citizen should only through the medium at least partially bilingual

### Constitutional Provisions

The Constitutional provisions about languages have already embodied these requirements of the citizens from the Union of the country. These Constitutional provisions are not rigid but admit of a great deal of flexibility subject to adherence to certain fundamental principles. Thus the Constitution empowers the President to order to substitute the use of the Union language in addition to the English language during the period of 14 years

after which the Union Language of the State shall be Hindi (Article 343). These provisions, fortified by law to extend on and on, the English language for specific purposes, that is to say, and period of 14 years. The Government, however, with a policy of change-over in the language from English to Hindi in legislation and law courts, but it is not unreasonable to view period then can apply to a certain extent, a 14 year down that until Parliament in its wisdom decides that what is in the English language is required. The Constitution also provides that no Government in India may by law adopt any one or more languages in use in the State or States, the Union language as the language for all or any of the official purposes of such State. Furthermore, in Article 344 it is provided that the Union language that is to say, the Hindi language shall be so developed as to serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and should be enriched by the terms, styles and expressions used in the various regional languages including Sanskrit.

If I say so, it is to convey that we entirely view and comprehend provisions and make the provisions for all the complexities of the situation. It has been recognised in these provisions that the Union language, and indeed this is one of the main corner of the other regional languages of the country, are presently not in a state of development towards it, so they could not only reduce the English language for all purposes. It provides for the development of the Indian language that is the Hindi language to be progressively reduced for certain purposes and years, with the development of that language, reinforced in enough. It also provides for the use of English having to be continued for the specific purposes of the Union over beyond the period of 14 years. Although we can hope that everything possible would be done before then to equal having to end of this period also. Furthermore, the Hindi language is spoken in a language to be enriched by the introduction of all Sanskrit, styles and expressions used in the other regional languages of the country, that is to say, it has to be made into a new "Hindi Bhasha" so as to serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India.

### Need of Immediate Effect

I submit, therefore, that the Constitutional provisions do in fact, the elements of development, progress which which would depend wholly on our own efforts in the meantime. I want to emphasize that the efforts in question will have to be not only those of persons without master-classes in Hindi but of all other Indians, the poor and uneducated, whose understanding is more often poor. Indian language and not Hindi but who will have a duty of working with it and not depending from our own language. This language which we have adopted ourselves as the official language of the Union. Indeed, while working the great victory and status of opinion with which we have met so far the really overwhelming consensus of opinion as we have found it, in the working out the details within the framework of the provisions of the Constitution as they exist. Whether or not we are able to achieve the objectives within a period of 14 years or to a greater or lesser extent, matter that this itself or subsequently therefore all depends upon the quality and persistence of our effort in the meantime.

(To be continued)

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TWO ANNES

## INDIA, RUSSIA, AND ENGLAND-AMERICA

(By Bhaktnath P. Bhatt)

### Guests from Foreign Lands

That leaders of friendly nations and ministers of government should go on tours and visits in one another's countries is a remarkable development of recent growth in the field of international affairs. The Russian Prime Minister Boris Shulgantz and Shri Khreshchak, First Secretary of the Russian Communist Party, recently paid a visit to our country. So, too did the Maharaja of Nepal, King Sree of Amboi and Madame Sun Tai Sen from China. As it is, almost all States maintain their embassies in foreign countries, but these visits are in addition to their work.

Conferences of friendly nations in order to discuss and consider matters of common interest are also organized in the same way.

One way of conducting international affairs seems to have become more common after the United Nations Organisation has come into being. It has its advantages as also disadvantages. One advantage is plain that such visits help spread to a larger extent the principle of Pancha Sheel which forms the basis of our foreign policy. This method of direct contacts by personal visits of leaders and high dignitaries has proved effective and expeditious in bringing about peace in the world. But another characteristic of these visits should not be lost sight of. The method of work has yet hardly succeeded in finding a solution of the differences between the two big camps into which the world today stands divided. Conferences and visits arranged are not yet able to avoid or ignore the psychological atmosphere of the division of the world into two camps. For instance, leaders of both the blocs who met at Geneva some months ago, were unable to arrive at an understanding. As a consequence both the parties are engaged with each other as before and signs are in evidence that the cold war which seemed to come to an end would start again.

### India and Russia

The visit of Shri Shulgantz and Shri Khreshchak to India was in courteous return of the one

Shri Jawaharlal paid to Russia, England and America were warmly and cheerily watching it. India gave an unprecedented welcome to the two guests. Government must have spent lakhs of rupees on the welcome. Macearth meetings of lakhs of men and women were organized for the occasion. In Calcutta, it is reported, three million people had gathered for the welcome. The two guests should have surely been staggered at such manifestation of popular goodwill. Even for India, where large gatherings of men and women are not rare, the meeting should be called unique.

One asks oneself the question why people rush to these gatherings in such vast numbers. Are the concerns any relation to our chronic unemployment? Does not a manifestation of such unwelcome news indicate? Are we witnessing an outburst of the old sentiment we had for a monarchial system, and kinglyship? From another point of view, does not such enthusiasm show that we are yet in the primary stage of the development of our democracy? Still, however, it should be recognized that there is a saving of sentiment about the manifestation of popular sentiment, and it has its own value. But the danger, too, lurks in it that in the hands of a skillful leader a dictatorship of the masses also functions in the same way. We are determined not to be driven that way but to develop a mature democracy in our country. We had better prove this at that.

### Free Honours and Titles Do Not Do Credit

In order to honour the two Russian guests the Delhi University had offered to confer honorary doctorates on Shri Shulgantz and Shri Khreshchak. The reply the guests sent in response to the offer is remarkable. They partly refused to accept the honours. They said that in their country such honours had to be earned and, therefore, they could not take them gratis.

The custom of showing respect to persons by conferring honours and titles on them we have learnt and adapted from the British. Our Universities have started conferring doctorates, with

excessively harsh? And Government, too, is creating Poles and Hindus every six months or year, throwing the incident mentioned above into a wholesome lesson when we are falling up every year to the monarchical tradition?

The British have a monarchical system of Government. Honours and titles may have a place in it. Though India has given the go-by to the monarchical system of Government it is still there lurking in her blood. She should not, therefore encourage the initiation of the imperialist British. The policy of the French and the Americans would not be better. Parliament should, at some time or the other, make up its mind to abolish these titles and honours altogether.

#### Wardy Shells of Shri Kherachar

During their Indian tour Shri Kherachar made a large number of speeches thru Shri Balganga. He indulged in some plain-speaking in them which might, perhaps, be reckoned out of place and unbecoming in bourgeois diplomatic practice. Shri Kherachar had some hard things to say touching the delicate topics of Goa, Kashmir, Pakistan and Pekingisation. He condemned imperialism and colonialism. He said that Goa belonged to India and so also Kashmir.

His verbal shells crossed the oceans and had unbelieveably pleasing effects. There was a great deal of commotion on account of them, both in England and America. As a consequence the suspicion in the American mind about our attitude was removed. They began to wonder, again, if we had given communism. They were so annoyed and angry, they began asking to stop the economic aid which is advanced to India. From our side we replied that India could not accept any aid which was conditional or had political strings attached to it and that she would not content with as much development of her resources as could be achieved by standing on her own legs. In a way, all that was to the good. That our development scheme costing crores should only be possible by foreign aid is certainly not good.

#### Russian Economic Aid

That subsequent to Shri Balganga's visit to India we would be receiving aid from Russia is a new beginning not only economic but political also. Seeing this possibility one is inclined to say that America would hardly think of discontinuing her aid. Really, she cannot at the present juncture afford to prove to the world that such discontinuation is the result of the ending of her friendly relations with India. Besides, England would stop her doing so. After the initial sugar has subsided, America herself would see better.

Our policy is clear. We would accept any aid offered to us unconditionally and as a favourity spent by any State of the world without investi-

gation as to what is political partnership India believes in, leaving her cards by keeping friends with everyone. It is, of course, a difficult course to follow—the course of such equanimity is balance, but it is not the course of acquiring the position of power in the world equally difficult. There is, however, no other course for India and that is the only way to peace. We have to follow the course even at the risk of misunderstanding and indignation by western nations and giving up and if it is not available. As time passes the truth implicit in our policy is sure to manifest itself if we did not receive from the straight course we have adopted.

#### Fear of Communist Infiltration

We should examine the big risk we undertake in accepting the way of Russian aid. When aid from America began a question was raised whether if foreign economic aid infiltrated itself here, would not the very independence of India be jeopardised thereby? Will not, in the same manner, now, there be a danger of Russian infiltration? Will not Communism find a convenient chance to penetrate itself in our land? Will not a trend develop in our people that there is no harm now in moving towards communism when they have witnessed with their own eyes the great welcome accorded to communist leaders like Shri Balganga and Shri Kherachar?

What kind of foreign policy the U.S.S.R. practices is well known all over the world. To inspire a liking for communism by indulging in foreign exercises and by fair means or foul is the well-known method she has adopted since long. The organisation which works for the purpose and which is commonly known by the name of Cominform is still functioning. So a question is asked: if there is no change in the policy of the Russian State as indicated will it not sneak itself into India through the means of economic aid?

Besides, our new economic Five Year Plan is reported to be following the lines of the Russian one of the same kind. It is also heard here freely and that Professor Mahalanobis, who is supposed to be the architect and ear of the second Five Year Plan, is communally inclined. And, we have also to bear in mind that political terminology in India which used to be bourgeois etc. is taught by changing to bring a turn towards one of a Socialist Pattern and such other terms.

Observing all this many entertain a fear which cannot be easily dismissed as mere prejudice or suspicion. That countries like America would become suspicious is beyond the shadow of doubt. But practical affairs of the world cannot be conducted on the basis of prejudices, suspicions and doubts or distrust. Hereafter our country will have to receive these doubts and suspicion by her actions demonstrating her policy shining at peace.

### End of Colonialism

Viewed from long range the veil of the Russian leaders can be observed to have brought out in clear relief two points implicit in the Pancha Sheel policy of India. The rise of a free India has meant the end of the biggest imperialism the world has known. In other words it means the rise of the continent of Asia and the awakening of the dark continent of Africa. It is as clear as day that the event would mean a serious thing for the nations of the West. It has meant a serious danger for the countries of Europe like England, France, Portugal, Holland and others who have been living on the exploitation of these colonies. It is but natural for them to join together to make vain attempts to give a new life to colonialism which is hastening to its inevitable doom.

What the second world war has brought forth in world politics is the emergence of the United States of America as the patron friend of all these nations of the West. On the strength of her immense wealth America has become the supporter and protector of Western Europe. But America's real anxiety today is Russia going ahead and spreading her supremacy over the world.

Now, observe the utterances of the Russian gurus in India. They censured the policy of Portugal regarding Goa by calling it a colonial policy. They reminded the Russians in Russia of the imperialism of the British and condemned it outright. In Kashmir they reminded the people of the policy of divide and rule pursued by Britain in India and declared openly in as many words that they engineered differences between the various communities of the people of India who form one nation. In short, they boldly declared that Russia stood against colonialism and imperialism. They then won a place for Russia in the hearts of the people and various nations of Asia and Africa.

In replying to the outspoken criticism of the Russian leaders America was betrayed into a grave error. The Foreign Minister of the Portuguese Government, Shri Cunha and the Foreign Secretary of the United States Government, Shri Dulles together fell victims to such gross misstatement that there was serious agitation against it in the United States itself. Shri Dulles came out with the statement that Goa is a province of Portugal beyond the seven. Shri Cunha declared that, come what may, the Portuguese were not going to quit Goa. Goa was not their colony, he said, it was part of their national fatherland!

We in India, on our side, have made the problem of Goa a test. We say that the nation which follows the policy of Portugal regarding Goa proves itself an advocate of wanted colonialism. For America could not stand the test. A movement to fight the next presidential elections

on this very issue has been started in the United States itself.

To end imperialism is the fundamental principle of the foreign policy of India. It has, thus, suddenly come to the forefront in world affairs.

### Rise of the Pancha Sheel Doctrine

The doctrine of ending imperialism may, perhaps, appear to be a negative one. But we have gone ahead, propounded the Pancha Sheel doctrine and are now marching forward in the field of international affairs with a positive constructive policy through it. Many countries have begun to come out with statements that they, too, have faith in it. More than half the population of the world, possibly, has thus declared its faith.

The revolutionary doctrine of Pancha Sheel means co-existence, that is, sympathy of all the nations of the world for each other, their promise to help each other, their pledge not to envy or betray each other, and their determination to live together in the world with goodwill for each other and in peace. To recognize the right of every nation to be and progress according to its own view and faith, not to have ill-will for or an evil eye on each other—this co-existence—sympathy for all nations is the essence of the Sheel or principle of co-existence.

If Russia and China have taken any new step in the affairs of the world it is the public acceptance of this doctrine of Pancha Sheel. It means that communism pledges itself before the whole world to give up its policy of interference in the affairs of other nations of the world by its method of infiltration.

India has taken their declaration on faith and trust. England and America view it with distrust. They say that they cannot persuade themselves to believe in the truth of co-existence. They go a step further and say that the idea of co-existence is as impossible as the idea of the co-existence of fire and water. India does not agree with this prejudice of distrust. If all the people of the world want to live together in peace all the nations of the world should deal with one another in mutual sincerity, goodwill, trust and faith. America says, that is true, but how could one trust Russia?

There are people in our country also who have a deep distrust of Russia. But the Government of India is not prepared to function on such distrust. India wants to carry on the grand experiment of peace among men and the truth of faith in man by cultivating friendship not only with America and England but also with Russia, China and others. Why should not the America of Thomas and Emerson and of Washington and Lincoln fail or refuse to understand this high aim and equally high endeavour? If America were to understand it also, the paternalism of Western Europe, will also bring in the letter to the world effort for peace. May God give enough

strength to India's feet in her march on this new stage in the international affairs of the world

22-22-35

(From Gujarat)

## HARIJAN

Feb. 4

1936

### DO WE WORSHIP POVERTY?

(By Bhambha Kumbhkar)

Speaking at the annual convocation of The Tiruchirappalli University Sarda K. M. Parthasar is reported to have deprecated "the idea of return to the villages and to the simplicity of a handicraft economy", and to have remarked that the doctrine of simple life is but worship of poverty.

One wonders of whom Sarda Parthasar was thinking. Those of us who advocate a handicraft economy are the greatest enemies of poverty. Gandhi's passion was to abolish the poverty of the poorest. Hence the opening words. The whole idea of the Khadi and Village Industries movement is that compulsory poverty is a soul-killing evil and must be got rid of as quickly as possible from our head, that our people's primary requirements of food, clothing, shelter, education, health and recreation should be fully met and that no one in our country should lack any of these essentials.

If we who advocate handicrafts are to an extent opposed to large-scale industries it is again because we want to do away with poverty. We are convinced that in a country like ours with its teeming population, unbridled factory production will take away employment from our poor, and thus increase poverty instead of abolishing it. How then can it be said that such people love poverty and worship it?

It is true that under a handicraft economy the emphasis will naturally be on production of essential commodities rather than of luxury goods, and in this sense life under it will be simpler, as Sarda Parthasar respects. But surely this is not an evil. The modern craze for multiplying wants and producing all kinds of unnecessary goods has led to unbridled selfishness and greed, which are at the basis of exploitation, imperialism and war. Is it not better that we restrict production to what we ourselves essentially need than that we produce goods not really required by us, and be plunged in strife and conflict with others for new markets and markets? The handicrafts economy is being put forward as the only effective way of getting out war. In itself, it is true, there is no great virtue in simplifying life. Its virtue lies in the fact that there seems to be no other way of saving life and promoting peace and goodwill among men.

### COMMUNALISM TURNED LINGUISM

(By Swami Anand)

The late K. G. Madhwarao used to deplore, and laboured hard to explain, how the exclusiveness and discrimination of the Hindus throughout history had resulted on themselves like the boomerang and was responsible for the creation of Pakistan. Acharya Kripalani and many other elder statesmen in the country did, during recent years, warn us seriously how the Frickenstein of linguism was going to turn the different states of India into so many Pakistanes. We have also lived to witness the truth of these statements in what is happening today in Bombay and many other places as a forerunner of linguism.

Language arrangements of provinces, as agreed that which came handy to our alien administrators, was conceived by our leaders in the past for fighting the foreign rule more doggedly through helping demarcated units of our countrymen to combine on homogeneous linguistic basis in their respective areas and conduct our political and revolutionary campaigns,—never to encourage or perpetuate demarcating separated hinducism in the nation, much less promote any notions of the so-called separate linguistic cultures as distinguished from the one common Indian culture. But on obtaining political freedom just for power and pelf has also perverted our better judgment, and we are not today to think in terms of what amounts to a loose federation of separatist, almost sovereign political states. Our cursed exclusiveness has returned to us in all its frenzy and is making short-work of a century of our labours at attaining national unity and solidarity.

That a leader of Shri Dada's stature should snatch himself over from Hyderabad to Nagpur as a more momentous issue and seriously contemplate to stake his life and career over it by facing a tragedy too deep for tears. All our patriots has proved to be a thin cloak indeed!

The virus is being vigorously injected in all spheres of the nation's life. Its hideousness and virulence can be measured when two widows torn of Shri Jayakar's contention among its victims. Members of Central and state cabinets and legislatures, of Pradesh Congress Committees, of municipal, district and other local bodies, are being oppressed and drafted all over Bombay State to protest against the Central Government's decision and join the "peaceful and constitutional" agitation against it and against the parent Congress body in utter defiance of their authority, coupled with protestations of their own loyalty!

With the declared aim of compelling Nehru Government to revise its decision, life and property is being made over to unseasonal elements to be held at ransom in the city and suburbs of Bombay, as also in the district and country towns. Protests are organised by the hot-heads everywhere through meetings, demonstrations



and 'unscientific' reactions. Minority groups are being terrorised into lining up with the majority under threats to life and property.

I happen to be travelling and have the misfortune to witness these processes at work in the countryside where linguistic minorities with considerable stakes and often holding high positions have lived in amity for centuries. But all amity is being consigned to the winds and Pakistan like Dragon's teeth are forcing themselves everywhere.

All this, I am afraid, is not going to end with a few civil commotions. From Sir Jinnah's Two Nations theory, — which after 21 days' earnest attention by the Father of the Nation was finally rejected by him (Maudslayi) but was accepted by our leaders despite his warnings, — we achieved Pakistan, and in its wake the minorities in both countries become suspect. The same complex of fear and distrust has seized us, and will progressively seize us, in our daily life and dealings as between communities and communities (Gujaratis vs Marathas, Bengalis vs Sikhs, Andhra vs Non-Andhras, Brahmins vs Non-Brahmins, down to the tiniest community groups in the countryside towns and villages. The caste and community labels and distinctions will become objects of deep seated distrust and discrimination. People will be bullied and terrorised into taking in with the majority. 'Public' opinion thus obtained will be hung in the face of the High Command. Men under 'democracy' will live in hell.

Already the minority groups of Gujarat etc. all over Maharashtra are being made under the duress to 'fall in' and join the protest against the Centre's decision regarding Bombay city and are being openly called upon by the leaders of Gujarati Maharashtra agitation to uphold their claim. Business establishments and properties of Gujaratis and other non-Marathas are made targets of rash attacks. Ethnic eggs are regarded as exclusive headgear of Gujaratis, are smashed and burnt in hundreds. Names of Morari, Mohar, even of dead Gandhi have become synonyms for opposition and are attacked, or their effigies burnt. Their pictures in public offices are demanded by members to be removed. The 26th of January Republic Day will be observed throughout Maharashtra not as a day of celebrations but as a day of mourning!

### THREE ARE TRY GOD, O HINDU!

We have come to a pass where worst communalism has turned back into imperialism, and the contagion is spreading in chain reactions all over the country from state to state. We are losing all sense of proportion and perspective. Yet we have the effrontery to maintain we are patriotic and loyal congressmen, alive to all the larger interests of the nation and are 'peaceful and constitutional' in all our methods! Can honesty go any further?

### HOW LONG, O LORD! HOW LONG!

I was brought up in Bombay and in Maharashtra among Marathi Brahmins. In my life of nearly 68 years I have never known any province except Maharashtra as my homeland. I have passed this letter in agency of my soul. I will not enter into any controversy over it.

22-1-52

(The above was penned 3 days ago. It still does show signs of welcome change in the internal picture of Marathism, provincialism etc. that pervade Bombay for about a week. May the kindly light that shines in all of us lead us right in this. I think, the darkest hour of our history when the establishment of the Republic.)

(1) (2)

(1) (2)

### MAHATMA GANDHI — THE LAST PHASE

(The signature below the Introduction by Dr. Rajendra Prasad to Mahatma Gandhi — The Last Phase the first volume of which is due to be released on the 15th February. The author's Preface has already been printed in the last issue of the Harijan.)

I

#### Introduction

The author of these pages, for a long time Mahatma Gandhi's private secretary and, after Mahadevi Desai's death, editor of the Harijan weekly, which Gandhi was conducting, needs no introduction. His writings in Young India and Harijan and several works by him on Mahatma Gandhi published in Gandhi's lifetime and after have well established him as a justified and authoritative chronicler and interpreter of Gandhi's life and philosophy. The present book deals with the last phase of Mahatma Gandhi's career. It is thus a continuation of My Experiences with Truth written by the Mahatma himself. That book deals largely with what may be called the formative period of his life, when he was preparing himself for the great work that lay ahead of him. The present book covers the story of the last years of his life in which the results of all the experiments that he carried out throughout his career were put to their severest and final test.

The obstacles which Gandhi had to surmount were not always only on the physical or material plane, more often than not they were on the moral and spiritual plane. They arose not always from his so-called opponents but on many an occasion from those with whom he had worked through the long period of thirty years since his return to India from South Africa, and on whom he counted to hold the torch aloft even after his body was reduced to ashes, whom he would not disown and who could not do without him. It is not possible or even desirable to attempt a summary of what is contained in these pages. I shall only indicate by a few illustrations the difficult and delicate nature of the task, and the beautiful way in which the author has accomplished it, to prepare the reader for the rich fare awaiting him.

The theory of Satyagraha is nothing new. It was elaborated and expounded long ago by Parasuram. Gandhi's credit lies in the fact that

he demonstrated its possibilities for solving individual and social problems, not only by living it himself but by evolving a technique for which it could be grasped by the people at large and successfully teaching them to use. The method and procedure laid in be changed from time to time to suit varied environment, circumstances, causes and problems that needed to be tackled, and above all according to the varied human material involved in each case. But the fundamental principle remained the same throughout. Gandhi never attempted to write a systematic treatise to elaborate it but provided innumerable demonstrations of it in its application from day to day to the problems that arose and called for solution—problems which concerned individuals no less than the community, the country, and humanity at large. The reluctance was due to the inherent nature of Satyagraha itself. Satyagraha is a living principle; it cannot be summed up in a sentence or formulae. It has to be cultivated by following a discipline, a way of life. It results for correct understanding of the principles, but more than that their correct application to different situations and problems. It was, therefore, not the theory that mattered but its practice. "As a matter of fact," wrote Gandhi, "no writings should be created with my body. What I have done will endure, not what I have said and written. I have often said that even if all our scriptures were to perish—their number of Satyagraha would be enough to declare the essence of Hinduism, but even that one verse will be of no avail if there is no-one to live it."

Thus calls for a comprehensive authentic and detailed record of what he did, how he did it and why he did it. It is only such a record of the varied and variegated processes in which small deeds and great fell in their true perspective that a true, faithful and well-remembering, inspiring and ennobling picture of Mahatma Gandhi's life and teaching can be found, to be contemplated, absorbed and digested (see first group). The present work represents such an attempt for those who may be interested in it by one who had the opportunity to observe and know at first hand the incidents and events which he has described and the manner and insight to interpret them correctly.

Taken for instance Gandhi's application of the principle of Truth and Ahimsa to life is problems which almost every leader of men and affairs has to face from day to day. He had the unique capacity to carry on his struggle on an unpersonal plane so that opponents became less and less resistant and were ultimately won over. In the end there was no victor or vanquished feeling left, both becoming fellow-workers of the same truth. In this technique there is nothing like failure, every experience is a discovery and stepping-stone to success. That is perhaps the reason why in Gandhi's company one never had a

feeling of dependency or defeat but always of steady progress towards the goal in spite of apparent failure and set-backs.

Another universal principle which is only another facet of Gandhi's fundamental conception of Truth and Ahimsa and which needs to be very carefully studied by every student of Gandhi's life and teachings, is expressed in the aphorism *satyameva jayate*—as the microcosm so the macrocosm. When things go wrong, Gandhi said, one should try to look for the cause thereof within oneself, if one wants to realize the non-violent way of life. The same truth is embedded in a host of other sayings, e.g., "Do unto others as you wish others to do unto you," "Did done to others comes home to roost," and finally Jung's "Anything which disappears from your psychological inventory is apt to turn up in the dugout of a hostile neighbour, where it will inevitably become your anger and make you aggressive. It is certainly better to know that your worst adversary is right in your own heart." But it was left to Gandhi, as the reader will find in these pages, to make a scientific application of it in his life and activity and demonstrate the capacity to open up new avenues of action when otherwise there was nothing but a blank wall facing one.

(To be continued)

## WHAT IS A HINDU CHARIOT?

(Continued from the previous issue of *Harlan* of Jan. 1957)

### III

#### Assemblies of the Ashoka Chariot

22. As was observed above, the Ashoka Chariot requires various degrees of different thicknesses in accordance with the needs of your desired. To supply these needs as well as to suit the initial request for them, another casting and steaming machine have now been devised.

#### (a) The Wheel Molds

23. The Wheel Molds in the casting machine consist of a large wooden wheel, which is fitted by cotton band to a grooved pulley which carries a fixed top roller of about 1/4" in diameter and about 1/2" long. The fixed roller drives the flat in the wooden cylinder. 1/2 inches in diameter and about 1/2 inches in diameter, fixed with a spring. The fixed roller as well as the wooden cylinder are closed except for an opening in the bottom to facilitate the filling of wax. Connected with this wooden cylinder is a small wire-cage 1/2 inches wide and 1/2 inches long and 1/2 inches high. The cylinder revolves at high speed when the main wheel is operated. The three are driven out by centrifugal force into the cage. The cast of a Wheel Molds inclusive of the cage is not noted at 24.22.

#### (b) The Mold

24. The loose open-end three colored in the wire cage attached to the Wheel Molds are removed and held for three are prepared on the flat mold in a specially prepared wooden machine. In each height and width the mold is identical with the Ashoka Chariot. In one side of two pairs of steel drawing rollers about 1/2 inches long and 1/2 inches in diameter weighted by springs. The three rollers are fixed with the upper rollers are covered by rubber. The lower rollers have are driven through three rollers a few inches and three are driven into cutting by a pump and connected by a small the cylinder. The six cylinder is 1/2 inches in height and 1/2 inches in diameter, with a ring fixed at its center. The cylinder is rotated

by a grooved pulley, which is hauled with the main haul-  
rope. The movement of the cylinder before the starting.  
The development of the machine for the field which  
is principally made of wood is the cylinder and two pairs  
of iron rollers and rubber bushings run also in main-  
tenance and worked by the village carpenter after some  
local training. Its estimated cost is Rs 34.

12. An Andhra Charkha set that consists of a setting  
and a drawing machine besides the Charkha, collectively  
estimated to cost Rs 145. The arrangements in main-  
tenance replaceable parts of selected material, facilities are  
expected to bring down the cost by Rs 150 to Rs 100  
per Charkha set. Thus, the present impracticable wooden  
Andhra Charkha evolved from the original model of it im-  
proved by other States, Charkhas, outside almost all the  
others provided by Govt.

#### Comparative Data

13. Since the standardization of the power Charkha,  
various experiments and tests have been carried out at  
the centre, quality and strength of the yarn. It has  
been found that experiments carried out at Warid  
and Warid show that although it is possible to spin 15 to  
4 hanks of yarn per hour, the average output per hour is  
2 hanks or an average 10 hanks of yarn of 10s per day  
at 4 hours on the Andhra Charkha as against the average  
of 1 1/2 hanks of yarn per hour or 10 hanks of yarn of 10s  
per day at 4 hours on the ordinary Charkha.

14. The number of yarn that can be spun on the Andhra  
Charkha are in the range of 10s to 40s, depending on the  
quality and staple of the cotton used. At Warid with  
long-staple cotton (11 1/2) in summer yarn of 10s can be  
spun from that cotton. The same kind of yarn can spin  
also at Warid. At Warid and Warid during summer  
which is both hot and dry in both places, results ranging  
from 10s to 40s were spun from Andhra. 10s from Warid  
and 10s from Warid. Trunks at Warid showed that  
yarns being spun from 10s to 40s in the range of 10s to  
40s and Warid in Warid, where an experimental  
centre was recently opened, are now able to spin an  
average 10s on the Andhra Charkha.

15. Comparative strength of the yarn spun on the  
Andhra and ordinary Charkha shows that the yarn on the  
Andhra Charkha has a tensile strength of 10 to 150 per cent  
as against an average of 40 to 50 per cent on the yarn on  
the ordinary Charkha. Thus quantitatively as well as  
qualitatively, the Andhra Charkha is superior to the  
yarn on the ordinary Charkha as it needs to be made  
a spinner to spin on an average 10 hanks of 10s per day  
at 4 hours on against an average of 10 hanks of 10s per day  
at 4 hours on the ordinary Charkha.

#### Wearing Experiments

While the comparative study of the Andhra Charkha  
yarn with that of the ordinary Charkha yarn has been  
satisfactory, it has not yet been possible to collect similar  
comparative data on wearing. The Board is now initiating  
a pilot programme to collect necessary data on wearing  
with Andhra yarn and the experience of the weavers both  
of Khadi and mill yarn. The Indian experience that has  
been gained is set out in the Table below.

Fibre	Spun	Woven	Count of Yarn	Yds.	Time Spun
Woolen	40"	20x20	10	12.5	0.5
"	40"	"	15	"	0.50
Cot. Hosiery	"	Coloured and dyed broad cloth	20	2.0	0.5

The data set out above tend strongly to the belief that  
the Andhra Charkha may provide the key to the revival  
and development of India's traditional decentralized and  
self-sufficient industry, that once placed her on the leading  
edge of the modern world.

(Continued)

#### WHY INSTALL MORE SPINNING? SAY THE INDUSTRY ALREADY WORKS

(By Kenneth P. Snow)

An inquiry made some time back brought to  
the light the fact that the Commerce and Indus-  
try Ministry of the Government of India have  
issued orders for installation of about 3 million  
additional spindles in the Cotton Textile Industry  
in India. The latest available figures show that  
the total number of spindles in India are 450 of  
which about 22 are closed more or less per-  
manently and the majority of the rest work less  
than. The following are the figures of spindles  
being worked in the 1st, 2nd, and the 3rd shift  
of the textile mills in India:

Shifts	Number
1st	1,24,00,000
2nd	88,00,000
3rd	41,00,000
Total	2,53,00,000

The above figures clearly show that a large  
number of mills do not work the 3rd shift and  
six out of ten shift spindles even now remain  
idle. The total number of installed spindles which  
can be regulated is more than 60 lakh.

The above facts given in a picture of the pro-  
ductive capacity of the Indian mills. It is well  
known that the textile mills of India produce  
yarn not only for their own consumption but also  
supply yarn to the power-looms and the hand-  
looms. Of the total yarn in India 120 are spin-  
ning concerns and some of the companies, who  
also sell their surplus yarn to the handloom fac-  
tories. No difficulties were hitherto experienced  
in procuring the necessary quantity of yarn for  
the handlooms and the office of the Textile Com-  
missioner can easily divert all the additional yarn  
not required for the mills even purposes for the  
consumption of handlooms.

What was then the necessity of installing  
hosiery for 20 lakh more spindles? Spinning  
machines and preparatory machinery are very  
costly and at a rough estimate it would cost the  
country approximately Rs 30 crores to install  
20 lac spindles. Was it necessary to allow this  
additional investment when it is known that even  
from the total production of 450 crore yards of  
mill cloth, the industry exports about 30 crore,  
as people in India have no money to purchase all  
the cloth manufactured.

In the Second Five Year Plan, Government  
wants to concentrate on two matters— firstly—  
industrialization of the country and secondly—  
finding employment for as many more people as  
possible. After a long and detailed discussion it  
has been realized that large-scale machine indus-  
tries have a very limited capacity to absorb un-  
employed people. It is therefore necessary to re-  
sort to the village and the small-scale industries  
to find employment for the bulk of the popula-  
tion spread in the rural area.

The All-India Khadi Board even now gives  
employment to over 5 lakh of persons through

their activities and with the discovery of the Anchar Charikh, there is scope to give employment to ten lakh more persons in the villages. We ought to note that our Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru looking to the potentiality of the Anchar Charikh as an agency for employment has asked there in charge of the Agency of Ahmednagar throughout the country as large a number of Charikh as possible even up to 50 lacs and thereby give employment to those who are in dire need of it. The additional spindles in the textile mills if permitted to be installed would however create very much the scope of the Anchar Charikh. It is therefore essential to pay textile production of yarn and cloth at the present level and fulfil the growing needs of the country for more cloth through the agency of the Anchar Charikh yarn and handlooms. The mills may continue to feed the power-looms to the extent of 30 crans yards and handlooms to the extent of 150 crans yards but any further production of yarn above this level should be reserved entirely for the Anchar Charikh.

A long and dry was traced some time back by prominent industrialists creating apprehensions about shortage of cloth thereby supporting the need for additional spindles, but the figures given in the first para give an effective answer as to why no more spindles are required. People normally would not like to work in third shifts but why are more than five lac spindles etc even in the second shift? If needs be, for a limited period, till a sufficient number of Anchar Charikh are made available any shortage of yarn that may be experienced can easily be made up by running all spindles in the second shift. If necessity arises in a matter of national emergency we can even ask the workers to work in the third shift for a limited period. Why saddle the country with unnecessary costly machinery which curtails the scope of employment and goes counter to the spirit of decentralising the industry and results in greater concentration of wealth?

India has to work out its economic problems in its own indigenous way. The short-sightedness of our economic independence rests on decentralisation of the industry. A socialist pattern of society also points towards the same way. Let us not therefore do anything which obstructs decentralisation and comes in the way of the employment of thousands of men and women in the villages by permitting installation of additional spindles.

It is understood that even though licences have been granted even now they can be cancelled. I think this is an occasion where prompt action is needed on the part of everybody concerned to raise his voice against this imposition on the country which would inevitably reduce to a great extent the possibility of giving employ-

ment to people in the rural area. If the money proposed to be invested in the installation of additional spindles were diverted towards the Anchar Charikh programme it would procure employment to over 50 lac persons. Let us resolve that we shall leave no stone unturned and carry on a country-wide campaign against any additional spindles being added to the present textile industry.

#### Gao and Portugal

The following piece of news will interest us in India.

Paris, January 18, 1938

FIFTY-five workers and workers' wives went to call on the President of the Portuguese Republic calling for the release of people of Portuguese nationality jailed for supporting petitions on the five lacs. Among the signatories are Louis Aragon, Jean Cocteau, Georges Duhamel, Yves Saint Laurent and Jean Paul Sartre.

The ladies said: "We have learnt that several people including Fern Agostinho Reis, jailed for having so signed their names over the lacs, are fasting. Hermine Morvan is reported to be in a very serious condition. We respectfully appeal to Your Excellency to intervene so that Hermine Morvan may be admitted into hospital and also that the following may be released on parole: Marcelle Morvan, Yveline, Renée Almeida, Marie Lucille, Hermine Silver and Marie."

So the justice and the truth of our stand on Gao and the peaceful way in which we propagate it do find an echo in the Portuguese heart. Truly it is humane and overrules the fanatic hard-heartedness of the Portuguese rulers.

IN-L-10

M. P.

By Francis

#### MAHATMA GANDHI — THE LAST PHASE

(Introduction by Dr. Rajendra Prasad)

Author's Biography of Mahatma Gandhi dealing with the last phase of his life is in two volumes. The First Volume of nearly 300 pages with 44 pages of photographs will be released on 12th February, 1938. Mahatma Gandhi's Birthday day. The second volume will be published in due course. It will contain approximately 40 pages. The volumes are priced at Rs 25/- each. The suggested postage etc. of each volume is Rs 3/-. Advance orders accompanied with the amount of price and registered postage etc. will be accepted and given priority in circulation. Amount should be sent by M.O.

MAHATMA PUBLICATIONS HOUSE,  
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# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY BHABHA GANDEH)  
EDITOR: BHABHARAT P. GANDEH



Vol. XII, No. 50 AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1934 TWO ANNAS

## "LORD OF HUMILITY"

(By M. K. Desai)

Lord of humility, dwelling in the little  
parish hut  
help us to search for Thee throughout  
that fair land  
watered by Ganges, Brahmaputra and  
Jamuna.

Give us receptiveness, give us open-  
heartedness,  
give us Thy humility, give us the  
shifty and willingness  
to identify ourselves with the masses  
of India.

O God, who dost help only when man feels  
utterly humble,  
grant that we may not be isolated from  
the people  
we would serve as servants and friends.

Let us be embodiments of self-sacrifice,  
embodiments of goodness,  
humbly personified, that we may know  
the land better  
and love it more.

Wardha, 12-2-34

Be Proud!

MAHATMA GANDEH—THE LAST PHASE  
(Introduction by Dr. Bhabha Prasad)

Author's Biography of Mahatma Gandhi  
dealing with the last phase of his life is in two  
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Shardila day The second volume will be pub-  
lished in due course. It will contain equal number  
of pages. The volumes are priced at Rs. 25/- each.  
The requested passage etc. of each volume is  
Rs. 5/- Advance notice accompanied with the  
amount of price and requested passage are  
will be sent post and given priority in accordance  
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## "WHITHER SWARAJ?"

(By Bhagabhai P. Desai)

### Three-fold Gateway to Self

We had the ill fortune of witnessing again  
tragic happenings like those of the days of the  
Partition of India. Its pathos is heightened  
by the fact that it was in Bombay city and in the  
4th year of our independence! The movement  
for Savarkar's Maharashtra with Bombay city as  
its capital became the cause thereof.

It is sad, even as a social animal, society  
strives for an end. Thus society exerts a  
certain amount of social control over the brute  
in man. However its influence is only skin-deep  
and no more. Like the skin over the body, it is  
only a beautiful thin layer covering underneath  
an equally ugly brutality. Therefore whenever  
such a layer of evil social control is ex-  
posed or bursts the brutal ugliness comes out  
in all its hideousness.

Such a bursting of the layer of social control  
is generally caused by the collapse of some of the  
most useful prophecies that adhere deeply in us.  
Science and Scriptures have repeatedly warned us  
about them, though in different terms. See for  
example, *સર્વે સર્વે સર્વે સર્વે* (It is not,  
it is wrath, here of the pure-faithful (Gita 1-17)).  
*સર્વે સર્વે સર્વે* (Know not the wealth of  
another at all like Upadishat); *સર્વે સર્વે*  
(Pride and ego in the name of Self (Upadishat));  
*સર્વે સર્વે* (The wrath and greed); *સર્વે સર્વે*  
(The wrath is the gate of hell leading out to  
perdition—Last, Wrath and Greed (Gita 16-21)).

When desire or avarice and greed knows no  
bounds and has ego and pride as its ally, it  
transmutes itself as anger, malice and vengeance.  
These emotions are like wild fire all devouring.  
The Savarkar's Maharashtra agitation had provided  
such materials as regards to the question of  
Bombay city. And none forgot himself about  
the dangerous feature of that agitation. Conse-  
quently, the fire of anger, malice and ven-  
geance overtook Bombay, and to extinguish it  
Government had to take massive lives and prop-  
erty worth crores of rupees got destroyed.

Even when such fire of mad frenzy was burn-  
ing, there must have been unknown men and

women, who will have heroically staked themselves to quench the fire with the cool waters of justice—lay for this fellowship in danger and distress. It, like the strength of each woman only that human society persists and helps bring on one's faith in humanity even under such trying circumstances.

When I recall that I have not in mind Mahatma-~~any~~. What we see all round us in India today going on in the name of states reorganization (S.R.) is infested, more or less, with the virus of greed and infatuation. Let us all therefore meditate upon this with deep introspection and pray in our hearts with the same poet of Mahatma—*swami swam saty me jitu* (Oh Lord, save me from tempting me).

## II

### A. R. Development and Unity

Today is Independence Day. We gave to ourselves a Republican State six years ago. We are entering its 7th year today. During these years we have achieved marvellously great things. However, the situation today is so distressing that it would be as wrong to bury upon them as upon our glorious past. The whole situation is so serious that all our achievements under independence might vanish in a moment. It therefore calls for all vigilance on our part.

Today we have launched upon a new venture of states reorganization. It is as important and consequential as the merger of Indian States of the British regime.

Fortunately enough, we started to achieve the Indian States merger at its right time. We had then in our midst such an able administrative statesman like Sarfer Patel to tackle it. What would have been our plight if this had not been done then and would have remained to be done till now? I shudder to think of what would have happened to us!

An idea crosses my mind here—how would it have fared if we had immediately thereafter undertaken the venture of states reorganization? It was and is surely one of the first few things that should be achieved under Swamy. But we missed the bus. Then vanished the right atmosphere for solving such a difficult thing easily and well. However, the thing itself was so overwhelmingly necessary that the country had to heed to it. But we could not prosper at it. Getting tired of it, there are some who, in despair, say we might better postpone or put it in cold storage. That would be another mistake, I think.

We began to implement it on the basis of the S. R. C. Report. Lots of impediments, opposition, strike and commotion started on that count. Seeing all this, there is now about a new idea that we might partition the country into five or six zones! If this suggestion is born of our weakness and fear to face the issue squarely—as an

escape move, then we might take it that it will hardly profit us by delivering the goods.

Why are we asking for states reorganization? Is it not to secure better conditions to establish true *Swami* in our country? Then, this should fundamentally be thought out from the point of view of the datch and datcha masses who seem to be almost out of consideration here. It is necessary that all administration under Swamy should be conducted in their language. If we let go this chief point of approach, then what else is the principle on the basis of which we might guide ourselves when thinking out the reorganization?

Today the question has got mixed up with the politics of industrial and economic development. Therefore it hangs too heavily on the minds of the politicians or the diplomats.

The nature of the development envisaged at present is centralistic. Crores of rupees that are distributed from the Centre for the purpose almost the countless eyes of States leaders and politicians. Therefore, in this sphere also, what is principally provoked in the minds of the classes is *shwa*—avarice and greed.

That every region may proceed to an independent broad-based country-wide development programme on a decentralized basis is to arouse common people to take interest in them, in a way that is today almost lost to us. Consequently, instead of healthy rivalry as a self-reliant basis, we are too sensible for power and influence to secure the largest advantage. The politicians only aim to secure for his region the largest amount of influence over the developmental distribution of crores from the Centre. Under the infatuation of this urge, he is driven to measures like having bigger ryotwari or zamindari so that they may carry greater weight and influence in the central sphere of the land. The real constructive or nation-building works of people's education, health, small-scale and village industries, prohibition etc. become only secondary, even if they be considered worthy to be included in a development programme. Really speaking, these are the very things that directly touch the people. They can take part in their achievement with a feeling of national unity and patriotism, and their implementation will mean crores of rupees in national income even. But this living way of development that will touch the minds and the day-to-day life of the masses is almost out of any serious consideration.

Will our leaders think of this serious problem?

20-1-38

P. S. I am adding this on 30th January, 1938—Gandhi's anniversary day. May we all search our hearts to see where we are! Whether we are going! What we are at!

30-1-38

(Open Subject)

## SHREE VINODA WITH THE COMMUNISTS IN ANDHRA

The communists complained that the Government of Andhra wanted to deprive the Landless of the lands of which they have been in possession for the last forty years, and distribute the same, of course as a reward for political suffering, to those who were already in possession of lands.

The communist friends pointed out, how they have been harassed and arrested for raising their voice against the alleged injustice. Their first suggestion therefore was to distribute the lands to the landless political workers only. They wanted Vinod to support the Communist Party in their struggle against the policy of the Government. By another way—can they want Vinod to support the communists, in preventing the evictions which were going on such a large scale by the landlords in Andhra.

### His Approach and Method

At first, Vinoda had asked the communist friends to make any positive suggestion in the direction of reaching the land problem and had assured that he would reach, except those if the same appeared to him, the hearing therefore, the three last suggestions Vinod had criticised.

"If what you say is true, the action of the Government in distributing the said lands to those political workers who were already in possession of land, is indeed wrong. It happened in other Provinces also that those the recipients of such lands readily responded to the call of Vinod and surrendered their lands for the landless."

Regarding evictions, Vinoda pointed out how he had already declared long ago in various places that the Government should be ready to give the lands to their possession and be ready to face whatever might befall them, forcibly and non-violently. Even at the A.I.C.C. session at Bhubaneswar he had spoken on this point, in public as well as in private and had more than once issued written notices. Since also in this connection the landless asked Vinod, "have you not said as they did not know what injustice action the Government they had called upon to take to prevent evictions."

### Why Not Organise the Landless?

Replying to the query of the communists whether it would not be advisable to organise the landless instead of waiting for the change in village and town to bring the existing landless, Vinoda explained:

"Our meetings are attended by both the landless and the landlords. We present our demand for land as a right, not as the representatives of the landless. As a result, a lot of controversy is created in the houses of this country. The sales of land have reached a virtual, because people are confident that they will receive land through Vinod. In Dehra the Communist Government has provided a unique phase. Not one of two but all the landless have even founded villages and surrendered their right of citizenship in favour of the state. Could this happen without the assistance of the landless?"

### Social Transformation

The communist friends pointed out, how they did not believe in the collective ownership of the society as a whole through the process of Vinod, though they admitted to anxiety in bringing about a change in the selected law.

Appreciating their point of view Vinod said that his was the mission to create a national awakening and without an awakening. That was exactly why he demanded and accepted donations from the poor also. He was at a meeting of fact, trying to form a society which would contribute resources for ownership, at least in part if not in full, it will be an error which will have its moral effect

on the society as a whole. "Our approach, therefore," he said, "is twofold. First we try to create the awakening among the people. Secondly, we try to bring about a change of heart in the landless. Thirdly, we try to bring pressure on the Government, and last but not least, we want to raise a non-violent army to be ready to make necessary sacrifices in case all the above threefold through do not bear the desired fruit."

"The success of our mission," continued Vinod "depends on our ability and on the intensity of our work. There is however, no room for any misunderstanding about us (and) we made it clear that he did not consider it worthy a sign of merit or of strength to be either landless or poor."

"Have there not been among the landless and the poor," he asked, "who were inclined to drink and void of character, dishonesty and what not? Our mission was, therefore, to carry over them to them and inspire them to give to the society whatever they possessed—land, wealth, energy, talent—everything. The various donations mentioned above, through their process of self-purification, will qualify even the poorest of the poor to be most sincere in the moralised way, which we want to form."

Regarding their list of fact in the theory of change at hand, Vinoda particularly asked if they themselves did not stand as an illustration of such a change. For during his last trip across the country not only, but no faith in this movement had not actively opposed it in various ways. Under this position had changed and they were now numbered at least of the poorest of the poor as well as his mission, and to use the opposite that was as much refined by him in his mission.

### The Only Two Parties

Referring to the different political parties in the country Vinoda pointed out that as a matter of fact, there existed no more but only two parties—the State and the Nation, and that the latter had participated in all the parties. It would indeed be a great achievement if the Communist Party got rid of the stupor element in it. If the parties are not purged of this element, their organisations will indeed be strong even if the membership is restricted to landless instead of to thousands and lakhs. "Some members, whether they are communists or Congressmen, do not, and cannot indeed add to the strength of their respective parties," he asserted.

### Shodhan and National Good

To the allegation of the communists that the Shodhan movement, except its moral aspect, did not materially benefit the poor Vinod asked if the fact and a half billion of acres distributed among several five hundred families did not really come to its share to benefit? He pointed out that the matter could not be limited to the society and the integrity of the people was enhanced. Shodhan good therefore, had to be combined with national progress and Shodhan movement did consider the two. However, had he not, through the movement, tried to bring pressure on the Government? And was not the movement responsible for creating an awakening among the different political parties in the country? Did not all this contribute to the material good of the people?

Reprinted from Shodhan, January 31, 1955

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1955

## REPLACEMENT & RETENTION OF ENGLISH

(By Nageshwar P. Desai)

Some prominent public men of Tamil Nad have issued a statement from Madras pleading for indefinite retention of English as the official language for inter-State and Union purposes. In deriding the use of English as it obtained under the British rule.

We know that the Constitution of India provides for the retention of English as the official language upto 1965. Even so the President has the power, under the Constitution, to authorise the use of Hindi the Official Language of the Union, in addition to the English language. After 1965 the Parliament may, by law, provide for its retention for specified purposes only, if and as felt necessary.

Further under Article 344 of the Constitution, the President has to constitute a Commission twice every five years from the commencement of the Constitution the first of which as we know already appointed last year and is working at present. And the President has further powers to issue directions restricting the use of English for all or any of the official purposes of the Union, according to the recommendations of such a Commission and a Parliamentary Committee to be specially constituted for the purpose under Article 344 (4).

This shows that the Constitution lays down restriction on the use of English as the official language of the Union, and its progressive replacement by Hindi by 1965, with a safeguard that English might be retained for specific purposes by a special law of Parliament, if replacement by Hindi could not be negotiated fully well by then.

The Tamil Nad statement referred to above, surprisingly enough, is entirely silent about the above constitutional requirements of the place of Hindi in the new set up and says that English be retained indefinitely. This is a big evasion which needs to be explained.

There is another thing in the Madras statement which is also significant. It says that the following two matters — 1. What should be the State official language? and 2. What should be the medium of instruction? — "are kept distinct inasmuch as they have to be governed by totally other considerations and should not be mixed up with this issue" of the Official Language of the Union.

This is obviously not a correct or justifiable position to take. These two issues are vitally interlinked with the larger issue of the Official Language of the Union. Therefore, it will be

wrong to approach the language problem in such a piecemeal or distorted manner.

Again if we look at the Constitution of India, we see that it presents us with a whole idea or general picture of how we should tackle the language question in all its aspects and solve it to the complete satisfaction of all the true and legitimate claims and aspirations of our great regional languages and the States, and it also requires us to develop an ~~entire new~~ (a common all-India language) of our own (which is not to be English) as "the medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India" — as the expression of the great Indian people's new life and endeavour as a free and independent — "sovereign democratic republic," and consequently as an instrument of forging the nation's unity by securing to it the A-L medium of a living Indian language.

The Tamil Nad statement needs clarification about the points of confusion and confusion noted above. It claims its justification on practical grounds which do not bear any serious scrutiny. And since they are unconvincing and lead from the point of view of our national self-respect. Retention of English, a language known to some extent to barely half a per cent of our people as the official language will mean the rule of a microscopic class — an English educated bureaucracy through India. It will continue to govern our educational system, to the detriment of true education, — to mention only a few of its evils. We do not fight for Swaraj to retain this humiliation. However, I may not quote upon this any more.

B. J. 158

## F. M. DEE BHODHAN

Public (Swatantra) Party (Swatantra) 1955 across in Madras during his recent Kanchi Tour. He received great interest in the movement. The distribution was done in a big public meeting in the very early morning hours with the Address was made at the representative of the address. He made the following statement about Swatantra during his speech which meeting dealt with the theme that by the communal India taking part in politics.

"You are that I distributed a programme in a Indian signed brand last year.

I am glad to be associated with the Swatantra movement here at Madras. It was a particularly happy thought to have chosen an Address of all people to receive this programme from me. I congratulate the leaders on their activity and wish this meeting example will be copied by others as well. I congratulate the all those who received this book as the Swatantra workers who arranged this meeting."

During a speech in another public meeting in Madras he gave the following address to the leaders of Swatantra by giving the following about the Swatantra movement.

"We have got as well in big numbers and finally that the final problem is not solved yet. The issue always Swatantra there is relying on the Swatantra movement. This is the last period for the solution of the last problem in our country. We have already reached the point of time of last all over India. That is a remarkable thing which probably might not have happened in other countries. That is the final way of solving even social problems where social interests come in is resolved. So we must certainly encourage the Swatantra movement. We that is not enough. We have



is placed otherwise by legislation and other means to complete this work of local reform."

The text continued by stating in very odd and terrible and scary way things which to substantiate the claims before the local authorities.

Quoted from *Madras State*

### HINDI IN TAMIL NADU SCHOOLS

[By S. R. Sankar]

There is a popular demand that Hindi should be made an integral part of school curriculum. At present in the schools in the Madras State, Hindi is taught as an alternative to craft from Form I to Form VI and marks in the examination are not taken into consideration either for class promotion or eligibility to the University course in Government service. Hence, students are indifferent towards the study of Hindi and concentrate their attention on the examination subjects, such as English, Maths, Science, Social Studies etc.

In Travancore-Cochin State and Andhra State schools,\* marks obtained in Hindi are counted for promotion or eligibility, why should not the Madras State follow the system obtaining in the neighbouring States? Who should the Tamil boys be behind in equipping themselves with the knowledge of Hindi? Or Madras Government may give a reward of Rs 10/- (S.S.L.C. Examination) for the students who obtain marks 90 per cent and above in the S.S.L.C. Public Examination in Hindi—third language to encourage the study of Hindi. This additional expenditure of about Rs 10,000/- Madras Government may get from the Central Government as a special grant for propagation of Hindi in non-Hindi speaking areas. This step will give a great fillip to the study of Hindi in schools.

Hindi Faculty, Delhi Quarters

Wazir, T. to address, Madras.

20-1-66

I agree with that noble suggestion. I rather think that the study of Hindi should be made compulsory in schools all over the non-Hindi area of our country. Hindi is said to be a link language in New India, the link being the regional language. The latter will have the organizational role of its region. In the earlier education system and education in that region will be conducted through Hindi. In the new wing will be compulsory to it as the *Joint States*—the language by Sanskrit and Urdu purposes. Viewed thus, the linguistic problem is clear that we should begin to learn Hindi as a second language. It becomes one of our primary duties to do so.

22-2-66

(S. R.)

### "B.C.G. DAY" OBSTINACY

To

Editor, *Barage*

I do not wish to repeat all that I have been so severely trying and writing on the subject of B.C.G. Day, or 4000. An announcement has been made that February 28 will be an All India B.C.G. Day. It is a pity that the Health Ministry of India refuses to yield to reason and persists in pushing this useless vaccination which has been practically rejected by the American health authorities. The U.S. Health Department is still investigating

and its special infection for but not thought fit to issue a recommendation in regard to spite of Dr. Josephine's explanation about it. Dr. Carol Palmer has recently and publicly expressed L.V.H. and administration as better than B.C.G. or at least as good. Why should this live bacilli injection be persisted in by the Health Ministry of India when Dr. Carol Palmer himself has expressed himself thus?

It is well known that all those or almost all those that get a fatal or serious attack of TB were "positives" for some before the appearance of clinical TB. The aim and object of B.C.G. Vaccination is to produce artificial "positives". How can an artificial "positive" condition do what the normal "positive" condition has not been able to do so far, viz. to prevent clinical TB? Something is better than nothing. But something useless is not better than nothing in dealing with the human body. It is a pity that Sir Theobald Arnold Koor is obstinate as that in the his term in the aspect of mankind for being tortured with a hideously injected disease.

22-2-66

C. RAJAGOPALAKRISHNAN

### MAHATMA GANDHI—THE LAST PHASE

Quoted from the previous issue of *Barage* of 22-2-66

#### II

The earliest demonstration in India—and it is a most remarkable because it happened at a time when Mahatma Gandhi had not attained the great public stature which he did later in life—of his method, which is seen in action in its full maturity in this book, was in Champaran. For a hundred years, or more, British planters had been carrying on plantation of indigo from which dye was derived, and in doing so had not only acquired a lot of land from the landlords and cultivators but had also by various oppressive methods forced them to cultivate the land with large reaping profits to themselves and misery and suffering to the tenants. Friction and agitation with occasional outbreaks of violence resulting in murder and arson had resulted nothing. The first thing that Gandhi did on his arrival in Champaran, when he went there on the invitation of the cultivators to investigate their grievances, was to declare that he did not look upon the planters as enemies and wished them well. This was unthinkable at that time not only to the planters who stood to lose all their capital and long-reaped profits but also to many of us. The planters received the declaration with incredulity, even suspicion. But these were turned into an agreeable surprise and even amusement as their contact with him developed and they came to know him better, and by the time the report of the Commission which the Government appointed to inquire into the tenants' grievances, and of which Mahatma Gandhi also was a member, was made they came to regard him as a true friend of theirs, as the word proved it forced a shadow of doubt. Apart from the stage of his personal contact, what impressed them most was his contact as a mediator

\* See Vol. 1, I know to address this—22

of the Commission. There was a large volume of evidence—drawn mostly from records of judicial proceedings and reports of executive officers of the Government over a period of several decades—supporting and confirming almost every allegation of oppression, corrupt practices and recalcitrance against the planters and their agents and there was no escape from a most damaging indictment of the planters and their agents. If the Commission put on record its findings on them. But at an early stage of the discussion after evidence had been recorded, Gandhiji set the fears of the planters' representatives on the Commission at rest and completely won his confidence by declaring that he was not concerned with the past so much as with the present and the future and would not insist on a finding on the complaints being recorded; he would be content if the oppressive system of indigo plantation was abolished and the planters' tyranny ended. He did not insist on full reparation either for the wrongs made in the past but said he would be content with refund only of part—twenty-five per cent. of the amount exacted—as a guarantee that no more wrongs would be made. The result was a compromise which pleased both sides—the tenants were happy that indigo plantation with its recalcitrant tyranny and oppression would go, the planters who had already made their pile were happy that they were not condemned before the whole world as oppressors and tyrants or made to disgorge the whole of the amount illegally retained by them. Legislation was passed with the support of their representatives in the legislature. They paid monthly subscriptions and, with the exception of one or two, otherwise helped Gandhiji in starting and maintaining village schools for the education of the children of the tenantry. Within three or four years, finding that the cultivation of subsidiary crops was not as lucrative as cultivation of indigo, they gradually sold away their land in small lots to the very cultivators whom they had oppressed so long and were happy to get a good price for it. The tenants were happy to get back the land and get rid of the planters and where their luxurious bungalows stood, tenants' houses including their cattle-sheds are to be seen today all over the district.

What made Mahatma Gandhi almost unique among leaders of men was his capacity to harmonise and co-ordinate widely different, sometimes even opposite points of view so that instead of hindering the prosecution of the common goal, they became complementary and contributory to its attainment. An outstanding instance of this was the war in a lakh be-deck with his colleagues in the Congress organisation who differed from him. It can well serve as a pointer for workers in all organisations where many have to work together and cannot get on without the fullest co-operation notwithstanding differences of a fundamental nature. In 1921 there was unanimity

amongst all Congressmen and Kishichandani as regards the practical programme although there was not even per cent. agreement in regard to the underlying principle and many had mental reservations. But after Mahatma Gandhi's intervention in 1922 almost all differences of opinion in regard to the practical programme of work came to the surface, particularly in regard to the question of seeking election to and entering legislatures under the constitution of 1919. This created a split in the Congress: one group led by Deshmundhar C. R. Desai, Pandit Motilal Nehru, N. C. Kelkar, M. B. Jayakar, Hakim Ajmal Khan and other Swarajists supporting what came to be known as Council entry, and the other led by C. Rajagopalachari, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Seth Anandilal Banaji opposing Council entry. In the open session of the Congress held at Gaya in December 1922, where Deshmundhar Desai presided, the resolution opposing Council entry was passed by a large majority despite the fact that no less a person than the President himself had put in a strong plea in favour of Council entry in his presidential address. The controversy continued until on a special session at Delhi in the latter half of 1923 a compromise was reached which permitted those who wanted to contest elections in the legislature to do so provided that they did so on behalf of the Swaraj Party, which had been formed by them, and not on behalf of the Congress and no Congress funds were used. The elections held in November-December, 1923, were fought and won by Congressmen on behalf of the Swaraj Party. When Mahatma Gandhi was released early in 1924 as a result of serious illness as well, he set himself to bring about a compromise between the two wings, although he himself held firmly that Congressmen should not enter the legislatures and agreed with the so-called no-changers. At a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Ahmedabad, a vote was taken not on this question directly but on another matter which had the support of Deshmundhar Desai and Pandit Motilal Nehru. They with their supporters walked out and their proposal was defeated by a small minority in their absence. But Mahatma Gandhi instead of claiming victory, as constitutionally he was entitled to declare that, he was humbled and defeated. On the death of Deshmundhar Desai a few months later, he took a further step. He declared that parliamentary activity had come to a stop and in recognition thereof, made over the Congress organisation to the Swarajists for the prosecution of the Council-entry programme, himself taking charge of what was called constructive work and founded the All India Spinning Association for the revival and spread of Khadi. As a result at the next election, that is, 1926, the Congress achieved an even greater success than in 1923. At the same time, the work of the revival and spread of Khadi went ahead with great speed. Both the wings helped each other without giving up their respective

journalism. Later on when many Satyagrahis had to be jailed and arrested, those who had retained the legislatures on behalf of the Congress came out and voted Mahatma Gandhi to be the dictator of the Congress for implementing the Satyagraha programme.

A similar or somewhat more difficult situation arose in 1945-47 when India was declared by the British Government as a belligerent country in the Second World War. The British Government wanted all-out support of the Congress in its war effort. Within the Congress there were many who were prepared to give such all-out support provided the British gave India power and responsibility and full share in the administration, including defence and war effort. Mahatma Gandhi was prepared to give moral support only and was opposed to giving help in men and money in any circumstance. The matter was discussed by the Working Committee and when Mahatma Gandhi could not convince his colleagues he withdrew from the deliberations of the Congress Working Committee and left those from whom he differed to carry on without any abstention from him or even opposition in the matter of the All-India Congress Committee on his behalf or on the part of those who agreed with him. The British Government did not, however, accept the Congress offer and so the question of Congress co-operation did not arise. In spite of the refusal however, many in the Congress continued to harbour the hope that in the light of action the British Government would relent and enter the co-operation of the Congress on Congress terms. The discussion with Sir Stafford Cripps in early 1942 was carried on in this hope. But instead of relenting, the British attitude stiffened and the Indian opposition to the war effort expressed itself in the slogan 'No more war or peace on a single repeat day a single day'. Individuals offered Satyagraha by advising others not to help the British war effort in any way and working improvement for doing so. The conditions for offering Satyagraha were accepted by Gandhi himself. The bulk of them were elected representatives of the people such as members of legislatures, district boards and municipalities, Congress Committees and other elective bodies showing that the people as a whole were opposed to Government war effort. This movement culminated after the failure of the Cripps negotiations in the "Quit India" movement of 1942, when Mahatma Gandhi was once again offered and took up the leadership of the Congress. This movement resulted in the wholesale incarceration of Congressmen and Congress supporters who remained behind prison bars until about the end of the war in 1945.

The difference of Mahatma Gandhi with his colleagues was fundamental. Gandhi was not prepared to make any compromise on the issue of non-violence. He refused to be a party to any form of effort in support of a violent war even if what looked like there could be obtained in return. But while holding to his own principle, he allowed his colleagues full scope to serve the country according to their light. One result which

flowed from this was that not only marked confidence between them remained unimpaired and most intimate and personal relations continued between them but also those who differed from him ultimately came round and worked under his leadership, giving up for the time being their own programme.

(To be continued)

## LINGUISTIC REVOLUTION WE NEED

(By B. G. Kher)

[From an address delivered by Bhai B. G. Kher, Chairman, Official Language Commission, at Madras on the 12th January, 1964.]

[Continued from the issue of 26/1/64]

II

### The Great Regional Languages

We have in our country about 12 or 13 important regional languages, several of them both in enormous wealth of literature and a continuous literary tradition going back many centuries and in the case of some of them, usually the Tamil language, going back more than 2000 years. A language, as I said once before, is a towering record as well as a contemporary expression of the culture and experience of the people speaking that language. Just as we cherish within the unity of the Indian cultural tradition the diversity of the regional experiences, so we must cherish and cherish these regional languages which embody the history, thought and literary of the different linguistic groups which speak these languages. Many of the regional languages in India are spoken by a larger number of human beings than several of the advanced languages of the West. There should therefore be no question of the regional languages being allowed to suffer from neglect for any reason, whatsoever.

Indeed, both Hindi and the Urdu language, and the great regional languages mentioned in the VII schedule of the Constitution suffer today from individualistic and individualised and have similar problems to their 'Indian' friends and as early as in 1928 that "among the many evils of a foreign rule this debilitating impoverishment of a people's mother tongue, the youth of a country will be caused to history as one of the greatest." In the same article in the Young India he goes on to say: "the youth of a nation to reach a nation must master all languages including the highest in his own vernacular or vernaculars. Surely it is a well-understood proposition that the growth of a nation cannot begin or maintain a lasting contact with the masses unless their knowledge is acquired and consolidated through the medium understood by the people. There must be a greater appreciation that that a particular language can be compared to experience or improving children or sensible ideas."

Owing to the fact that the Higher Council of the country formed and considered their scheme almost wholly in the English language our regional languages failed to keep pace with the advance of science and industrial life, rapid scientific progress changes were brought about all over the world in the physical observations of living. It is possible that if the physical impact of scientific discoveries had come upon us in the normal way and regional languages might have responded to the requirements of the discovery. In fact, we find that, as the regional languages are finding it certain progress with us in scientific, legal and professional terminology are, however meagre and a more favoured source of expression namely, the English language, was used by all groups having occasion to express ideas relating to these spheres of activity. Since the idea of social organisation that we are already require equal opportunities being preferred to all persons that since science, scientific affairs, governmental and public policies are no longer in the province of a limited circle, it is essential that the indigenous languages are developed to make good these deficiencies. The problem of the development of the language, therefore, continues as not in respect of the Tamil language alone, but in a

national languages, as suggested by the three regional committees.

#### Original Languages

As a result the common problems confronting our regional languages at the present time are of course, relatively minor, either for individuality as well as for common groups of them. All our languages including what are known as the "Dravidian" languages share heavily upon their rich and innumerable typological use of vocabulary phrases and idiom, which has served each one of them through many centuries largely the common language and as moreover, indeed part of the Dravidian languages have a far higher proportion of vocabulary directly employing monosyllabic words or derivatives therefore than some of the so-called Indo-European languages. Even there are very close relationships and in many cases an identity in the operations and the scripts in which our various regional languages are currently written. We can find that Persian, Arabic and other languages have had a great share not only in enriching the vocabularies but affecting the style of some of the regional languages.

#### Representations before Congress

Apart from the development of the Union language and the various regional languages at the moment, in order to enable them effectively to take their appropriate place in the country's life there may one of the objectives which ought to be aimed at, it is growing and closer representation between the various regional languages of the country and their literature. I want to refer in this context that I was quite amazed at the volume of speeches in the evidence given could read in the Commission which focused upon being taken for processing the situation of a common main script for regional languages, at any rate alternative, even and above all the respective scripts. I might add that some of the strongest expressions of this view were from regions where the script currently used for the regional language is quite different from the Congress script. This shows their anxiety to foster unity in our literary and cultural life. Whether and how far effort could be given to say with this is a matter for deep consideration. I am convinced here only to emphasize the strong feeling evidenced by many representatives and thoughtful persons for working actively towards greater representation between the various Indian languages.

I can say that the most excellent results in regard of literature in the different Indian languages are already there are strong studies and common elements in our literary tradition. The Sanskrit and the Urdu literatures the literature have been the reservoir of literature, science, art and practice drawn upon richly by even the country for the literary script. In many of our languages. It is therefore only right and appropriate that we should understand the possession of the essence of such regional language has the Union language and as many of other regional languages is possible. Thus, for instance, I would maintain that the rich literary inheritance of the Tamil language should be made available to me through my Indian script which happens to be Hindi. In all these regions there is a tremendous amount of work to do for our linguistic and literature position. Education, art and public works. I am quite happy that with the growing realization that the interest of such regional language matters is deep with that of all the other efforts are being working from within in all these languages to develop them individually as well as to develop greater unity of spirit with the other languages.

#### Work of English

When I say that the English language will certainly have to play their part in the Union language and to the regional languages in their appropriate fields I am not conscious of the importance of the English language as a common means of international communication in the world today as well as of the history of its literature and the wealth of scientific knowledge in it. We cannot afford to lose any touch on the knowledge that is presently coming only through the English language to us and which has

helped us to catch up in the progress of technological advances in our country and in its scientific development as well for the acquisition of higher standards of scientific knowledge. While we change over the medium for all present purposes we will not suffer seriously due to our knowledge of the pipeline of knowledge and scientific progress thereby. Therefore the progress of Indianization in language must be as planned and conducted as to keep pace with the development of these languages and the special literature related in different branches of knowledge including scientific literature. Indeed for a long time in some I expect that we will have to equip our graduates both in the natural sciences and humanities with a sufficient command of English before we can expect Indian language to come as a key to the development of the knowledge not yet available in the Indian languages and as a "bridge" in the rapid progress which is taking place in the scientific world in technology and scientific knowledge. But there is a vital distinction between using a foreign language as a means for such specific purposes and using it extensively as the sole or principal medium of our education, and as the sole means of internationalization of the scientific level and for the conduct of the day to day business of the country.

#### Solution of the Problem

The problem that immediately before us before us in this respect is therefore a simple and of much complexity. I am not aware that a problem of right simplicity has had to be faced by any other civilized country in the world as far as I am concerned. I am confident that given the right approach we all other the solution can be accomplished. We want to replace in certain fields taught by the Union and the regional languages but we do not want to miss any of the technical and scientific knowledge of which English has been the vehicle hitherto and will continue to be the principal vehicle for a considerable time in future. We want to develop the Union language to enable to serve all official purposes in the official level and as a means of inter-Indian intercourse both official and non-official and as a common focus for the formation of and expression of national opinion over the whole country. We want to restore the relationship with the growth and development of our great regional languages which must also be steadily worked to take their appropriate place amongst the linguistic groups inhabiting this country. Nothing in the last objective we want to produce a greater mutual comprehension of each other's language by different linguistic groups in the country and a larger and growing measure of unity amongst them. It is thus a very complex and comprehensive linguistic revolution that we have to bring about.

On another occasion I appealed for the language problem being approached as a problem of general policy from a circle as distinct from a religious or regional viewpoint from a national as distinct from a provincial or communal standpoint from a pragmatic as distinct from an idealistic or ideological standpoint. If the problem is so approached, approached in the framework of our country in the world as it is, there no doubt that we will be able to solve it satisfactorily.

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## HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)  
EDITOR: NAGENDRA P. JOSHI

Vol. XIX, No. 22 AMBIPURABH—SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1956

TWO ANNAS

## REGARDING 'HARIJAN' PAPERS

By Nagendra P. Joshi

About two years and a half ago the Managing Trustees of the Harijan papers in their columns under Harijan of 5-12-53 describing the financial position of the Harijan papers. They had said therein that the English edition had the least number of subscribers to its credit; therefore its publication might have to be stopped so as to lessen the burden of loss the Trust had to bear. In conducting the three editions—English, Gujarati and Hindi.

The number of subscribers since then shows no favourable trend as can be seen from the following figures:

Year	Average No. of Subscribers		
	English	Gujarati/Hindi	Unspecified
1953	1,445	5,478	4,353
1954	1,545	4,655	3,950
1955	1,455	5,551	3,552
1-7-56	1,415	5,455	3,455

The reader will note that there is no improvement in the matter. The Harijan Trust has therefore, to undergo some loss to the tune of thousands of rupees. For example, I have before me the audited account of 1955 from the Managing Trustees which gives the figures of loss as follows:

Harijan (English)	Rs 14,354-13-6
Harijan-Gujarati (Gujarati)	Rs 8,675-9-0
Harijan-Hindi (Hindi)	Rs 8,978-15-9
Total	Rs 32,015-5-5

Obviously the matter is a standing headache for the Trust. And one may reasonably hold that there can be expected no change for the better. Which means that it is time the Trust now comes to a decision on the question.

As the reader knows, the Trust had thought that the English edition be stopped and the other two might well continue. This would be good and desirable also. But thanks to the Act for the working journals recently passed by the Parliament, there is an unexpected difficulty in continuing the two editions even, as the Managing Trustees tell us.

The new Act mentioned above was probably meant to govern the working of big dailies. However, legal opinion is clear that it includes working like the Harijan also.

Now we all know that constantly printing papers entails a lot of money from advertisements. The Government has fixed sufficiently high rates

for the papers also. Along with this the Act provides for loans, pay, allowances, gratuity etc. for the working journals. These rules are compulsory and are felt so high that such papers which might have good advertisement income only can afford to fulfil them. Perhaps such rules might have been felt necessary for them. But for papers like the Harijan conducted by a national trust like the Harijan Trust they do not suit well and if implemented would disturb the pattern of its general organisation adversely. That will increase the burden of expenditure of the papers, while on the other hand there is decreasing number of subscribers. The Trust had forbore having advertisement in the papers, citing that average also. Hence the Trust has before it not only the question of closing the English edition only, but also of closing all the three journals. It is meeting at Delhi on 14.2.56 when it will consider this matter. Its decision will be published along with this in the same issue if that proves otherwise it will be inserted in the next issue.

2-2-56

P.S. The Trust considered the report of the Managing Trustees about the financial position of the three papers in its meeting on the 14th. It decided that the papers be closed from March 1, 1956. That is the issue of February 25, 1956 will be the last issue of these papers. The Managing Trustees will detail her instructions to subscribers in that issue.

Delhi

M. P.

14-2-56

By Special

MAHATMA GANDHI—THE LAST PHASE  
(Introduction by Dr. Rajendra Prasad)

Author: Biography of Mahatma Gandhi dealing with the last phase of his life is in two volumes. The First Volume of nearly 600 pages with 40 pages of photographs is released on 12th February, 1956. Mahatma Gandhi's 50th birthday. The second volume will be published in due course. It will contain equal number of pages. The volumes are priced at Rs 30 each. The registered postage etc. of each volume is Rs 3/- Advance orders accompanied with the amount of price and registered postage etc. will be accepted and given priority in execution. Amount should be sent by M.O.

MAHATMA PUBLISHING HOUSE  
P.O. NEHRUJIAN AMBIPURABH-14

# ANNUAL ACCOUNTS OF NAVABHAY TRUST

## Balance Sheet of Navabhai Trust as at 31st December 1953

FUNDS & LIABILITIES	Rs. only	PROPERTY AND ASSETS	Rs. only
<b>Income and Expenditure Account</b>		<b>Land (in acre)</b>	
Balance as per last Balance Sheet		As per last Balance Sheet	1,23,365-8-8
Income	1,18,877-18-8	Additions (in acre)	
Less Bad Debt written off	275-0-0	As per last Balance Sheet	15,177-11-0
	1,18,602-18-8	Additions during the year	87-1-0
<b>Machinery Expenditure Fund</b>		<b>Furniture and Fittings</b>	
As per last Balance Sheet	1,27,044-0-0	As per last Balance Sheet	75,000-0-0
Additions during the Year	15,000-0-0	Additions during the year	2,625-1-0
	1,42,044-0-0		
<b>Engineers' Provident Fund</b>		<b>Less Deprec. during the year</b>	43,688-5-2
Balance Sheet			2,676-1-0
As per last Balance Sheet	1,77,031-1-41		
Additions during the Year	48,825-0-0	<b>Machinery</b>	
	1,85,856-1-41	As per last Balance Sheet	1,47,205-4-4
<b>Deposits</b>		Additions during the year	23,251-2-0
Bank of India Savings, Capital			
Account as per pass book of the		Less Sales of Machinery	4,00,125-8-0
name of Govdaji's 1948		during the year	9,778-0-0
according to annual accounts	4,000-0-0		1,67,330-1-0
Balance Sheet of Deposits and		<b>Typesetting</b>	
Copyrights and etc.	1,27,264-3-48	As per last Balance Sheet	51,408-1-1
Balance	405-11-8	Additions during the year	20,201-11-0
Less Tax	4,571-10-4		1,50,778-14-0
	1,26,892-3-4	<b>Less Misc. Sales</b>	75-0-0
<b>Loans (included of amounts</b>		<b>Deposits during the year</b>	34,000-0-0
Secured) from the Maratha			28,000-0-0
Devasi Marathi Trust as the			83,724-0-0
equitable Mortgage of land		<b>Type Setting goods etc.</b>	
plus the 10	1,11,702-4-0	Type setting goods, and types	
Unsecured—		manufactured as the present as	
from individuals subject to		valued and certified by the	
collateralisation	11,11,688-8-0	Managing Trustee	1,500-0-0
	32,78,380-11-4	<b>Stock in Trade (in a/c)</b>	
<b>Liabilities</b>		As per last Balance Sheet and	
For expenses	38,878-4-0	included by the Managing Trustee	
For Goods, Books, Misc.		Books	100,000-0-0
debt etc.	1,21,212-0-0	Paper	2,75,000-0-0
	1,60,090-4-0	Press Materials	10,000-0-0
		Printing Materials	1,000-0-0
		Other	2,000-0-0
	Rs. 16,67,284-12-4		1,88,000-0-0
		<b>Advances to Translators, Deposits</b>	
		agreed payments including	
		unapportioned balances	1,80,560-12-0
		<b>Security Deposits (unsecured) :</b>	
		For sales of books etc.	1,94,026-10-0
		For loans, advances for staff	
		against Provident fund	4,500-0-0
		Misc. advances to staff	511-15-0
		Outstanding rent from building	1,000-0-0
			1,95,037-15-0
		<b>Deposit against rent, for</b>	
		integrations made by the Government	15,804-11-0
		<b>Investments</b>	
		Fixed Deposits with the Ahmednagar	
		People's Co-operative Bank, Ltd	
		out of employees' provident fund	1,00,000-0-0
		One fully paid share of the	
		Ahmednagar Peoples Co-op	
		Bank Ltd	10-0-0
			1,00,010-0-0
		<b>Interest accrued on fixed deposits</b>	
		Cash and Bank Balances	
		(in current a/c with Bank)	10,703-0-0
		Postage Stamp on bank	761-11-0
		Cash on hand in the cash book	1,000-10-0
			11,464-11-0

We have audited the above Balance Sheet of the Navabhai Trust as at 31st December 1953 and the Income and Expenditure Account for the year ended upon this date with the books of accounts. We have obtained all the information and explanations we have required in our opinion the above Balance Sheet exhibits a true and correct view of the state of the Trust's affairs according to the best of our information and explanation given to us and to others by the books of the account of the Trust.

Dated: 4-3-1954

M. Mahesh Chandra Bhand,  
Firm, Bombay

MANUBHAI & CO  
Chartered Accountants  
& Auditors

M. N. DAVE  
Accountant

Rs. 16,67,284-12-4  
HYABHAI DESAI  
Managing Trustee

## Income and Expenditure Account of Nangjira Trust for the Year Ended 31st December 1955

EXPENDITURE	Rs. mps.	INCOME	Rs. mps.
To Salaries and Wages (including of President, Board members and others)	2,17,749-11-4	By Income on Printing, Binding, Paper & Type Machinery etc.	4,38,599-4-1
To Postage, Telegram Charges, Despatch, Library and Stationery	5,448-3-4	By Income on Sale of books	1,04,217-10-1
To Telephone and Electric Charges	14,811-8-6	By Income on Proof Reading, Translations etc.	51,156-0-8
To Travelling Expenses, Medical Charges, AMBULANCE Fees and Miscellaneous Expenses	1,09,125-0	By Income on Copyright Fee	1,112-0-0
To Land Revenue	128-0-0	By Rent	
To Insurance Premium	4,119-0-0	Rent of Buildings	27,285-3-4
To Laboratory Expenses, Reagents and Equipment etc. expenses	11,751-1-0	Less Management Tax and	
To Building Repairs	4,241-0-0	Rent paid by Trustee	28,476-12-0
To Income			1,700-3-4
Paid	54,338-8-8	By Income of Land, Estate and	
Less Rent	4,811-0-0	Maintenance charges	1,128-11-4
	39,527-4-8		
To Balance of Expenditure in Journals (Excesses of Salaries, wages, postage, insurance etc.)	4,891-11-4		
To Depreciation			
On Machinery and Types	47,000-0-0		
Furniture & Fixtures	1,481-0-0		
	48,481-0-0		
To Balance taken to Building Fund as Depreciation	48,481-0-0		
	Rs. 4,38,599-4-1		
Detail: 1-2-1956	WASIRAHADJI & CO	S. S. DAVE	SHANKAR D. DESAI
5, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Fort, Bombay	Chartered Accountants & Auditors	Accountant	Managing Trustee

## WOOL INDUSTRY IN VILLAGES

Silk and woollen cloth comes next to cotton cloth in the consumption of cloth in our country. The woollen cloth is not much used in our country on account of our temperate climate. However it is used to a certain extent especially in cold season, from ancient times. Hence the woollen industry is very old. It was flourishing in villages and blankets, carpets, floor rugs,褥垫 and shawls etc. were produced, out of which some were exported to foreign countries such as U.S.A. and U.K. But this industry like other village industries is losing its ground since the latter half of the last century, on account of the competition from the indigenous milk and imported fabrics. If this severe competition is stopped and if the industry is revived, it will give employment to certain people in villages. With this aim in view the A-4-R, V-3-Board has offered some suggestions for the Second Five Year Plan. The following is a summary of the same.

1. Our wool is of low quality, short stapled and ungraded and old techniques are used for different processes of hand-spinning, weaving and finishing. The yield of wool per sheep is also small. So provision for improvement of the quality of wool and technique, and further research in that direction should be undertaken and aided by Government.

2. 2 production centres, 3 central dyeing

plants and 5 spinning centres should be opened and more and better production should be encouraged.

3. The exports of blankets and rugs and woven blankets should be banned and such production should be prohibited by the indigenous mills etc.

4. The Government should purchase all Government requirement of blankets, blanketting cloth, puttees, and bedding cloth, for the defence and other personnel from the village sector and appropriate relaxation of the present specifications for their purchase should be allowed.

5. A price preference of 10% per cent to Government purchases and a rebate of 5 cents in the rupee for all civilian consumption should be allowed.

The implementation of the above programme of encouragement, besides improving the techniques of spinning and weaving, may provide full employment to 36,384 persons and training to 2,680 spinners and 68 weavers, at a total outlay of 453.44 lakhs, of which Rs. 5.80 crores are expenditure and Rs. 1.73 crores are recoverable loans. It will give better and fuller employment to 3 to 4 lakhs, who are wholly or partially engaged in that industry at present. It will also reduce the price of woollen cloth from Rs. 8-13-0 per yard to Rs. 6-11-0. This is a small price at this much cost of development.

V. N. K.

# HARIJAN

Feb 18

1952

## LINGUISTIC DEMANDS OF NON-HINDI AREAS

(By Mr. J. P. Datta)

The Madras Legislature discussed the language problem in India in its session of September, 1950. It was concluded by a Government Resolution which said, "that the Questionnaire issued by the Official Language Commission (Government of India) be taken into consideration."

The proceedings of that debate are interesting from various points of view especially so because they specifically bring out in detail how non-Hindi areas, particularly Madras State, look at the problem and what they wish for themselves about it. This is clearly and categorically brought out in the form of an amendment which was formally moved in the Upper House and discussed in the most serious manner by it. There was no formal amendment of this nature in the Lower House. However, as the debate shows, it is generally agreed with the views expressed in the amendment of the Upper House. I quote the amendment which was introduced in the form of the Resolution.

and on such consideration, the Council resolves to request the Government of Madras to having duly regard to the Questionnaire to transmute the following principles and suggestions in their reply:

(1) That for purposes of administration, the State should use the regional language or languages commonly used and that Hindi should be adopted for the purpose.

(2) That for the better correspondence between the Central Government on the one hand and the State and the local State, the State should utilize the services of translators and interpreters to the extent necessary.

(3) That, so far as the Union Public Service Commission are concerned, the sole just method of ensuring equality of opportunity for people both in the Hindi and non-Hindi speaking areas as laid down in the Constitution would be to permit candidates to choose a language of languages mentioned in the Constitution and to be assessed according to the number of persons speaking such language or languages in the country.

(4) That so far as Court languages are concerned the regional language or languages should be used in the Courts of the State and in the High Courts of the State.

(5) That the language or languages used in the State Legislature should in the regional language or languages and that in Parliament, representatives of the different States should be allowed to address in speech in the regional languages mentioned in the Constitution.

(6) That all public services rendered in the Central Services should be rendered, after their selection on merit, services to pass a test or tests in Hindi if they are from non-Hindi speaking areas and in one of the other languages of the Constitution if they are from a Hindi-speaking area.

(7) That there is no necessity, for using Sanskrit form of words in addition to the common good Sanskrit.

(8) That so far as the medium of instruction in primary, secondary, secondary schools, Universities etc. is concerned the Council is of the opinion that this has been much raised by all educationalists that the mother tongue is the natural medium to be employed by progress. If change should be made in any case it should be decided by the authorities of the particular region.

(9) That finally in the opinion of the Council, the question of improvement of English by a suitable regional language should be dealt with, taking into consideration the possibilities of the regional language being utilized as medium stages of instruction and particularly in regard to higher education, technical education and professional and also the extent to which well-qualified personnel in these higher branches of learning will be available to meet the needs of the changed situation.

(10) That the Legislature should be given the duty of an intermediate language education during the course of University and Higher education with a view to the objects of the mother tongue in the medium of instruction.

At the end, replying to the debate on behalf of the Government, Shri M. Sankaranarayanan Minister in Charge said:

In this connection, he would like to give a hint as to the manner in which the Madras University had prepared, after considering replies to the various queries raised in the questionnaire. I would say in reply that I generally agree with the opinions expressed in the Madras University and I am glad the amendment moved by Mr. J. P. Datta is in line with some or less includes the reply given in the University. I can also say that I generally agree with the broad views expressed in the second part. But I cannot accept the amendment before I could say this, in entirety. The Government cannot accept these three, absolutely in the views expressed in the questionnaire. I have laid out the general view which I have already indicated some months ago at the House of the Government. I have brought here and discussed in order that Government may know what the Government, their replies the views of the Hon. Member and Mr. Datta. Therefore I do hope that the Hon. Member who moved the amendment will not press it.

And the amendment was by leave of the House withdrawn.

However, the reader will easily note that the amendment embodies in a general way, the general opinion of the University, the Legislature and the Government as well. Shortly understood, it might say that it describes how a non-Hindi State would wish its regional language to be used in its offices—educational, administrative, judicial, legislative, etc. The amendment says that Tamil had would like to use Tamil entirely in all these fields.

Now we know that the Constitution of India provides that a State may by law adopt any one or more of the languages in use in the State for all or any of the official purposes of the State. The University is also free to decide for itself Hindi, the Official Language of the Union, cannot be imposed by any authority on a State in place of its regional language. The Madras Legislature may therefore feel assured about it. The question which is noteworthy and important comes hereafter. What will a non-Hindi speaking State do about the Sanskrit-Bharati Hindi, the medium



for inter-caste and Indian affairs." That the Madras Legislature amendment does not say anything about this major point is a big omission. It is in the recognition of this position of Hindi, and not English, that the positive idea of national unity is to be seen and respected. The nation has decided to see that Hindi takes this place of honour and self respect through the willing and enthusiastic efforts of the States and the Universities, particularly of non-Hindi speaking areas. Given the full use of their regional languages to the entire measure expressed by the above amendment, the natural question that follows is, what about implementing the Constitutional provisions about giving to ourselves one common Indian language—Hindi for our common all-India purposes? The answer is equally natural or obvious—the States and the Universities must begin to use their regional languages for the affairs of their regions and simultaneously with that begin at once to equip themselves with the common all-India medium of Hindi by making its compulsory study in all schools and colleges. India's unity requires that this programme is immediately undertaken now on an all-India basis. This together with the Madras amendment would shortly define for us the linguistic rights and duties of non-Hindi areas.

2-2-56

#### **MAHATMA GANDHI — THE LAST PHASE**

(Continued from the previous issue of *Harjan* of 11-2-56)

### **III**

The same regard for the opinion of his colleagues, although he differed from them most intensely, was illustrated by his attitude on the question of the partition of the country. He was uncompromisingly opposed to the partition of India which he had called her "corruption." All Congressmen—whether Hindus or Muslims or of any other faith—were equally strong in their opposition to the two-nation theory and the demand for partition. But the picture changed after the experience of the Congress leaders in the Interim Government. Congress accepted office and Congress leaders became Ministers in the Central Government in September, 1946, as a result of successful negotiations with the British Government, with Mahatma Gandhi's approval. The Muslim League agitation for the partition of the country continued and resulted in serious rioting in different parts of the country. Later when the Muslim League joined the Central Government, its members refused to co-operate with the Congress Ministers even in matters about which there was no difference of opinion. The Central Government felt powerless to maintain peace and order or to restore it if it was disturbed in Free India owing to lack of harmony in the Central Cabinet where the Muslim League members constantly put obstacles in the way of their Congress colleagues. The Congress leaders who were in the Government felt that it was im-

possible to carry on the administration in such conditions. They felt that it was better in the circumstances to let the Muslim League have Pakistan so that their right interests and effectively run the administration at least in the area which would be left. This partition policy was pushed and belatedly revised measures by the high violence and bloodshed which broke out in many places on account of the proposal of the Muslim League and the consequent attitude which it provoked, but he was not prepared to abandon the one-nation theory and accept in its place the two-nation theory propounded by the Muslim League, or even to take the help of the army for suppressing the riots which he said could and should be controlled by popular fighting by appealing to the better instincts of the people of all communities and reminding themselves of necessity in the attempt to quell the violence. Partition based on a wrong theory and brought about by such questionable means he was certain, would do irreparable harm to both Hindus and Muslims—India and Pakistan that he left it to those who were actually in the Government and in charge of running the administration to act according to their judgement instead of following his. Once they decided in favour of partition, he did not oppose them, although he never concealed from them or the country his own opinion. At the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee which considered this question he vigorously supported the stand taken up by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel against those who wanted to raise the standard of rebellion against the old Congress leadership. He did not remain inactive either. Instead of carrying on a propaganda against his own colleagues and setting up barriers, he set about with an amazing energy to repair the vast damage to the country and particularly to communal harmony and peace which preceded and followed partition. His words became commands, his mere presence constituted sufficient to check the blood where the police and the army would have felt powerless or could have succeeded only after much bloodshed. It is the last phase of his life and activity which is particularly dealt with in this book with insight, understanding and restraint and with meticulous regard for accuracy.

India achieved independence but at the cost of her unity. This was not the independence that Gandhiji or Congress had set out to achieve. But Gandhiji saw in it no reason for despair. It was not non-violence that had failed but their promise of non-violence or rather his technique in manipulating the non-violence of his conception on the people. He set about to remedy the flaw. Some of the most fascinating pages of the book are devoted to describing the working of his mind in search of new techniques and the plans that had begun to form in his mind for setting India on the road to the realisation of the new social order of his dreams in the changed circumstances.

—an order based upon unity and peace, equality and universal brotherhood and maximum freedom for all. The time had arrived when with all the experience gained and prestige acquired in the course of the Indian struggle for freedom which he had conducted for more than thirty years, Mahatma Gandhi could exceed the credit of his activities and take up causes in even more extraordinary circumstances and hostile conditions and thus prove that Ahimsa could work wonders even in the most adverse of circumstances. At this stage he was taken away. But the horoscope of his experiment is not yet exhausted and the time and forces that he has released may yet accomplish after his death things undreamt of and even more marvelous than were witnessed in his lifetime.

The work which he had taken in hand was not only the achievement of political freedom but establishment of a social order based on truth and non-violence. This unfinished part of his experiment was perhaps even more difficult than the achievement of freedom in the political struggle the fight was against a foreign power and all could and did either join in it or at least wish it success and give to it their moral support. In establishing the social order of his pattern there was a lively possibility of a conflict arising between groups and classes of our own people. Experience shows that man values his possessions even more than his life because in the former he sees the means for perpetuation and survival through his descendants even after his body is reduced to ashes. That new order cannot be established without radically changing man's mind and attitude towards property and at some stage or other the haves have to yield place to the have-nots. We have seen in our time attempts to achieve a kind of egalitarian society and the picture of it in action after it was achieved. But this was done by and large by the use of physical force. In the result it is difficult if not impossible to say that the instinct to possess has been rooted out or that it will not reappear as an even worse form under a different face. It may even be that like gas kept confined within metal containers under great pressure, or water held behind a big dam, that breaks the barrier, violence will one day sweep back with a violence equal in extent and intensity to what was used to establish and maintain the outward egalitarian form. The enforced egalitarianism continues in its being the seed of its own destruction. The non-usage of dispossessed is possessiveness or the acquisitive instinct. So long as the emphasis is on possession, and more possessions higher and still higher standard of living, the acquisitive or possessive instinct will remain so long as the ideal that is held up to be achieved is one of securing the maximum of material satisfactions, possessiveness is neither suppressed nor eliminated — that were like trying to put out fire by pouring petrol instead of water — but grows by what it feeds

upon. For does it cease to be such — it is possessiveness still whether it is confined to a few only or is shared by many. If egalitarianism is to endure, it has to be based not on the possession of the maximum of material goods whether by few or by all but on voluntary, enlightened renunciation — denying oneself what cannot be shared by others or can be enjoyed only at the expense of others. This calls for substitution of spiritual values for purely material ones. The paradox of material satisfactions that is sometimes expected with progress thus drops neither spells peace nor progress. "With the best will in the world," the great thinker and psychologist Jung has warned us "we cannot bring about a paradise on earth and even if we could, in a very short time we should have degenerated in every way. We should take a delight in destroying our paradise, and then, just as foolishly, marvel at what we had done."

Mahatma Gandhi showed us how the acquisitive instinct inherent in man could be transcended by the adoption of the ideal of trusteeship by those who have for the benefit of all those who have not so that instead of leading to exploitation and conflict it would become a source of incentive to the unsharpened and progress of society. The difficulty in achieving this ideal is tremendous and a mass of persons like Gandhi alone could have achieved it on a mass scale. What Gandhi wanted was something in the nature of what Yoda Shave is attempting today. He wanted people to produce and to possess not for themselves alone but for all, and to regard possessions in terms of one's own requirements — upon a high, too, a voluntary check was to be put — as theft. This is the only egalitarianism that can be lasting and it can be founded only on the rock of Truth and Ahimsa.

The central aim of Gandhi's teaching was meant not for his country or his people alone but for all mankind and is valid not only for today but for all time. He wanted all men to be free so that they could grow unsharpened into full self-realisation. He wanted to abolish the exploitation of man by man in any shape or form because both exploitation and oppression to it are a sin not only against society but against the moral law, the law of our being. The means to be compatible with that end therefore he said, have to be purely moral, merely, unadorned truth and non-violence. He had been arrested by many foreigners to visit their countries and deliver his message to them directly but he declined to accept such invitations as, he said, he must make good what he claimed for Truth and Ahimsa in his own country before he could launch on the gigantic task of winning or rather converting the world. With the attainment of freedom by India, by following his method though in a limited way and in spite of all the imperfections in its practice, the condition precedent for taking his message to other

countries was to a certain extent fulfilled. And although the partition had caused wounds and raised problems which claimed all his time and energy, he might have been able to turn his attention to this larger question even in the midst of his distractions. But Providence had willed otherwise. May some individual or nation arise and carry forward the effort launched by him till the experiment is completed, the work finished and the objective achieved!

*Rajendra Prasad*

Rashtrapati Bhawan,  
New Delhi,  
New Year's Day, 1956

### POST-BASIC EDUCATION (By Dr K. L. Shrivasthi)

(From the Inaugural address at the First Post-Basic Education Conference held at Bangalore, Mysore, 1955 January to 22nd January 1956.)

#### I

##### Outline System of National Education

The type of basic education against traditional education which started in 1937 has been not so far as theory is concerned. Basic education has been accepted as the pattern of national education and efforts are being made to convert existing schools into Basic schools. Possible however the tagged system theory and conversion of existing institutions into Basic pattern has not taken place so rapidly as we would have desired. Factors of conservatism are strongly entrenched not only in the educational administration but they also find favour with parents and teachers. Basic education must therefore continue the fight till the whole educational system is transformed to suit national needs and requirements.

##### Point 1: Traditional Education

To my mind the maintenance of Basic education and traditional education presents the most serious problem to Indian education today. In areas where basic education has been introduced it is confined mainly to rural areas and the rest of the schools in urban areas continue to be part education in the traditional manner. Secondary Education Boards and Institutions of higher education give no recognition to these institutions and the students going out of the Basic schools have to take a further entrance examination for being admitted to the High Schools. Many post-Basic institutions have also been started but their students have had difficulty in finding admission to the Universities. Since the Boards and Universities are autonomous bodies the Central or the State Governments have no direct control over them. In this way, with the introduction of Basic education two parallel systems of education have been created in Indian education. A nation cannot have two parallel systems of education; for masses and classes without endangering its national solidarity.

##### Classroom in Masses

The main purpose of Basic education is to minimise the differences between the standards of classes and masses, but instead of doing this it has widened the gap. We have now three types of schools in our educational system—Basic schools, High Schools and Public Schools. These schools represent the three different strata in our society.

Basic schools are situated mostly in rural areas and serve the children of the rural communities. They are not

integrated with the rest of the system and if the children wish to continue their studies further, they can only go to post-Basic schools which again are not recognised by the Universities.

The High Schools continue to serve the people of middle classes, whose children may hope to reach the Higher Studies through University education.

Thus in every State, Public Schools are now being opened up where every day philosophies advocated by the Government of India, educational principles it has set the basis of wealth. These schools thus become the preserve of the rich.

How can this situation continue in a society which is trying to build itself on a scientific pattern? In a free country like ours we cannot have a rigid conformity in our system but to make the educational system to perpetuate existing class structure of our society will undermine the very basis of a democratic society. If India is to emerge as a strong nation, we must have an educational system which will give full opportunity of growth to every child, whatever his social or economic status may be.

##### Point 2: Class

A democratic society cannot have two separate systems of education for the rural and the urban people. The poorest or the poorest may differ from villages to villages, from villages to towns, and from towns to large cities, but the system cannot maintain any barrier to prevent one class of people to reach the highest ladder in the educational system. If we allow two parallel systems to continue side by side we shall only appreciate the differences which already exist in our society. They will strengthen social stratification which will stand in the way of social cohesion and which may ultimately arrest social progress.

The two systems must therefore be integrated so that villages and cities may both maintain their share in the building up of a homogeneous united nation. Having accepted their education in the pattern of national education we should convert all the schools into Basic schools and integrate the two systems into a single national system.

#### II

##### Difficulties in the Way

There are some difficulties in the way of integration. The first difficulty is with regard to the place of English in the Basic and post-Basic schools.

##### 1. Reversal of English

The Secondary Education Commission had recommended that English may be taught as an optional subject at the High School stage. This was a compromise which was entered into between the two extreme positions—one which believed that English should be taught as a compulsory subject at the Basic stage and another which held that English should have no place in the curriculum upto the end of the Basic stage. Since Independence nothing happened. English language has continuously remained and the partition has again swung back to favour of English. There is now a growing feeling among the people that lack of adequate knowledge of English may lead to a general deterioration of standards standards particularly in science and technology and this may ultimately affect our national development. It is argued that while we must not dismiss our efforts in the development of Hindi and other regional languages it would be a great mistake to neglect English. Hindi can only help us in making our contacts with the rest of the world but which today opens the door for us in Science and Technology. It has even been suggested that English should be treated as a second official language.

##### 2. Post-Basic

There is another aspect of Basic education which needs to be considered in converting the ordinary schools into Basic schools. Traditionally has always been considered an essential aspect of Basic education. The famous Bengali poet Tagore said that school is school as it depends on various factors and it may be situated in different ways—in the improvement of schools or giving primary

in children, but we give up the whole question of Hindu education if we allow the children to play with such materials and lose sight of the protective aspect inherent. This has become in the past important as we enter into the second Five Year Plan.

#### C. Foundation of Social progress school

One of the most important recommendations of the Secondary Education Commission was that greater emphasis should be laid on creative and productive work at the secondary stage. It also recommended diversification of courses so that students in larger number may take up agricultural, industrial, commercial or other practical courses. A careful study of the Commission's recommendations will show that studies learnt from Hindu in secondary stage has been wanted. This work during the early years of a secondary school will develop naturally from the work of a Hindu school.

A Hindu school aimed to make a contribution of the principle of Hindu education at the secondary stage. It is expected that at the end of these courses majority of students will be able to find jobs in different vocations or self-employment in domesticated units of production as envisaged in the second Five Year Plan. Only a limited number of students who can derive benefit from village education will proceed to higher educational institutions. The majority of students will however continue their education at the secondary stage and the success of the new system of re-organising depends largely on the extent to which the students going out of the secondary education are equipped for different vocations.

#### Culture and Education

Liberal education without restriction has proved futile in the past. It failed because our culture must permeate each other. The youth must make their hands—like working as farmers, fishermen and mechanics so that they may enjoy the fruits of culture. Without such a ground work where to stand? What we should aim at producing is men who possess both culture and expert knowledge in some special direction. Their expert knowledge will give them the ground to start from, and their culture will lead them as deep as philosophy and as high as art.

#### General or Vocational Education

Our High Schools which have served us for the last hundred years must now be transformed to serve the masses who own their production through manual labour. If we are to decide on "basic learning" facilities, education is laid on the secondary education, it will fail to serve the needs of the masses and the youth will continue to have university, college and vocational. A model purpose school, to realize a double-purpose school. It will give vocational training to majority of children so that immediately after leaving the High Schools they can take up some vocation. At the same time it will provide advance courses for those students who wish to proceed to the Universities for higher education in arts or science or professional studies.

There is however one apprehension which must be cleared up. Vocational education at the High School stage is not inconsistent of its nature. It indicates a programme of general education, one which gives a sense of direction and vision to the youth. There is no incompatibility between general education and vocational education. General education which does not prepare a person for some specific vocation is meaningless. In education whatever two definite questions you develop life. On the other hand if we confine general education, vocational education becomes mechanical and reduces man to a beast.

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#### INITIATION IN ANTHA-KITAMAN (By Vinoba)

(From the address at the proper meeting at Solikonda)

There was a phase in history when society rose after having created the institution of marriage, had had been able to replace the sex instinct. In those days, it was the established custom among the Hindus and Buddhists to have a number of wives. Values have since changed and the society has now been able to achieve Brahmacharya—renunciation of sex instinct in the case of possession of wealth but I often find these days that the people instead of taking pride in being free of cohabiting that they possess big lands in their own name initiation that even of ownership in their lands in field and privilege in the matter of those who are in possession of big houses.

I do not believe that Antha-Kitaman can be created either through violent revolution or by legislation. It is better that I have been living all these days in with this and through love and compassion.

The Bhavadra society shall have achieved its purpose only when those who are in possession of rich lands and big properties in a voluntarily renounced their right of ownership in favour of the society. I am waiting for the dawn of the day when the people will not only renounce their lands but will also come forward to take up the work of Bhavadra and declare that it was theirs and not Vinoba's responsibility in the fact that some wealthy families in this country. If they come out with such a resolve and give from village to village to collect land gifts, they will not only renounce ownership of their land but will also take up the work of Bhavadra. Then I can often declare that I am working for the Indians and only of the poor but of the rich as well. I do so because I believe that there does not and cannot exist any class in the history of India. It is the basic principle of Hinduism that there is no conflict in the real interests of the different classes and communities and that the whole goal of a man is brought about by one and the same method, such as Bhavadra.

This means that those who are blessed with more fortune should feel that they can no longer enjoy life all alone. They should therefore come forward to part with the proper portion of their property for the needy and the poor.

It should also be borne in mind that this is applied to every individual whether rich or poor. Just as all water coming either from the heights of the Himalayas or the plains, run in the same direction to the sea, so also all those who are in possession of houses, big or small, should come to help those who possess nothing. Let them find the joy of giving. It is a common experience that the joy of one who gives water to the thirsty is more than the joy of the thirsty one who is the recipient of water. When those who possess land and property start realize this they will not only donate their lands but will also take up the responsibility of this work. They will find out only one Bhavadra and the society but will give the way for a peaceful revolution (Shanti, says Gandhi) in society.

(Reprinted from Harijan, January 17, 1948)

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TWO ANNAS

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Readers will have learnt from the previous issue of February 18 about the decision of the Trust to cease publication of all the three editions of Harijan from their new year, i.e. March, 1956. Subscribers will, therefore, be entitled to the return of the unexpired balance of their subscription. As soon as possible they will be individually informed of the amount due to them.

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## ACHARYA MAHENDRA DEV (By Mahatma P. Mehra)

It is very difficult indeed to learn that Acharya Mahendra Dev passed away two days back. He was suffering from asthma for years, which had been severe for some time last. He had gone to South India for a rest cure, where he breathed his last.

Acharyaji was one of the chiefy ornaments of culture in the field of national education. He was the Principal of the Kashi Vidyapeeth, which position he served with distinction for a good number of years. Some in Gujarat will remember that he came to address the convention of the Gujarat Vidyapeeth in 1925. His contribution to the growth and development of national education has been great and valuable.

Both by nature and choice he was an educationist and a scholar patriot. He was a keen student of our national history and civilization. The fight for freedom that began in 1857-58 drew him into its fold and he gave his whole lifetime to it. He was one of the prominent Congressmen of his home province U.P. in the service of which he dedicated his whole life.

During 1930-34 there were many side movements of the nation whose waves vibrated towards Gandhism. Acharyaji was one of them. He was a close student of the philosophy of Gandhism and took active part in propagating it in India. In 1948 he became a prominent member and later the President of the Gandhian Party of India. Though, due to asthma he could not take much active part in the deliberations of the meeting of the Party a few days ago, he interested himself as much as he could in its deliberations and guided them even from his sick-bed. Only a few days thereafter he breathed his last at the age of 85. I hereby pay my humble tribute of love and gratitude to this great scholar-patriot. May he rest in peace.

21.2.56

(From Gujarat)

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## ENGLISH ECONOMIC CRISIS

(By Wilfred Wellock)

Conrad Hackett, the English politician of the Third Party Movement, in the *Fourth Year* of November 11, 1949 discusses the recent economic crisis in England and says (p. 41): "The search of his head since 1945—and after that—'There they were looking for something to underwrite'—a way with our economy—that it is unstable and insecure."

The crisis according to him is not merely economic. It is demanded in the way or pattern of present British economy. He tries to explain his thesis and probes into the reasons and suggests a way out. The following is reproduced from that article.

The way is in the nature of the Christian ideal of knowledge. This vision brings out another point which is important from the international point of view.

The colonial powers of the West built up their high standard of living through the exploitation of their former colonies. Both Asia and Africa owe to the needs of their own freedom and independent growth the old established order and economy of these colonial empires are bound to be disturbed. They will be required to erect their plans and habits of living here of the vanished colonial order. It may, apparently mean breaking of the artificially high standard of living maintained in the case of their colonial subjects regarding their markets, that is on the basis of their backwardness, poverty and even forced unemployment. There is therefore bound to be in a process of comparative breaking down of those so called standards in the Western way of living. Mr. Wellock describes this as a "qualitative or a quantitative but a qualitative deterioration and that a new pattern of personal and social life."

We do better say in the *Standard* of a new economy for our country. It is worthwhile observing the words of economic and social life character, in that we might save ourselves from blindly copying them, borrowed as they are, from the new world.

1949-50

W. F. I

We are again in an economic crisis, a minor one it is true, but of some significance in that it is the fourth of its kind since 1945.

In each crisis restraint in the consumption of goods and services has been demanded in order to step up exports and ensure our supplies. Now we must export more than half of our food and all our raw materials with the exception of coal and a certain amount of iron ore and wool, our economy is exceedingly vulnerable. It operates on a razor edge—a slight fall in our exports sends up the danger signal.

Our prosperity in the early post-war years lulled us into a false security. The battered condition of the greater part of Europe presented Britain and America with a monopoly of the world's markets, and this fact, plus American aid, enabled Britain to restore much of her lost financial and economic power and even to board her Welfare State. It also tempted her politicians and economists to promise a future of rising prosperity under the stimulus of an "expanding economy".

By 1946, however, the battered countries had sufficiently recovered to re-enter the competition for the world's markets and supplies,

and in an to embrace the promise of an "expanding economy".

But when a dozen nations are streaming the leech by the hot spending of an expanding economy the future becomes insupportable.

Moreover, the under-developed two-thirds of the world are going to demand a larger share of the earth's resources. They will import fewer and fewer consumer goods, but more and more capital goods for some years, after which they hope to produce their own.

In this complex and unworkable situation Western politicians and economists are baffled, while the big industrial Powers, in fear of the future, are stretching every nerve to secure maximum monopoly power over vital raw materials.

A major economic expense is that hush-banded. Britain's expanding economy is demanding more markets than can be created in present competitive conditions. Hence home consumption must be restrained, production speeded up and exports given priority. But should run be given to profits as happened in the 1930s budget, wage claims will be channelled quite what way.

That comes the demand for rationing. But also from a dozen countries simultaneously? So where lies hope?

That is the terrible impasse of a decaying, materialistic civilization.

Its solution is the long-term substitution of a qualitative for a quantitative civilization, and thus a new pattern of personal and social life.

The present economy throws all the emphasis on money, or materialism consumption of goods and services. It tends to produce a cycle of self-indulgence, comfort, luxury, mass materialism which now includes all the major sports, entertainments on top, tabloid news and high-speed wheezing around.

But is this the good life for man proclaimed by the prophets of all ages and by the socialist leaders of forty years ago?

False prophets have since warned us that invention would inaugurate an age of creative leisure in which "new arts would bloom of better mould."

It has not done so.

Instead our age is beset with demands for money, which now buys almost everything which the majority expects with life.

From this way of life will come the most heated struggle for world markets and supplies yet known—and the third world war, should failure in this quest bring widespread economic breakdown and a new wave of Communism.

The alternative is a way of life which substitutes material demands to spiritual principles and values, and which, by the exercise of responsibility in daily labour by creative self-expression and the culture of the vital relationships of an

organic community develops whole persons and integrated communities.

Insiderism would prove that to achieve these ends it would be necessary to resort to racial communities and a largely self-sufficient agricultural economy by native people at every level: local, national and international.

### CASTE AND CASTRUM

Is 'castalism' the same as caste? 'Castalism' is more closely identified about than defined and marked down. All evils of society are not caste-isms. Then what exactly is 'castalism'?

Suppose I am knocked down on the street by your car. I cannot possibly say that it is 'castalism' though you may be a Brahmin and I a Harijan. This is a genuine accident.

If a fire wine breaks down and a pedestrian is electrocuted you cannot blame the caste of the electrical engineer or the petrol-burner for that.

But you if a traveller refuses to allow you to sit by his side in a railway compartment on the ground that you belong to a particular caste, it is downright 'castalism'.

If your son is denied admission in a college even after he has fulfilled all the prescribed requirements for admission on the basis of merit, just because he is the son of his father who belongs to a particular community, this is 'castalism'.

But suppose the level of a son of years who does not satisfy the prescribed rules for admission in the college, applies after the expiry of time and filing up of all rolls, it can also be called 'castalism' when you utter the word. Here you are the reflector of evil and the instigator in the victim.

We have seen a suggestion\* made in all good faith that there should be a legislation prohibiting the use of caste names. "This kind of a little thing" it is claimed, "will go a long way to make the disastrous caste-system a thing of the past." No doubt, law-making has come out to be one of the major national enterprises in post-independence India. But it should be seen that the environment of law which is meant for rule-governing and regulating the behaviour of people does not turn out to be an engine for smothering these very liberties. If you once begin making legislation of that type, you won't know where to stop. Today you want to prevent by law the use of such words as Pillai, Madhavar, Iyengar or Chettiar, tomorrow you will require legislation for surnames, parishadikas or parashadikas, just all these should indicate the caste of a man. We are unable to find any extraordinary wisdom in forcing people by law to drop their caste-

names. It is far wiser to tell people that they are free to do so.

Tikka, Gandhi, Bose, Nehru, Patel, Bhave — are these not caste-names? If caste-names by themselves are a driving factor how could these men using caste-names become commanding figures? What divides is not a few letters but our small-mindedness. What we require is purity of mind, experience of heart and chastening of intellect. We require to develop character and prudence for our behaviour.

'Castalism' seems to be working in people's mind as a sort of charm as a result of which some superstitions as to the ways of eradicating the evil are springing forth in the Press. But unfortunately most people think over the problem in terms of coercion. Inter-caste marriage being the 'only cure' for 'castalism', asks one † why not a legislation to the effect that preference would be given to Government jobs to those who marry outside their caste?

Inter-caste marriage may or may not prove to be an all-cure of the social evils in India. But it should be clearly seen that no healthy social change can be brought about by a sort of a bribery though it might be instituted by the government itself. In matters social and personal an intelligent government should also know how to keep within its jurisdiction.

Angry aggressive social reformers who go about ferociously denouncing things and putting forth their steam-roller suspicions do not see the point that our attention requires to be focused on things that matter and not on compulsion and that we require patience and restraint. They just do not understand how they attack 'castalism' in people's minds by setting in motion wrong movements of their psyche by their wrong approaches to the problem.

The masonry in the basement of 'castalism' goes up and down. 'Castalism' sometimes walks on its head, sometimes on its legs. The evil may be associated both with higher and lower castes as called. So, the evil cannot be so blessing that or that caste but in tackling the evil itself as and where it arises. Then all wrongs done by an individual need not necessarily arise from his belongingness to caste. Evils of various, certainly not less serious and vile, do exist in societies having no caste-system. There is such a thing as human folly which is independent of caste-consciousness.

What we require is a scientific approach to the problem, a readiness to undertake infinite pains to understand the entire situation completely on the basis of observation and analysis. 'Castalism' when approached with a free, fair, unbiassed and unprejudiced mind can prove to be a most fascinating study.

(From The Tribune, Evening October, 1955)

\* The morning Express Tribune, October 10, 1955, October 1955.

\* Bhambhani's correspondence column, August 21, '55

## HAND-MADE PAPER INDUSTRY

Paper is an important necessity of the modern age. Day by day its use is increasing. Before the mechanized mills started the production they were made by hand, were of good quality, used to last long and remained unharmed from the effects of the weather. Even today they are used for account books and for important documents in the industry as a whole has come to a standstill. If this industry is encouraged it can help to increase the production of paper and can also provide employment to many persons. These possibilities can be seen from the draft plan prepared by the Khadi and Village Industries Board, for incorporation in the Second Five Year Plan in India. In India 1.1 lbs. paper is used per capita per year. In England and America it is from 250 to 350 lbs. We have only 18 per cent of literacy while there almost all are literate. As with the spread of literacy, it is certain that use of paper will increase.

Even if per capita consumption figures 18 lbs. per year the whole country will require 1.5 million tons. Hand-made paper industry can very well help to supply this requirement. Even if the school children are taught this handicraft, by working for 1½ to 2 hours a day in addition to their curriculums each can produce 18 lbs. of paper per year. The production can also be increased by starting factories of hand-made paper.

In India there are 18 large-scale paper mills, producing 1.5 lakh tons of paper per year. They employ 12,000 workers. There is little difference between their present production and their total production capacity. So there is little chance of increasing production through them. Hence for expansion we have to think along different lines. It can be done by handicraft without starting new mechanized mills, and it can also help to solve the problem of unemployment. So A-I Khadi and Village Industries Board has drawn up a scheme for the development of this industry and its summary is as follows:

In 1951-54 consumption of paper was 1,80,000 tons and it will be 2,20,000 tons in 1955-56. To meet this demand, the Board has suggested the following common production programme:

At present we meet the demand from supply of 1,45,000 tons from the mills, 45,000 tons through import and 87 tons from hand-making. In place of this, the Board has suggested that in 1955-56 mills may supply 1,70,000 tons, import may be reduced to 48,500 tons and 4,400 tons of paper should be produced by hand.

To do this (1) the import of the paper which can be hand-made will have to be completely stopped, (2) mills will have to be prohibited to produce the papers of the khadi type and (3) the import from foreign countries will have to be restricted to 48,000 tons only.

For hand-made paper the Board has suggested the following programme:

(1) To establish 88 co-operative units employing 108 workers each, manufacturing paper on the basis of a week's output, 1000 finished half-sheets. They will produce 2000 tons of paper.

(2) To establish 400 cottage units each employing 2 to 4 families and employing about 10 persons. They can produce 2000 tons at the rate of 5 tons each. And also to start 400 school units, which can produce 400 tons at the rate of 1 ton each.

Thus totally 4,400 tons of hand-made paper worth Rs 52875 lakh will be produced, and 12,000 additional persons will get employment.

To implement this plan, the Board has suggested to spend Rs 5 to 10 lakh for the Central Organization. Rs 675 lakh as an aid for training. Rs 2500 lakh for buildings, equipments, machinery etc. Rs 20 lakh as loan for recurring capital to the production units, and also Rs 2500 lakh as subsidy to the hand-made paper, so that it can compete in the market.

Thus the total expenditure is estimated to be 125-40 lakhs. If the plan is implemented in right spirit, there is a great scope for the development of this industry.

T. K. K.

## PNEUMATIC TYRES FOR BULLOCK CARTS (By J. C. Kumbhkar)

A New Delhi news item lately states that the Advisory Council for Transport will meet in the first week of February to consider the advisability of replacing heavy tyre wheels of bullock carts by pneumatic tyres. It is therefore, necessary for us to consider the various aspects of this case.

May we for a moment stop to consider independently the problem from the viewpoint of the bullock and from that of the villages. In the latter the danger is that over-ambitiousness about tyres may be, yet they are the parties most affected by our conclusions and therefore merit our attention.

### The Bullock's Viewpoint

The dynamics of the question can prove nothing unless we consider them in terms of life: the best way of testing the efficiency of pneumatic-tired carts is not by calculating mathematically the load and the pull, but by comparing the performance of the same pair of bullocks under exactly the same circumstances excepting for the change in wheels.

Such experiments were carried out at the Central Motor Carts Ponds at Bharu. On public road with a load of 1 ton the, a bullock of ten miles was covered in four hours and five minutes by the cart with ordinary country cart wheels, and in two hours and fifty eight minutes with pneumatic equipment. This makes out a 70 per cent increase in efficiency. On private road the performance took four hours and fifty six minutes with the country cart wheel, and three hours and forty minutes with pneumatic equipment, thus showing a 24 per cent increase in efficiency.\*

The loads for bullock traffic should be heavy but may well need to avoid heavy gradients while a motor road of any gradient may be expected to be a change of pace in the use but for its speed the road should be straight. These two requirements clash, the pull on the bullock becomes very heavy on a rising gradient. This drawback is compensated when the cart has more freely moving

\* For the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research Publication Agriculture and Cattle Book No. 106, Vol. V, Part 11, page 602.





# THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY MEDIUM

(By Jagabandhu P. Das)

The University of Madras has published its answer to the questionnaire issued by the Official Language Commission, as adapted by its Synthesis. The following is from what it said in regard to the question of the eventual medium of instruction.

"An answer in its Hindi. Eventually the medium may be the mother-tongue or the regional language. Inter-University migration of students and teachers affects only a small proportion of the total and for this purpose it would be futile to have a common medium in all Universities. So far as teachers are concerned, specialisation has come in vogue and it is a decreasing number that can find opportunities of employment in other parts of the country either in the teaching profession or in any other capacities."

The answer from one of the oldest Universities of India is significant from various points of view. It is also a pointer to show in what direction the wind in the academic sphere is blowing in the South.

The answer declares that the medium of University instruction must be the regional language. This is a sound proposition, and well may all Universities and State Governments declare that as an unanimously adopted principle. Let not previous sins of the nation be allowed to be visited about discussing this proposition which is accepted by all free nations of the whole world.

The answer also brings out a sort of hesitation or gague mentality that is unfortunately a common attribute of our Universities today. This is primarily due to the universal and anti-national use of English as the medium for more than a century. Looking to such a long period, such conservatism is natural, one may agree. But it cannot be allowed to degenerate itself into a reactionary doctrine. Such a fear will come true if the Universities are not progressive and start in implementing the change-over from English to the regional language. To do so they must realise the urgency of this vital and fundamental change in our educational system and begin to move.

There is a school of thought which says that Hindi, the all-India common language, might replace English as the medium. The Madras University answer above rejects this idea. In doing so it replies to one important argument of that school, viz. the inter-University migration of students and teachers. The answer is unexceptional in its first part where it says, it "affects only a small proportion of students." As regards teachers, what it says is not so. It says that "poor children has come at stay." Is it true? If so, is it good or desirable? Cannot something be done which may be helpful to avoid it as far as possible?

It is here that the Gujarat University has shown considerable lead among the Universities in India. It has decided that Gujarat shall be the medium. Notwithstanding that, it is laid down that non-Gujarati-knowing students and

teachers will have the option to use Hindi as the medium if they so desire. And for the transition it is provided that they might also use English. What is noteworthy is that this is being executed and it is planned that the process of the change-over will be completed in the near future.

The reader will see that there is a definite attempt to meet the requirements of migration. The attempt is based on the assumption that in the eventual pattern of educational reconstruction a student in a University will know his own language, will know Hindi as a second language, and also English as the third. The Universities will be bilingual in the sense that while they will generally use their own regional languages as the medium they will also allow the use of the *Asar Bhasa* Hindi by non-regional students and teachers, thus facilitating their migration. Hindi will be the inter-University medium of intercourse also. Only thus working, can we avoid serious parochialism and also have for us an all-India language for Academic and national unity and common endeavour. Just as Hindi alone as the medium in non-Hindi areas is wrong and rejected, so also in regional language alone will not be proper unless we reject Hindi as the all-India language. This we can do only in the path of wrecking the Constitution, where it provides for Hindi. Non-Hindi-speaking States and Universities will beware of this. There is an equally strong warning for the Hindi-alone-medium school as it will also lead to a similar end, as its position is vitally alike both educationally as well as from the point of view of the spirit of India's Constitution and her unity.

One point at the end. I have said that English will be a third language. This is because we need to use English books even when we teach through our languages. This will meet with the initial difficulty of not having suitable books at once. As a matter for that, we will eventually have books not only in our own languages but Hindi also, for use in our Universities. English books will be there also.

This consideration should lighten the Universities to begin the change-over without any fear of loss of efficiency, standards etc. Rather, with one's own language as the medium, a student will learn better and quicker. And provided suitable textual and seminar methods are adopted and use of the library promoted and encouraged, we might rest assured that University education and discipline as well will improve with the change-over. The only thing needed is, we must have faith in the strength and vitality of growth and development of our own languages, or, in ourselves, and must begin to work in a joint effort of all our teachers and learned men as a great venture for reorganizing real people's Universities in India from the narrow and closed class activity that they are today, thanks to alien rule and the language English.

## "MY RELIGION" \*

(By Bhawanee Dasgupta)

As Gandhi's life consisted in nothing but working to preserve his religion in the heart of his study, an attempt has been made in this volume to present to the reader extracts from Gandhi's writings and speeches, which will give a fairly full picture of Gandhi's religion.

The task has not been easy. The very fact that religion was the encompassing of Gandhi's activities means that all that he said and did throughout his public career, not only in the realm of religion proper but also in the spheres of politics, economics and social life, became relevant to this volume. For him a religion which did not concern itself with every side of life was no religion at all. That being the case, no account of his religion can be adequate which does not present his entire philosophy of conduct, whether in individual or social life.

Consequently we have had a very wide field to cover. At the same time to keep this volume small, we have had to select very carefully, seeking however in the process of elimination not to leave out anything of significance.

Gandhi was born a Hindu. But his Hinduism was his own. It had its roots firm in ancient Hinduism but it grew and developed in the light of his contact with other religions, more especially Christianity, as will be seen from Section Two of this volume. He sought to drink at the spring of all religions and therefore he felt that he belonged to every religion. And yet if he had to have a label, the label he preferred and which was his not only by right of birth but also intrinsically, was Hinduism, the religion of his forefathers. In learning from every religion with which he came in contact Gandhi was not by any means doing injustice to Hinduism or departing from its essential teachings. For the genius of Hinduism itself through all its long history has always been to assimilate and assimilate whatever new element it came up against. Not being tied down to a creed or to a founder, it was thus free to learn, grow and develop. Gandhi illustrates in himself the positive spirit of Hinduism which has kept it ever fresh, ever living and ever growing. Indeed it may be truly said that in this respect in Gandhi's Hinduism found its own soul.

Hinduism had in the past together with Buddhism, its offspring, influenced all the known corners of the then civilised world, from India to China and Japan. Today through Gandhi's Hinduism a underlying rebirth, and India's message of peace and non-violence is listened to with respect by all the nations. There is no doubt that if the religion of Gandhi could

spread throughout the length and breadth of this land, India could still be a powerful factor in winning the world from materialism, warlike and strife which are threatening mankind with complete destruction.

Gandhi's message, however, is not only for India but for all the world. As he himself said he did not seek to transplant only the spirit of Hinduism but the spirit of all religions, which, according to him, is love of God expressing itself in love of fellow-beings. His aim is therefore not that others should become Hindus but that Christians, Buddhists, Muslims and others should live up to the best teachings of their own religions. Only then, he expected, man can live in peace with his fellowmen and promote each other's welfare. Both Hindus and non-Hindus should therefore find a challenge, inspiration and guidance in the living of the good life, from a study of this book.

Coming to limitations of space we could give but a bare outline of Gandhi's views on social affairs. Those who would like fuller details may turn to other books published by the Narayana Publishing House, Ahmedabad-1, such for example as *Sarvodaya*,<sup>1</sup> *Towards Non-violent Socialism*,<sup>2</sup> *Women and Social Justice*,<sup>3</sup> *Removal of Untouchability*,<sup>4</sup> *For Fearless*<sup>5</sup> and *Shree Shree*.<sup>6</sup>

The arrangement of the material in this book is altogether ours, as well as the titles of chapters and articles. A glossary of non-English words is added for the benefit of readers unfamiliar with them. Dates are attached to the writings quoted here from the *Young India*<sup>7</sup> and the *Myopia*<sup>8</sup> Gandhi's weeklies. In regard to quotations from books by Gandhi, it may be of interest to know that the *Myopia*<sup>9</sup> was written in 1906, *From Fearless*<sup>10</sup> in 1920, *Untouchables*<sup>11</sup> a pamphlet<sup>12</sup> was first published in book-form in Gujarati in 1906 and in English in 1931, and the *Autobiography*<sup>13</sup> in 1927 and 1929. *Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi* was published by Narayan & Co., Madras, first edition in 1927 and fourth edition in 1952.

Bombay,

November, 1965

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\*The *Young India* was published from 1919-1944 and the *Harjan* was published from 1955 till the end of February 1966 with two issues.

<sup>1</sup>Using the Editor's Note to the Collection published by the Narayana Publishing House, Ahmedabad-1, Price Rs. 1, Postage etc. Rs. 1.

# HARIJAN

Feb. 23

1938

## THE LAST ISSUE

(By Nagendra P. Sen)

In the previous issue of 18-2-38 I had described the circumstances under which it was decided to close the publication of the three leading Indian papers. It is natural to feel regret for this. However I think the feeling will not be as intense or keen as it was three years ago when it was suddenly decided. I say so because I feel that looking from all sides of the matter, the time for taking such a step is ripe enough now. Therefore I hold that the decision of the Nagendra Trust is timely.

These papers have given a very valuable contribution to keeping alive the Gandhian Age of India's modern history. They were started for this purpose. Gandhiji started *Young India* and *Vandana* in 1926-27, a few years later was started the *Awake Magazine*. This began the first stage of these papers.

In 1930-32 they came to be closed consequent upon the action of the British Government against our fight for freedom. Similar crises necessitated Gandhiji's famous fast unto death in July in 1932. As we know the fast was successful by the movement for removal of untouchability. The three papers started again under their new names of the *Workers*, and they continued to be issued till the advent of freedom as its witness and bold messenger.

Gandhiji passed away in 1948. Some felt then that as his voice was hushed with him, it would not be right to continue the three papers which were Gandhiji's voice as it were. The papers were accordingly stopped.

Against this there was another equally strong view which held that the papers should still continue to expound and guide the people on Gandhian lines in the new stage of reconstruction as well. The trustees agreed with the latter view, and the papers were restarted in April, 1948 under the editorship of late Shri K. D. Madhwarao.

The history of the papers since then is fresh to the readers. The most noteworthy change in the new phase of the papers was that they began to function in a period when they could not have the benefit of soaring on the wings of the actual fight for freedom, but must plod on the dreary path of constructive activities, say with halting-start speed. We might therefore well say that the papers entered quite a new stage of their career. First they could not really be the physical voice of Gandhiji was obvious, as he was no more with us. However they were undoubtedly Gandhiji's papers, and as such they were rightly expected

to carry on Gandhian lines in a direct or indirect manner according to present-day conditions and principles.

To do such a job when Gandhiji was no more with us was bound to be rather hard and difficult. The reason is obvious. There had begun to arise in our midst differences of ideas about not only more or every stage of implementing the national programme of reconstruction. This could be observed happening even when Gandhiji was, with us for the few months after the advent of independence. Thereafter the process has gone on showing itself more explicitly. Today it is quite manifest. If I am permitted, I may say that India's history of the Gandhian Age begins its new chapter under Jawaharlal. The closure of these papers at this time I therefore feel is only a result of the natural turn of history in India. The growing number of subscribers and increasing loss to the management may well be said to be its obvious symptoms.

These symptoms began to appear from 1932 even. The total number of subscribers for the 3 papers then went down to 5,000 only. The Trust had then issued a warning to the people. Finding it so many friends tried to save it by sending new subscribers. Consequently there was appreciable increase, but it was only for that year. From next year it began to disappear. Shri K. D. Madhwarao suddenly passed away a few months later leaving the great task of conducting the papers to poor me. For myself I may only say that I have tried my very best to discharge this onerous duty. That there could be no improvement in the number of subscribers is enough to show my limitations which I know well enough.

The work of the papers has been with me for about 3 years and a half by now. They have been years of quite new and distinct experiences in my life. It has been unique education for me also. I am personally grateful to the Trust for giving me such an opportunity. But I am not writing this on a personal matter. The Trust could not during these years have much the papers could do just for themselves in the new situation. The readers must have seen from the previous issue that total number of subscribers today is about 5,200, resulting into continuing loss. Therefore the Trust rightly thought it would serve no purpose to continue them under such circumstances and hence they close now.

I have mentioned above that now begins the Jawahar epoch in India. I am conscious that when I say this I refer to a big and serious matter. But what I really am I must say. Let not the reader misunderstand it. I do not at all suggest that it means an end of the Gandhian Age. That Age stands for us — it has come to play. I believe it cannot be bypassed by India and hence even by the world.

The modern age is being styled as the atom age. The message of Gandhiji is for that ultra-



ually converted the people spiritual background was already there. And hence the response. The word 'education' literally means 'to draw out'. So we have drawn out what already existed. To that extent, I feel satisfied enough.

We all know that fear-complex has taken possession of nations' mind. Russia and America are so powerful, but still they are afraid of each other. Both big and small nations are afraid of each other. What is the reason? It is because the whole basis of society is altogether wrong. It is a competitive society based on the rule of 'Survival of the fittest'. We want to change that basis. We want a kingdom of kindness. Christ said about the kingdom of God that the word 'God' is beyond our capacity. There is some kindness in present society also but we want a kingdom of kindness. We want that kindness should be the dominant force in society. Land problem can be solved by legislation, but we differentiate between the power of non-violence and the power of law. Law is also different from violence. It is somewhere in between. It might come nearer to non-violence. But people's love is different from love of law. If we can solve our problems by love and kindness, it will create non-fear. Then people might put faith in it. We say we have faith and go to church every Sunday, but still in our innermost selves we don't have that faith which moved spiritual teachers of the past. The reason of it is that the whole structure of society is wrong. What is needed today is faith in goodness, and mutual trust. People sit around the table in the U.N.O. but don't trust each other. It is good that they come together and they may gradually by the same process by force of circumstances develop that trust. But today both sides are increasing armaments. It seems that they are both misguided. Our terrible attempt is to create that power by which society might gain faith. That is why I have often said that every land-gift is a vote for world peace.

**Question 3.** What are the objectives of the movement at the present time—immediate and long-term objectives?

**Pinde:** As far immediate objective, I will be satisfied if enough land for the landless is given. Total land under cultivation in India is 50 crores out of which I ask for 5 crores, i.e. one-sixth of the total land. There are 5 crores of landless people in India. My argument is quite simple. Generally there are 5 persons to every family, so I say that add one more and give my share. There is also a legendary story of the Pandavas who had a sixth brother whom they forgot and it led to the great war of Mahabharat. So I tell people that if you don't recognise that sixth brother—poor people in society—then it will create trouble. So one-sixth is my immediate objective.

**Question 4.** When, where village-gifts are made are the lands to be redistributed according to need or will they be allocated comparatively without any individual ownership?

**Pinde:** Both together. Land will be distributed according to need but still there will be no ownership. No collectivisation but co-operation. After redistribution according to need in all families there would be some land left which will be used for common purposes. People will also get education in co-operation. After every ten or fifteen years, there will be redistribution according to needs. So there will be no individual ownership but both individual motives for working and co-operation will be there. I am always telling the people that land life water and air is a free gift of God and so God is its only owner. Our ultimate object is that village land should be managed by village community.

**Question 5.** What is the relation between the Bhambhan movement and the community projects' systematic plan for the villages?

**Pinde:** Community projects so far have not dealt with land problem. Perhaps they have left it to me. Their main object is increase of production, which is one of our objectives too. But we want equal distribution along with increase of production. I don't agree with the view that production should come first and distribution next. I think that both should go together, as they are not quite apart from each other but are intermingled. A landless person has no incentive for production. People today have lost faith in themselves. We have got several independence, but the landless people don't feel it. There is a little change but not enough change to instil faith in them. So if they are given land then will get the same prestige and position along with other citizens.

Our basic principle is that as far as possible, every one should do some field-labour. Agriculture serves as a good exercise and keeps us in contact with nature, which is a Divine contact. I know that in modern society this is not possible. But in ideal society every one will work in the fields for some time daily. I look upon field-labour as devotion to God. I have done it for several years and I felt a touch, a presence, which I missed even in the temples.

**Question 6.** How do Bhambhan movement envisage providing the peasant with help and guidance of a trusted individual to make his cultivation of the soil more efficient?

**Pinde:** India has been doing agriculture from time immemorial and though our peasants are uneducated yet they are experienced. But still guidance and improvement of methods are necessary. We are going to do that in Kaspuri district of Orissa where more than 200 whole village-gifts have been made. For that, help from the experts is needed. But I am afraid these experts who study in colleges

generally try, to learn from Americans and Russians who have got ample land and less people—12 to 15 acres per head. Our problems are quite different with less land and more people—our acre per head, and as we have to follow Chinese and Japanese methods. Generally we don't get expert advice from people in their own circumstances.

(From Hindustan, 21-2-50)

### "OUR LANGUAGE PROBLEM"

(By Jyoti B. Sena)

THIS is a collection of the articles of Shri M. P. Datta, Editor of the *Hindustan* papers, that appeared from time to time during the last few years. They have been edited for the purpose and classified according to subjects for issuing them in book form. An index is added at the end.

The reader will readily see that this is a timely publication. The question of languages and their place and importance in rebuilding new and independent India on a democratic basis is one of the foremost few we have before us today. It touches our corporate life not only educationally but also socially, politically, and eventually culturally. Therefore it is under discussion not only in our schools and universities but also in the press, the public and the Legislatures.

In Bombay State the question has been uppermost during post-independence years and much thought was given to it from various quarters including the Government. Many of the articles collected here originated from that situation. Therefore, they directly bear upon the present situation of the problem in the country, and hence are expected to provoke and help thought in this regard. This is done so because of the appointment of the Official Language Commission that is expected to go into the question, even extensively.

The book is, therefore, issued in the hope that it will help clear the issues involved in the language problem and decide them in a sound and realistic way. That the problem is very great and important, having its bearing on the future of our democracy and culture, needs no mention. May we decide it wisely and well and consistently, with the dignity of our ancient people and their cultural unity in diversity which has persisted up to this day in spite of the most trying types and formidable challenges it had to encounter in the course of history.

21-2-50

\*Being the Publishers who appeared in the book for Language Problem, by Shri M. P. Datta, published by the Hindustan Publishing House, Hindustan 14, Press No 144 Postage and A. 12.

Dr. Mahatma Gandhi

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### GOING FORWARD OR ETERNALLY BACKWARD?

(By Suresh Senanai)

Perhaps the most remarkable feat of the British occupation of India was their easy over our minds. Everything English became sacred for us and we began to adore and imitate all their ways recklessly. Freedom has released us from that mental bondage to a large extent. Yet its shadow lingers on. And we seem to be chronically sick from a strange disease, named as 'backwardness'. Every nation of the West has been drinking into our ears that we are a 'backward' nation and these 'advanced' nations are going to reaped down in the form of money and technical know-how, mechanical equipment and what not. A natural consequence of this curious phenomenon is that the amounts of foreign goods and foreign money in modern India surpass what they were during the British rule.

One wonders what this 'backwardness' is. Let us compare with the U.S.A. The per capita consumption of milk, butter, and bread in U.S.A. is far greater than in India. Also of tobacco, tea, liquor, soap, paper, cars, radio, cinema, etc. Again, their percentage of ill — mentally or from venereal or some natural diseases — is higher as also of the doctors, lawyers and policemen. Further, cases of divorce, murders, road-accidents are much larger there than in India. Certainly, consumption of more bread and butter is a sign of health. But, say one with, is a consumption of more tobacco sign of greater vitality and of more power than of superior intellectual culture? Or does a more employment of cars denote better and stronger legs and of more milk sign more refined cultural taste? Opinions may differ as to it. But none can deny that use of more and greater cars has not rendered them more fearless and powerful than others not so up to the mark. It may, therefore, be concluded that 'backwardness' is a relative term and even the so-called forward may be more backward than the 'backward' in some respects.

There is thus a need for intelligent discrimination between backward and forward features. We, dubbed as 'backward', may be quite forward in certain aspects. And common sense tells us that we must continue to remain ahead in which we are already ahead and learn to go forward only in those spheres in which we are, in our own opinion, lagging behind.

But what is the course chosen by our planners for building New India? Suffering from the complex of semi-backwardness, as it were, they are trying to set up American-European models in India, as is evident by their importing of foreign technicians, equipment and experts. We have set up plants and institutions on the western design. Our Prime Minister gave a bit of his mind the other day when he said:

'I do not think that we are advancing in a big way without having technology on a big scale and without

adopting the same technology as the most modern and cost-effective technology available in the U.S. (Wardner, 1967). However, good plans are now being laid out for building the steel plants, etc. (1964). Apparently, during the construction the latest type of machinery is being used. (The factory building the very latest machine tools in the U.S. has not used any of the old machine tooling technology they have to be of the latest type.) The United States certainly has the technology and the ability to compete, or to win, in production as much as in design.

This explains the case of our development policy. But it cannot be pointed out that India does not command financial resources to rival the U.S.A. or other big nations do. Naturally we cannot implement every technology which U.S.A. can. This implies that in the race for 'latest' models the last word would always be theirs and we shall be working the same model today which has been discarded by them yesterday. In other words, we shall always keep in the rear and the bulwark of the fortress and the observation of the brains of people without shall guide the course of our destiny. In fact, we will remain eternally backward.

Is it not a very regrettable trait of all our planning? We do go forward, but we are bound to be perpetually backward. What then is the way out?

The obvious course are two. One, we may travel our path with a naive fervor again and try to beat down our rivals. But that requires a huge sum of money at our disposal, much more than that available to our competitors, which is a physical impossibility. The second method is we may take a rightabout turn and change the direction. In our case very often we would be going ahead of others and the narrative would also be with us. History teaches us how this method enabled many a backward nation to go forward and leave others far behind.

Now, how to turn the face? Just by changing values and someone different from those held sacred by our rivals in the field. In brief, they are:

- (i) Private or State ownership of all resources and means of production
- (ii) Superiority of intellectual or managerial work to manual labor
- (iii) Use of arms in self-defense
- (iv) Division of society into classes with their own exclusive (and mutually conflicting) class-interests.
- (v) Survival of the fittest, i.e., survival of 49 per cent in the supposed goal of 51 per cent.

Had these values narrowed the tale of time, there was no sense in abandoning them. But the two great wars and the danger of a third one have clearly demonstrated the uselessness of these values. Besides all the three top nations (U.S.A., U.G. and U.S.S.R.) suffer from inter-communal disparities and a democracy of the common man or a democracy of the proletariat is not a distant dream. Even an evolution-course of eight years

has given the U.S.S.R. unemployment, inflation, crime, homelessness and other evils in India. But it has widened the gulf between the various nations of our population. It needs little reflection to state that a further blind devotion to the said values will have untold and consequences and enslave our life though statistically we might be going 'forward'. A thousand plans based on these values can no more succeed in fighting out our poverty than the waters of the Indian Ocean can be cooled by dropping holes of blotting paper into it.

The capitalist conditions have had their day. The spreaded loss of Europe and the nervous brain of America leads us to mark halt. Science also says from the knowledge that atom is violent method in place of solving any problem create new ones. They begin fear and distrust which in turn its hand-made of personal ownership. Possession and fear always go together. Non-possession for universal ownership is against that of an individual as State or the cryous message of science. Therefore we cannot afford to keep a wall of difference between manual and mental work. In fact both are essential for man even as are head and legs. To condemn manual labour is like cutting off one's own legs.

Now that we are on the threshold of a new Five Year Plan, it is humbly submitted that we must courageously rise over our petty prejudices and development superstitions. Dr H noted that I am not against the use of machinery as such. In fact no such machinery has yet been invented by man as to be the enemy of man. But machinery should be ruled by us and not vice versa. Again, this is not a plea for simplicity, ridiculed by Sardar K. M. Panikkar at Shimankar. Who advises 'simplicity'. All splendour and plenty is welcome provided it does not lead to exploitation, unequal distribution and inequality. Who does not know that the unbridled growth of science and industry in India has been responsible for the impoverishment of our masses and concentration of power and wealth in few and fewer hands? So all claims to every scientific research leads to its application if it enables the poorest and the lowliest to live a better and richer life, to stand erect with head high. Not so machinery, however good, should find any place with us if it is covered by a lie in its element of appropriation of the human bond.

We must, therefore, be on our guard. In the name of advancement let us not lose ourselves. Nor should we hesitate to learn from others' experience. But we should be sensible enough to re-examine the out-moded values and chalk out our path on new methods and standards. Let us risk on as fast a horse (or aircraft) as possible but its reins (or compass) should always be in our hands.

Hard Shrivastava,  
750 Maitunga  
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## FACT AND FALLACY ABOUT PROHIBITION

(By Robert H. Pearson)

If wet advocates in India think they will solve the problem of bootlegging and the sale of illicit liquor by repealing Prohibition they will have a sad awakening if Prohibition should ever be voted out. We have discovered this fact in the United States. During our Prohibition days we were assured by the Republicans that all of the ill-effects on our country would vanish if only Prohibition were repealed. All of the crime and lawlessness attributed to bootlegging and the sale of illicit liquor would come to an end.

Prohibition went. Illicit bootleggers and the sale of illicit liquor disappeared in America. Listen—

A few years after the Repeal of the Prohibition amendment *The Boston Herald*, a wet newspaper, admitted that the bootlegger now is more dangerous than "he ever was during the 14 years of Prohibition." *The Chicago Herald Examiner*, a thoroughly wet daily paper, comments, "As we stand today today repeal we seem to have made bootlegging safer and more profitable for the crooks."

Before the eighteenth amendment was repealed one of our Congressmen argued before the House that bootleg liquor and bootlegging would largely be abolished. What did he say after repeal had been an operation for a few years and he had an opportunity to see his mistake? "The bootleggers before the repeal of Prohibition were more pliant as compared with the illicit Whisky Trust today."

Henry Morgenthau, at the time U. S. Secretary of the Treasury several years after Prohibition had been voted out in America, declared, "Repeal hasn't even put a dent in the operation of the large scale racketeers and bootleggers."

Everybody knows that bootleg liquor is flowing freely today from the Golden Gate on the Pacific to Hell Gate on the Atlantic in America instead of eliminating or reducing the ownership and operation of illicit stills, the unlawful manufacture of liquor and bootlegging these nefarious operations have been increased to a scale hitherto unknown.

The United States Senate recently because of stained rear conditions prevailing in the country and a special Committee was appointed to investigate crime conditions in all parts of the land. Senator James McPherson, Chairman of this Committee in the following words asserted that corruption now is far worse than in Prohibition days. "Without fear of contradiction, I say that corruption continues today on a scale that makes the corruption of Prohibition days look like kindergarten play."

Thomas J. Donohue, Vice-President of the National Beverage Industries declares that in the United States the productive capacity of illegal stills is "greater than the actual average of

production in the entire legal distilling industry." During 1931 he said, authorities issued a total of 25,402 permits having a capacity of 715,608 gallons a day.

Some experts have estimated that for every legal distillery in America today there are a hundred illicit stills and that these bootlegging plants are turning out illicit liquor at the rate of 10,000,000 gallons per year. What is more, instead of eliminating bootleggers these crooks of respectable society are being arrested at the rate of about a thousand a month.

If you want to get rid of bootleggers and illicit liquor repealing Prohibition is not the way to do it. The United States has learned from experience that such a step only causes bootlegging to flourish.

WRITER OF THE ABOVE IS A. L. DEL. 230

(And I may add that the method of regulation and prohibition after wet temperance propaganda moves also was an active one problem. This information only occurred at the time which is the only individual problem of illicit distilleries to do it again. Thus only can it consistently deal with bootlegging crime and strengthen the basis of reformers. With it proved too to come out of this failure was along with the above one of repealing Prohibition to stop bootlegging which is a crime like theft, pure and simple.)

(1-2-33)

(H. P.)

## THE POTENTIALITY OF GHANIN

The production of oilseeds in the world is about 550 lakh tons. India stands seventh in the world in this connection and it produces 11 lakh tons of edible oils. It comes to 5-3 on per head per day, while according to statistics it should be 11 on. Hence it is necessary to increase the production of edible oils in our country. The use of edible oils should not, therefore, be allowed to be made for purposes other than dietary, and oil seeds such as neem, karanja, mustard, durga, castor, and so on should be made use of, for industrial purposes.

In India, 3718 lakh tons of oilseeds were crushed in 1923-24, of which 2532 lakh tons (68%) were crushed in oil-mills and the rest 1186 lakh tons—i.e. 31% by Ghans. It is necessary to change this position of oil-production. The number of working Ghans is decreasing gradually. In 1925 it was 1 lakh, while it is only 2 lakhs, according to the census of 1931. This shows that 1 lakh Ghans have ceased working in 35 years. It has unemployed 1 lakh oil-men, while only 45,000 more labourers are employed in oil-mills.

There are 4,45,000 Ghans in the country but about half of them are working. If the rest get sufficient oil-crushing work throughout the year, more oil will be produced. Oil-men will get work steadily and people will get good oil for diet. Keeping this in view, the A.I.E.V.I. Board has offered certain suggestions, for the encouragement of the village-oil industry, in the next Five Year Plan, which are worthy of consideration. The following is a short summary of the same.

1. A crushing plant should be placed on mill crushing of oil-seeds at 20-25 lakh tons and no further expansion of capacity of production of the existing mills should be allowed but should new houses be started to set up new oil-mills.

2. Certain varieties of oil-seeds such as sesame, rapeseed, kardi, and neem where the mill crushing is not so profitable, should be reserved for the Ghazis and mills should be encouraged to crush additional 12 lakh tons of cotton seed.

3. Soap-making should be restricted to non-affiliated mills.

4. The export of oil-seeds should be banned.

5. A cess on mill oil should be levied at Rs 1-4-6 per canted. Or 10 paise per ton to finance the development of the Ghazi oil industry.

6. On an average extraction of oil by the mills is about 45% of the seeds crushed as against 75 to 78% by the Ghazis. An improved Ghazi, on the other hand, can extract on an average oil of about 40%. So over the five-year period 1960-65 at the 4 to 10 lakh Ghazis should be replaced by improved or Wardsli Ghazis, and 1-50-500 old Ghazis should be brought under the programme of financial assistance.

7. 400 Model Centres should be set up in various parts of the country.

8. 15 Training Centres should be established to train inspectors, Hectors and Tels.

9. Production subsidy at Rs 2-0-0 per canted should be given on oil produced by Ghazis.

10. Loans should be given through co-operative societies and registered institutions to avoid the Tels in buy improved Ghazis and maintain adequate stocks of oil-seeds and provide for the marketing of the oil.

11. Tels should be organized into co-operatives.

If the above steps are taken, 4,25,000 tons of oil and 8,25,000 tons of oilseeds will be produced by 1980-81. This will provide work to 2 lakh Tels at a cost of Rs 500 lakhs as current expenditure and Rs 500 lakhs as loan.

It is advisable to incur this much expenditure in order to provide work for village Tels, as these are homes. It will, thereby, provide good middle aid to the village people and better income for their families.

V. M. S.

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## A NEW CARTISM

Our rulers and the ruling party are tired of corrupting cartisms, from Parliament and platforms, but at the same time are giving birth to a more sinister kind of corruption based on income and status. This new kind of caste has three various the industries including the M.P.s, high Government officials and the lower grade clerks and subordinates. Of course, there is the vast base of public, but they do not matter and are not considered except when the cartism approach. Roughly, from the income point of view, they belong to Rs. 5000/-, Rs. 3000/- and Rs. 100/- class respectively. Of course, there are many small castes and sub-castes based on four divisions of income and status. These groups do not interact and in fact tend to create walls and barriers around them to prevent communication in human terms. There is all the paraphernalia of bureaucracy to lend glamour and distinction to stiffness and rigidity, the chaprains and the lower servants.

It is surprising that within a short period of eight or nine years we have created a caste which is even worse and more deplorable than the famed untouchability of the British people in India, without any of its benefits of imperishability. Any impartial director of New Delhi or any of the State capitals will vouch for it. In New Delhi there are restaurants which only one class of people visit, and for others it is *lulu dia* or otherwise to visit them. Everywhere this attitude is menacingly present, from the house of a minister to those of secretaries and so on, the whole series of social ladder. They are more concerned with their high caste and status than the poor Brahmin ever was. At least the Brahmin would visit a poor man's house on marriage or ceremonial occasions, but the minister, no, unless there is some publicity to be put out of it.

About a year ago the ruling party enunciated its creed of Backward Pattern. What it exactly means no one knows, but there is an impression on the mind of public that it at least means more social and economic equality. But during this short period no change of attitude amongst our rulers and ruling party has been noticed to show that they really believe in the social content of a casteless pattern. Important persons are becoming Very Important, and the less important, insignificant, not very worth naming. But Socialism Pattern cannot be infused in without a dramatic change in the attitude of the ruling party. It certainly cannot be brought about by mere platform speeches and exhortations. It will come about by reorganizing the values of life, by giving more importance to service and less to delivery inflated self.

The behaviour of our ruling class is also corrupting the behaviour of our public servants and higher officers. They have come to believe

that through bribery and by dancing attendance on their superiors, they can achieve promotion and success more easily, than by doing hard and conscientious work. As a result the V.I.P.s get more attention and consideration from the public servants, while the public, if not actually neglected, get crumbs from the big man's table. The public suffer in consequence and get less consideration. There is something very wrong with our body politic and it is time that we give serious consideration to its life, and not just try to fool people by meaningless promises.

One of the worst aspects of our assumed superiority and shakiness in the rulers is that a sense of participation between the rulers, the public servants, and the public has not been able to develop, and even the public servants of lower grade have not been able to identify with the nation because of their shakiness and lack of honesty. That is why there is no confidence in the public servants for policies and plans of the rulers. Since the public has remained unhooked by any enthusiasm, and the man in the street is usual and bitter about the maladministration and corruption everywhere, to which no one from the high up seems to pay any serious attention and tends not to believe whatever criticism is voiced from the public. If the high up could go incognito and listen to what the man in the street says about the administration, in their unguarded moments, they would realize how ill-administered India is.

[The editor remarks: The writer has chosen to remain anonymous. It is felt from New Delhi, where he serves Government and has opportunities to observe at close quarters what he writes about, it might be argued, it is uncorroborated. Things are not as bad. We may not quarrel over the extent of the evil. There might be someable corrections even. However if the evil is being told even in a very elementary stage in the manner described by the writer it is good on all the working members about this serious disease infecting our body politic.]

-44-44

M.P.T.

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## COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Looking to the conditions of our country if we are to maintain the independence and dignity of our villages they should be self-dependent about the necessities of life. Yet during the foreign rule the industry has developed quite differently and heavy centralisation has occurred. Consequently a great village industry has been ruined and unemployment or underemployment has become widespread.

Presently the demand for cloth for consumption is 575 crans of yards and for export 80 crans. Out of this mills produce 500 crans of yards and they employ 7 to 8 lakhs of persons.

So All-India Khadi & Village Industries Board has drawn a scheme of cotton production to be incorporated in the second five year plan, with a view to help in solving the great problem of unemployment and also to decentralise the industry.

Board believes that in 1950-51 that is at the end of the second five year plan, total consumption shall increase up to 720 crans of yards and the export to 100 crans of yards. So in all 820 crans of yards will have to be produced.

The Board has distributed the total production of 820 crans yards as follows:

Present production of 500 crans of yards of textile mills and 25 crans of power-looms should be continued. 120 crans yards, produced on hand-looms should be increased to 150 crans yards. And in addition production of Khadi which is 3 crans yards, should be expanded in next five years to 180 crans yards.

To implement this programme the policy implications are as follows:

(1) Increase in the present mill-weaving and production capacity should be stopped.

(2) Prevention of the increase in the production capacity of the power-looms.

(3) Prevention of the increase in the spinning capacity of the mills.

(4) Utilization of the production capacity at the handlooms upto 60 per cent, which presently is 50 per cent.

(5) Introduction of 12 lakhs of Ashraf Charkhas to meet the additional demand of 40 crans of yards.

According to Textile Inquiry Commission there are 21.5 lakh handlooms in the country and 22.15 lakh persons depend upon it. But the Board is of the opinion that there are at least 25 lakh handlooms and 27.5 lakh persons depend on it.

Again by producing 6 yards per day, and by working 300 days in an year, handlooms can easily produce 450 crans yards of cloth. But the Board believes that they presently produce only 140 crans yards, and due to attempts to develop it the production shall increase upto 150 crans yards. Thus only 30.5 per cent of the production capacity can be utilized. Upto this point they will use mill-spun yarn.



3079

A first worth noting is that the Textile Inquiry Commission has suggested to subsidise spinning mills by investing 26 crore rupees for producing 40 crore lbs. of yarn necessary to under the 60 per cent production capacity of the handlooms.

Against this, the Board has drawn up a scheme to produce hand spun yarn. For that it has suggested to introduce 17 lakh Anchar Charkhis in the country. The Charkha has four spindles and spins yarn of 12 to 40 counts. And the capital needed for it shall be 15-5 crore rupees only.

Through Anchar Charkhis 24-6 lakh spinners and carders shall on average get an income of a rupee per day.

During the second five year plan, the present Charkhas shall be continued and Anchar Charkhas shall be operated by professional and full-time spinners only. Gradually Anchar Charkhas shall be introduced in the place of present Charkhas. The production of Khadi produced out of the yarn of present Charkhas shall be increased from 3 crore yards to 5 crore yards and shall be continued for next five years. Even after producing cloth on these lines, the question of sale still remains. Even after introducing Anchar Charkhas there remains difference of Rs. 8-12-6 between the price of mill cloth and Khadi at the same size and count. So if handloom cloth and Anchar Khadi are to stand in the free market, the competition should be eliminated and proper price policy should be followed in the interests of the nation. In other words, the successful implementation of the common production fully depends upon the general price policy, controlling all the sectors of the textile industry. And the price should be so fixed that the Khadi sells the cheapest and the mill cloth the dearest, due to the levy of excise duty. To fix the price, the Board has suggested to set up a price commission, which may be representative of various sectors of the industry and which may take decisions after discussions and consultations.

The total expenditure for present Khadi and the Anchar Khadi including even the training of the spinners and carders, is estimated to be Rs. 51-75 crores. But it will provide full-time employment to 40 lakh persons. And if we include 60 lakh spinners on present Charkhas who spin 2 barks per day and work 120 days in an year, totally 98 lakh persons shall get employment. At the same time there is a possibility of distribution of Rs. 4000 millions between them.

Thus if the textile industry is developed on these new lines it will be easy to tackle the problem of unemployment and underemployment amongst the masses.

T. M. K.

## THE RULE OF LAW

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Express the International Commission of Jurists to deliver first in the national development of these principles and support and denounce all violations of the Rule of Law.

(Signed at Athens this 18th day of June, 1955)

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1955

N. P. J.

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